

THE
Second volume of
Chronicles :

Containing the description,
*conquest, inhabitation, and tro-
blefome estate of Ireland; first col-
lected by Raphaell Holinshed; and
now newlie recognised, augmen-
ted, and continued from the death
of king Henrie the eight vntill this
present time of sir Iohn Perot
knight, lord deputie: as
appeareth by the sup-
plie beginning in
pag. 109, &c.*

By Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell gent. 7

*Wherevnto is annexed the de-
scription and historie of Scotland,
first published by the said R. H. and
now newlie reuised, enlarged, and
continued to this present yeare;
as appeareth in pag.*

405 : &c.

By F. T.

With two tables seruing both
*countries added in the end
of this volume.*

Historia placcant nostrates ac peregrina.

1586



TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,
lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and
one of hir maiesties priuie councill within hir
realme of England.



TAking in hand (right honorable)
to gather the particular histories of diuerse
countries and nations, to ioine with a cos-
mographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late
printer to the queenes maiestie meant to
publish in our English toong: when I came to
consider of the histories of Ireland, I found
my self so vnprovidend of helps, to set downe
anie particular discourse therof, that I was in
despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at
all concerning that realme, otherwise than
incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the
same in the historie of England. At length
yet as maister Wolfes vse was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie
hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, where-
with I speciallie dealt; his hap was to light also vpon a copie of two booke of the
Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. Iohn
Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were
to be wished, that occasion had serued him to haue vsed more leasure, and thereby
to haue deliuered to vs a larger discourse of the same histories: for as he himselfe
confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter: a verie short
time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so euer I found him, at
the persuation of maister Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I resolved to
make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of o-
ther regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, ex-
cept in places where I had matter to enlarge that (out of other authors) which he
had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to signifie, the rather for that I
esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserued praise.

But now after I had continued the historie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cam-
brensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which
that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; some of those that were to
bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Ri-
chard Stanihurst, to continue it from thense forward as he saw occasion, being fur-
nished with matter to enlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my
selfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue

The Epistle.

doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easilie conceiue. For the imperfection
sith it is the first that hath beene set forth in print, I craue most humble pardon of
your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the per-
fectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing
thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all,
and least able to performe it. Hauing presented the right honourable the earle of
Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made
dedication of his booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conue-
nientlie offer this my trauell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, be-
ing hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I ex-
hibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold at-
tempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wished to haue more
amplie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might haue answered
good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to fur-
nish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your estate
and office, so as your doings may redound to his glorie, the suertie of hir ma-
iesties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and conse-
quentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse
of the true and loiall subiects of
that realme.

Your honours most humble to command,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.

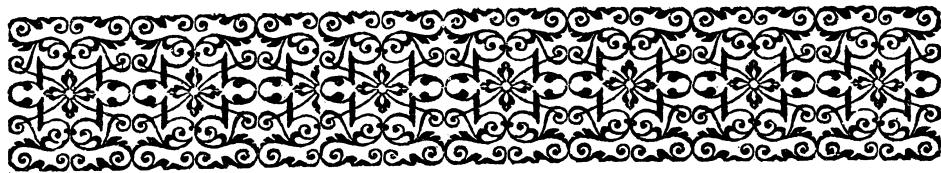




¶ The authors out of whom this historie of
Ireland hath beene gathered.

{ Giraldus Cambrensis.
Flatsburie.
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Saxo Grammaticus.
Albertus Crantz.
Rogerus Houeden. }

{ Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.
Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus
Higeden.
Iohannes Bale.
Edmund Campion.
Records and rolles diuers. }

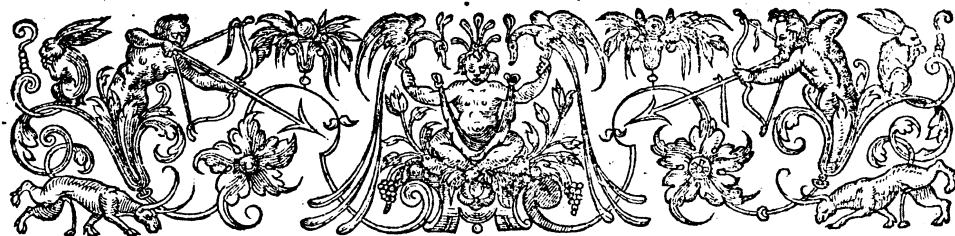


The contents of the chapters following
in the description of Ireland.

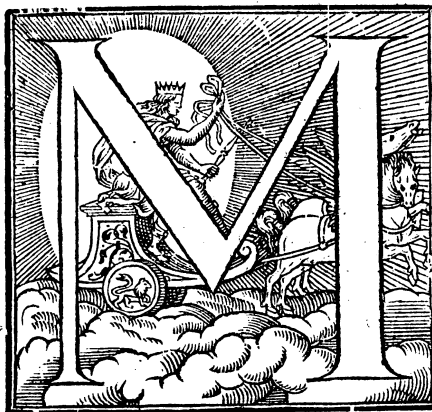
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 The names of Ireland, with the com-
passe of the same, also what shires or
counties it containeth, the diuision
or partition of the land, and of the
language of the people. Chap. 1. | 5 Of the lords spirituall of Ireland,
their names and dignities. Chap. 5. |
| 2 Of the nature of the soile and other
incidents. Chap. 2. | 6 The lords temporall, as well Eng-
lish as Irish, which inhabit the coun-
trie of Ireland. Chap. 6. |
| 3 The names of the ciuities, boroughs,
and hauen towns in Ireland. Chap. 3. | 7 The names or surnames of the lear-
ned men and authors of Ireland, and
what bookes they wrote. Chap. 7. |
| 4 Of the strange and woonderfull pla-
ces in Ireland. Chap. 4. | 8 The disposition and maners of the
meere Irish, commonlie called the
wild Irish. Chap. 8. |

A. 3.





TO THE RIGHT HON-
 norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,
 lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president
 of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and
 one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir
 realme of England.



Y^e verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerse of late, that with no small toile, and great commendation, haue throughlie imploied themselues, in culling and packing together the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. Among which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion, maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe, in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that countrie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were so rauisht with Homer his historie, that notwithstanding Ther sites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed, and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the valiant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath set

forth the ouglie dandprat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Ther sites, than to be the Alexander of that doltish rithmour, which undertooke with his wooden verses to blase his famous and martiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diuerse good and courageous Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so vpright in conscience, so deepe in iudgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well assured to haue had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie polished.

Howbeit, although the glose of his fine abbridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare a surpassing kind of excellencie: yet it was so huddled up in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute perfection, it seemed rather to be a woorke roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Vpon which ground the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, should haue beene swaddled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and grown stronger: yet notwithstanding he was so crost in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle too-
 ged (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places ouer spare, it twittled more tales out of schoole, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (vpon better view and longer search) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the historie earnestlie desired: I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolved to enrich maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course packthred could not haue beene sutablie knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, bungerlie to botch up a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclaimed from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in that craggie and balkish waie, as the truth of the matter being forprised, I would neither openlie borrow, nor priuilie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering that worke by stealths on the anuill, I was giuen to vnderstand by some of mine acquaintance, that others had brought our raw historte to that ripenesse, as my paine therein would seeme but needlesse. Wherevpon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forstall anie mans his trauell, I was contented to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine vsuall and pristinat studies, taking it not to stand with good maners, like a fluttering flie to fall in an other mans
 his

The Epistle.

his dish. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not so secretlie mixed within my closet, but it slipped out at one chinke or other, and ramed so farre abroad, as it was whispered in their eares, who before were in the historie busied. The gentlemen conceiuing a greater opinion of me, than I was well able to uphold, dealt verie effectually with me, that as well at their instance, as for the affection I bare my native countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the building and perfecting of so commendable a worke. Having breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not sufficientlie feathered to flie: yet I was by them weied not to beare my selfe coy, by giuing my entier friends in so reasonable a request a squemish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordship his view a brieft discourse, with a ragged historie of a ragged wealepublike. Yet as naked as at the first blush it seemeth, if it shall stand with your honor his pleasure (whom I take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearch it, you shall find therein stones of such estimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in especiall your lordship, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrie, maie here be schooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, leialtie exalted, haughtinesse disliked, courtesie beloved, briberie detested, iustice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall shame reprooued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, such magistrats as meane to haue a vigilant eie to their charge, can not bestow their time better, than when they sequester themselues from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreat and quicken their spirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublike. For as it is no small commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, so it breedeth great admiration, generally to haue all those qualities in one man harboured, for which particularlie diuerse are eternised. And who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euents worthie to be remembered, and sundrie sound examples daile to be followed. Vpon which ground the learned haue, not without cause, adindged an historie to be the marrow of reason, the creame of experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behanour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chiuallrie. And that our Irish historie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his stomach shall be found so tenderlie niced, or so deintilie spiced, as that he maie not, forsooth, digest the grosse draffe of so base a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordship, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the woorthinesse of the Island, will be soone persuaded to leaue such quaint and licentious repastours, to feed on their costlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the louing present of your heartie welwiller. The gift is small, the giuer his good will is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner unbroid the pelfish trash that is wrapt within this treatise, I shall craue your lordship to lend me either your eares in hearing, or your eyes in reading the tenor of the discourse following.

RICHARD STANIHURST.





A TREATISE CON- teining a plaine and perfect description of Ire- land, with an Introduction to the better vnderstan- ding of the histories appertaining to that Iland: compiled by Richard Stanihurst.

The names of Ireland, with the com-
passe of the same, also what shires or coun-
ties it containeth, the diuision or
partition of the land, and of
the language of
the people.

The first chapter.



The length
and breadth of
Ireland.
Girald. Cam-
brensis lib. 1.
topog. dist. 1.
rub. 2. Polych.
lib. 1. cap. 32.

The more part aswel
of Cosmo-
graphers,
as Chrono-
graphers,
do with on
accoorde af-
firme, that
the nation
of Ireland
(the bitter-
most wea-
sterne Ile
known) is
halfe as big as Britannia. Which I take to be true,
if the word Britannia so farre displaie the significati-
on, that it comprisse England, Wales, and Scotland.
To which opinion Giraldus Cambrensis relieueth, say-
eng, that Britannia containeth in length eight hun-
dred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland
be taketh to be in length from the mounteins called
Eborach (the autho. of Polydronicon termeth them
Brendane his hilles) to saint Columbe his Iland
eight daies iourneie, rating of long Irish miles for-
tie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin
to saint Patrick his hilles and the sea of Connaght
four daies iourneie, according to the forner rate. So
as by Cambrensis his surueie, who was a curious
inseacher therof, Ireland is three hundred & twentie
miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and three
score miles broad. And accounting three hundred and
twentie Irish miles to amount to four hundred
English miles, which may well be reckoned accor-
ding to their indgements that haue travelled in the
Irish territories; Ireland will be found halfe as big
as Britannia: which Girald. Cambrensis auoucheth,
sayeng, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scot-
land. Ireland hath on the east, England, within one
daies sailing; on the southeast it hath France; His-
paine on the south, distant three daies sailing; on the
west the maine ocean sea.

The name
Ibernia

Touching the name Ibernia, historiographers

are not yet agreed from whence it is deducted. Some
write it Hibernia corruptlie, and suppose that the
strangers finding it in an od end of the world, folkie
and moistie, toke it at the first for a verie cold coun-
trie, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to saie, the
Winter land. But this error being vpon short expe-
rience reformed, it could not be that the name should
haue liued long, especiallie the first impositors surui-
uing the triall, and able to alter the first nomination.
Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Ir-
lamale. But because I read nothing of them in anie
probable historie, I purpose not to build vpon that
conecture.

Most crediblie it is holden, that the Hispaniards
(the founders of the Irish) for deuotion towards
Hispaime, called then Iberia of Iberus the sonne of
Iubal, and the rather, for that themselves had dwel-
led beside the famous riuer Iberus, named the land
Iberia (for so Leland and manie forren chronicles
write it) or Hibernia, adding the letter (n) for diffe-
rence sake. And from Hibernia proceedeth Iberland,
or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland:
for so much as in corruption of common talke we
find that (n) with his vocale is easilie lost and suppli-
ed; so we saie ere for ener, nere for neuer, thole for
thouell, ore for ouer, ene for even, dile for diuell. At
the same time it was also named Scotia, in reue-
rence of Scotach the wife of Cathelus, ancient cap-
taine of those Iberians that sifted from Hispaime
into Ireland: & the said Scotach was old grandame
to Iberus and Iernon after the Scottish choni-
cles, who in anie wise will haue their countremen
deriued from the Irish, and not from the Britons.
The name Scotia is of late yeares so vsuallie taken
for that part of Britaine that compriseth Scotland,
that diuerse ancient Irish autho. are holden to be
borne in Scotland, whereas in verie deed their native
soile is Ireland. As the famous scholeman Io-
hannes Duns Scotus, otherwise named Doctor subtilis,
for his subtil quiddities in scholasticall contro-
uersies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken
for a Scot.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Mith-
mon, a market towne five miles distant from
Weiseford. Others anouch, and that more trulie,
that he was borne in Downe, an old ancient ciuitie
in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him
to be named Dunensis, and by contraction Duns,
which tearme is so trifull and common in all schols,
that who so surpasseth others either in cauilling sophi-
strie, or subtil philosophie, is forthwith nicknamed a
Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia mi-
nor,

Ireland.

Iberus the
Hispanish
riuer.

Leland, in
cyg. cant.

Scotia.
Scotach.
Cathelus.

Iohan. maior.
Scot. lib. 1. ca. 9.

Iohannes do-
minus Scotus
borne in Ire-
land.

why schole-
men are cal-
led Dunses.

Scotia maior,
Scotia minor.

Gaudess.

Banno.

The river
Banno.

Bagganban.

Inuerna.
Ioan. Camer-
tes in cap. 35.
Solini.

Hermol. Barb.
cap. 16. in lib. 4.
Plin. castig.
The name Ir-
ish and Ire-
land curiously
derived.

1. Agenia.
2. Connaria.
3. Hultonaria.
4. Momonia.
5. Media.
west Speth
& east Speth.

Hebriades.

The shires
and counties
of Ireland.

An. mun. 2533.
Cambren.
lib. 1. dist. 3:
sub. 5. & 6.

nor, so Ireland is tearmed Scotia maior, as the head
from whence the name of Scotia minor toke his of-
spring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid
Cathelus, or Gaudess, Gaudess. In their Irish
rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I
cannot diuine what reason should leas their makers
thereto, vnlesse it be the riuier in the countie of Meise-
ford, named the Banno, where the Britons vpon the
conquest first arrived. The place otherwise is called
Bagganban, according to the old ancient rithme; 10

At the creeke of Bagganban,
Ireland was lost and wun.

For the remembrance of which riuier is notoriouly
famosed, it carieth great likelihood, that the name
should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed.
Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inuerna, or
thers Iuerna, diuerse Ijerna. Claudius nameth it
Iberna. The diuersitie of which names grew, for that
in their time the true and certeine name was not
knowne, so that they were contented to take it as
they found it, which matter is handled by Hermo-
laus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seu-
ring the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would
be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen.
But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctions
may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher,
that offered to haue sold his mutton for fiftene grots,
and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate
vpon such nice diuersities, in respect that he is asha-
med of his countrie; tralie (in mine opinion) his
countrie maie be ashamed of him. Ireland is diuis-
ed into foure regions, Leinster, south; and into a fift
plot, deuided from euerie fourth part, and yet mea-
ring on each part, called therof Meda, Speth,
comprising as well east Speth, as west Speth. Lein-
ster butteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scottish
Ilands: which face with Hebriades scattered be-
twene both the realms, wherein at this date the Irish
Scot, successor of the elder Scythian, Pitt, or Med-
thane dwelleth. Of these five, where they are fra-
mable to ciuillitie, answer the wisht of the princes
courts, be sundred into shires or counties in this ma-
ner. In Leinster lieth the counties of Dublin, Kil-
dare, Wickesford or Queisford, Catherlach, Kilkennie,
the counties of Lesse & Dhalie, called the kings
and quenes counties: these two latelie so named by
parlement, in the reignes of Philip and Marie, ha-
ving thre towne accordant, Phillips towne, and
Marie burgh. Connaght hath the countie Clare:
Ulster the counties of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one
moitie of the towne of Droghedagh (for the rest is in
Speth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster lie the countie
palantine of Tipperarie, Berie, & the crosse of Tippe-
rarie. Mounster was of old time diuided into east
Mounster, Mmond, west Mounster, Desmond, south
Mounster, Lomound. The occasion why Ireland
was parted into these five principall regions grew
of this. There arrived in Ireland five brethren, that
were valiant & marttall gentlemen; to wit, Gaudius,
Senandius, Sagandus, otherwise named Gangan-
dus, Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These
five perceiving that the countrie was not sufficient-
lie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and
to share the whole realme betwene themselves. The
four elder brethren seuering the countrie into foure
parts, and being loth to be their yongest brother
like an outcast or stepsonne, condescended that each
of them shoulde of their owne portion allot to
Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance.
Which being as heartilie receiued of Slanius, as it
was bountifullie granted by them, he settled himselfe

therein, and of that partition it toke the appellation
of Meda, Speth. The foure parts met at a certeine
stone at Speth, nere the castell of Kilaire, as an in-
different meate to seuer the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the
least parcell, yet in short space he stood so well to his
tacklings, and inroched so far vpon his neighbours,
that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At
which time he did not suppress in oblivion his inheri-
tance of Speth; but did enlarge it, and decreed it
shoulde be a countrie appendant to the monarch his
diēt or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by
Slanius stretched, yet it containeth not so much land
as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth;
but rather by indifferent largesse, the halfe deale,
whereof also it is not vnlikelie named Speth. For
whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure
parts compriseth two and thirtie cantreds, Speth
containeth but sixtene cantreds. A cantred is named
so much land as containeth an hundred towne ships.
This Slanius is intomed at an hill in Speth, which
of him is named Slane. There hath bene in an-
cient time one Galfride Geneuile, lord of the libertie
of Speth. This noble man became a stier preacher,
and decessed in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twen-
tith of October, and was intomed in the abbey of
the Blache friers at Trim.

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the
English pale, and Irishye. For when Ireland was
subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors
planted themselves nere to Dublin, and the con-
finies thereto adjoining, and so as it were inclosing
and impaling themselves within certeine lists and
territories, they seized awaie the Irish; inso much
as that countrie became mere English, and there-
of it was termed the English pale: which in ancient
time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlach or
Kilkennie. But now that for the slacknesse of mar-
chours, and inroching of the Irish enimie, the scope
of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cram-
pered and coucht into an od corner of the countrie
named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land,
Speth, the countries of Kildare and Louth, which
parts are applied chieflie with good husbandrie, and
taken for the richest and ciuillest soles in Ireland.
But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin
so addited to all the points of husbandrie, as that
they are nicknamed by their neighbours, for their
continuall dundgerie, Collonnes, of the Latine word
Coloni, whereunto the clipt English word clowne
seemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall counterualleth in English
the race or sept of the English or estrangers, for that
they were solie seized of that part of the Iland, gri-
ping with their talants so stricte that warre nest,
that from the conquest to this date the Irish enimie
could neuer rouse them from thence. The inhabi-
tants of the English pale haue bene in old time so
much addited to their ciuillitie, and so farre sequester-
ed from barbarous satyagenesse, as their onelie mo-
ther tong was English. And tralie, so long as these
impaled dwellers did sunder themselves as well in
land as in language from the Irish: rudenesse was
date by date in the countrie supplanted, ciuillitie in-
grafted, good lawes established, loialtie obserued, re-
bellion suppressed, and in fine the coine of a pong
England was like to that in Ireland. But when
their posteritie became not altogether so warie in
keeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conquering,
the Irish language was free denmized in the
English pale: this canker toke such deepe root, as
the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by
little and little festered, and in maner whole putri-
fied. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland gre to to
that

Speth solie
it is named.

Speth ap-
pointed for the
king his table.

Cantred.

Slane.

Galfride
Geneuile.

The Eng-
lish pale.

Fingall es-
pecially in
husbandrie;
Collonnes
of Fingall
Clowne.

Fingall, wher
so named.

The ciuillitie
of Ireland in
ancient time.

that civillitie, but also Ulster and the greater part of
 Spounster, as by the sequels of the Irish historie
 shall plainly appere. But of all other places, Weis-
 ford with the territorie bated and perclosed within
 the river called the Will, was so quite estranged
 from Irishie, as if a traveller of the Irish (which
 was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within
 the Will and spoken Irish, the Weisfordians would
 command him forthwith to turne the other end of
 his tong and speake English, or els bring his trouch-
 man with him. But in our daies they have so ac-
 quainted themselves with the Irish, as they have
 made a mingle mangle or gallimauftrie of both the
 languages, and have in such medlele or checkerwise
 so crabbledie tumbled them both together, as com-
 monlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake
 neither good English nor good Irish.

The laing of
 a noble man
 touching the
 English of
 Weisford.

There was of late daies one of the pères of En-
 gland sent to Weisford as commissioner, to decide
 the controneries of that countrie; and hearing in
 affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie
 clowns, he conceived here & there sometime a word,
 other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie
 glad, that upon his first comming to Ireland, he un-
 derstood so manie words, told one of his familiar
 friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become
 shottle a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing
 that the blunt people had prattled Irish, all the while
 they tangled English. Whotobrit to this daie, the
 dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English are kept
 as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider,
 an attercop, a twisp, a wad, a lumpe of bzead, a poc-
 ket, or a pucket, a sillibucke, a coppzons, a faggot, a
 blease, or a blaze, for the shott burning of it (as I
 iudge) a physican, a leach, a gap, a thard, a bale coat
 or quadzangle, a bawen, or rather (as I do suppose) a
 barton, the household or folks, meante, sharpe, kéene,
 estrange, bncouth, easie, æth or æse, a dunghill, a mi-
 zen. As for the word bater, that in English purpo-
 seth a lane, bearing to an high wate, I take it for a
 miere Irish word that crept bntwares into the En-
 glish, through the daillie intercourse of the English
 and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie
 in all countries the women speake most neatlie and
 pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De naturs*, spea-
 king in the person of Crassus seemed to have obser-
 ved: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out
 contrarie. For the women have in their English
 tong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with
 uttering their words so péuillie and faintlie, as
 though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a
 posset. And most commonlie in words of two syl-
 lables they giue the last the accent: as they saie,
 markeat, balkeat, goscoupe, pulsoat, Robart, Pi-
 clafe, &c: which doubles doth disbeautifie their En-
 glish above measure. And if they could be weaned
 from that corrupt custome, there is none that could
 dislike of their English.

The pronun-
 tiation of the
 Irish women.

Here percase some snappish carper will take me
 at rebound, and snuffinglie sub me for debasing the
 Irish language: but trulie, whosoever shall be found
 so overthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre a-
 wrye. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I
 would be loth to disuells my rathnes, in giuing light
 verdict in anie thing to me unknowen: but onelie
 my shott discourse tendeth to this vizt, that it is not
 expedient that the Irish tong should be so unuer-
 sallie gagled in the English pale: because that by
 prose and experience we see, that the pale was never
 in moze flourishing estate than when it was whole
 English, and neuer in worse plight than since it
 hath infranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that
 I shew my selfe herein as frivolous as some losing
 gamblers seeme superstitious, when they plate them-

The supersti-
 tion of gam-
 blers.

selues drie, they gogle with their eses higher and thi-
 ther, and if they can pze out anie one that giueth
 them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowzing,
 fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all
 their euill lucke proceeded of him: and yet if the
 stander by depart, the loser may be found as drie
 shanen as he was before. And even so it fareth with
 you, because you see all things run to ruine in the
 English pale, by reason of great enomities in the
 countrie, either openlie practised, or couertlie win-
 ked at; you glance your sie on that which standeth
 next you, & by beating Jacke for Will, you impute
 the fault to that which perhaps would little further
 the weale publike if it were cryled. Now trulie you
 shott verie néere the marke. But if I may craue
 your patience till time you see me shott my bolt, I
 hope you will not denie, but that as néere the picke
 as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the
 scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this
 with you, that a conquest dzaweth, or at the leastwise
 ought to dzaw to it thre things, to wit, law, apparell,
 and language. For where the countrie is subdued,
 there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same
 law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the
 same fashion of attire wherewith the victor is vested,
 and speake the same language that the vanquisher
 parleth. And if anie of these thre lacke, doubtlesse the
 conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin
 by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of
 England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his
 reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the dis-
 course of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be deci-
 phered) and the conquest hath bene so absolute and
 perfect, that all Leinster, Peth, Ulster, the moze
 part of Connagh and Spounster, all the ciuities and
 burroughs in Ireland have bene whole Englished,
 and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent
 (thinke you) that their owne ancient native tong
 shall be shottwoded in obliuion, and suffer the enimies
 language, as it were a tetter or ringworme, to har-
 bor it selfe within the lawes of English conquerors?
 No trulie.

A conquest
 implicth thre
 things.

And now that I haue fallen bntwares into this
 discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand some-
 what roundlie vpon this point. It is knowen, and
 by the historie you may in part perceiue, how haue-
 lie Ulster whilom flourisheth. The English families
 were there implanted, the Irish either bitterlie ex-
 pelled or whole subdued, the lawes duly executed,
 the reuenue great, and onelie English spoken. But
 what brought it to this present ruine and decate? I
 doubt not but you gesse before I tell you. They were
 inuironed and compassed with euill neighbours.
 Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance
 wasted in the Irish tong, the Irish hooked with it
 attire, attire baled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendered
 ignozance, ignozance brought contempt of lawes,
 the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion ra-
 ked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the utter
 decate and desolation of that woorthie countrie. If
 these thinke, when first they began to chap, had bene
 diligentlie by the dwellers stopped; hir maiestie at
 this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue bene
 occasioned to dam vp with manie thousand pounds,
 yea and with the woorthie carcases of valiant soul-
 diors, the gaps of that rebellious northerne coun-
 trie.

Now put the case that the Irish tong were as sa-
 cred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greeke, as
 fluent as the Latine, as amorous as the Italian, as
 courtzous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the
 French; yet trulie (I know not which to aie it falleth
 out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the
 English pale. And if reason will not lead you to
 thinke

think it, trulie experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Greeke tong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle wares: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Greeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time kept in peaces, persecuting his countrymen to become changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkative, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners haughty, in promises unstedfast, in oaths rash, in bargains wavering (which were reckoned for Greeklissh properities in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it; said, that his countrymen the Romans resembled the bondslaves of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Greeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had bene now living, and had seene that alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more given to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must embrace their language, and they desest ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneile that last was would not frame himselfe to speake English: What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneile his honor to wryth his mouth in clattering English: and yet forsooth we must gag our selves in gibblishing Irish: But I dwell too long in so apparant a matter. As all the civities & towns in Ireland, with Kingall, the king his land, Meth, the countie of Kildare, Louth, Wexford, speake to this daie English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, upon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worth of English, and so packt by the rest to be carried after them to London) even so in all other places their native language is Irish.

I find it solemnlie aduouched, as well in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deuised the Irish language out of all other tongs then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gathelach, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches together, not by inuention of art, but by vse of talkie, I am rather led to beleue (seeing Ireland was inhabited with in one yeare after the diuision of tongs) that Baltholenus a branch of Iaphet, who first seized upon Ireland, brought thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babel. Unto whom succeeded the Scythians, Grecians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the tong must needs haue borrowed part, but especiallie reseinie the steps of Spanish then spoken in Granado, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Henrie Fitzempresse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be driuen to infect their native language, untouched in manner for the space of seuentene hundred yeares after the arriual of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common phrase, Commestato, that is, How do you: or how fareth it with you: It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argentum*, monie; sale of *Sal*, salt; capoules of *Caballus*, a

plough horse, or (according vnto the old English terme) a caball or cuple; birreat of the old mother-ten Latine word *Birretum*, a bonnet. The tong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common letters and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinglie these that conceiue the grace and propriety of the tong. But the true Irish indeed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarce one in five hundred can either read, write, or vnderstand it. Therefore it is preserved among certeine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie deed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, that for the strangenesse of the phrase, and the curious featnes of the pronuntiation, that a verie few of the countrie can attaine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forreiner or stranger.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted anie language sauing the Irish; and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grauelled therewith. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he toke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned fiend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the euangelist, *Et verbum caro factum est*. Saie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Ierusalem could haue spoken Irish, if they were apposed: whereat the companie heartilie laughed. As fluent as the Irish tong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vntil there be some od terme that lurketh in anie obscure shrowds or other of their storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a dublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but one lie they vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contracted English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morning.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expertest men that could be had in the countrie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for knaue. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. *Ego mehercule ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper putavi. Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, is mihi videtur ab hoc nomen habere ductum, quod non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlate patet. Nam qui aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinuus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cumulata est eruditissima illa Græcorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Græci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Et enim quaras omnia, quomodo Græci ineptum appellent, non reperies.*

Certes I haue bene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine termes the word *Ineptus* hath bene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologie or ofspring of his name here hence deriued, that he is not apt; which stretcheth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our daile speech or communication. For he that doth not perceiue what is sitting or decent for euerie season, or gableth more than he hath commision to doe, or that in bragging, boasting, or peacockwise setteth himselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

Oneile whie he would not learne English.

Camb. lib. 1. dist. 3. rub. 8. The founder of the Irish language.

Baltholenus.

Epiphan. cont. har. lib. 1. 1. tom. 1.

Bards.

The obscenity of the true Irish.

The difficultie.

John. 1. 14.

The want of the Irish.

No Irish word for knaue.

Lib. 2. de orat. Ineptus.

Shau

Bud. de Aff. part. 1.

Irish

Foug

Aqua

Theor. Herm. in Rom. iuxta B. am.

The cr. dities. qua vic

the body, than the flesh is worth; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whom he intermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or ouer tedious in anie matter, he is tearmed *Ineptus*; which is as much in English, in my phantasie, as saucie, or malapert. The famous & learned Græke nation is generallie dulsed with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spie the enozmitie thereof, they haue not so much as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ransacke the whole Græke language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not seeme to acknowledge this barrenesse, but that the Græke word ἀπειρολογία is equi-pollent to *Ineptus*; but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish toong, euerie countrie hauing his dialect or peculiar manner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a proprietie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Ulster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuot of the right phrase, and true pronounciation; Connaught hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection bled in the Irish language called *Boagh*, which is as much in English as *twist*. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghies, or pogh *Hoerice*. Which taunting terme is at this daie verie wongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, *Fough*, which is bled in lothing a ranke or strong saueur, seemeth to be sib to the other.

Of the nature of the soile, and other incidents.

The second chapter.

The soile is low and waterish, including diuerse little Islands, inuironed with lakes & marish. Highest hills haue standing poles in their tops. Inhabitants especiallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and flures. For remedie whereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vite*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confections do. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vite*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth thre sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingredients thereto belonging. He teacheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth up the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh woormes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scoweth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith dailie washd before meales. Being moderate taken (saith he) it sloweth age, it strengtheneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth siegme, it abandoneth melancholie, it reliseth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropisie, it healeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth awaie all ventositie, it keepeth and preserveth the head from whirling, the eyes from dazeling, the toong from lipping, the mouth from mawling, the

teeth from chattering, and the throte from rattling: it keepeth the weafan from stinking, the stomach from wambling, and the heart from swelling, the bellie from twirching, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shivering, & the sinewes from shynking, the veines from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Vltadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and would haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the goodnesse thereof. And trulie it is a soueraigne liquor, if it be orderlie taken.

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtil as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flanders. The countrie is stozed with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countrie, may easilie be excused, as those that wrote by hearsaie. No vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They doe lacke the Robucke, as Polychronicon writeth. They also lacke the bird called the *pie*. Whobest in the English pale to this day, they vse to tearme a sic confener, a wilie *pie*. Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had excesse of wood, & verie little champaine ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turffe is their most fetwell and seacole. No venemous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venemous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the medowes of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow.

Bede writeth, that serpents conued into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that what soeuer came from Ireland was then of soueraigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who drank in water the scrapings of bookes that had bene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it laie long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should appertene: the said controuersie was decided, that for so much as venemous beasts were knowne to breed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Orchades are adiudged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Islands, neither breed nor foster anie venemous woyme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants asseme, that when they had unladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their balast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnmearurable, & thozle after turning vp their belies, they would burst in sunder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue sene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being incompassed with a thong of Irish leather, and creeping thitherward, endeavouring to haue skipt ouer it, suddenly reuled backe, as though it had bene rapt in the head: whereupon it began to spall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embaie it of all parts, it began to thirle, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it sunke awaie in the presence of sundrie persons.

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of yongsters toke a nap in the fields: as one of them laie snoozing with his mouth gaping, as though he would

B. 1.

haue

Sauciness.

Budæ. lib. 2.
de Affe. &
para. ciue.

Irish boagh.

Fough.

Aqua vite.

Theoric. Episc.
Hermenensis
in Romanula
iuxta Bononi-
am.

The commo-
dities of A-
qua vite.

Vlt. in celo
philos. vel de
secret. nat.
cap. 11.

Poly. lib. 2.
cap. 32.

Wille pie.
Camb. part. 1.
dist. 3.

No bene-
mous woyme
in Ireland.

Camb. part.
1. dist. 1.

Bed. lib. 1.
Angl. Hist.
cap. 1.

The controu-
ersie of the
Ile of Man
decided.

Orchades
appendant to
Ireland.
Hector Boet.
in Scot. reg.
descrip. pag. 9.
Sect. 50.
Camb. topo.
lib. 1. dist. 1.
rub. 29.

Camb. lib. rub.
30. 31.

Irish leather
expellith be-
nemous
woyemes.

Camb. in co-
dem loco.

Adhuc, quos nixi octavo calendæ Februarij contingit (qui dies conversionis eius memoria discatus est) quæcunque eos urbs pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis est, sola salina horum moribus medentur. Id quod homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper prodidit, vñ ipso rerum, & certis, nisi fallor, exemplis ab eo observatum.

Thomas
Fazellus.

Thomas
Fazellus.

Bed.lib.r.
Ang.hist.c.1.

Sententia definitiva Solin,
cap 35.

Hate then (replieth Irenzeus) you are in a wrong
 box. For the Slanders (as saint Luke mentioneth)
 spouted, that a parentquello was brought thither,
 and because he was not swallowed in the gulfes of
 the sea, the gods being in their fustian fumes, sent
 serpents to hate him. And they looked for nothing
 sooner than to see him even at a twinking to perish.
 But when they perceiued him to be so farre distant
 from death, as that he suffeined no harme, ne felt a-
 ny paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far
 surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuested
 in man his shape.

¶ Pea but I praiſe you clipp not my tale (ſaith Irenaeus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the caue or den wherein ſaint Paule is ſaid to haue baſed or ſolozned, which ſtones in maner in all Europe are ſouereigne medicines to cure the bitings and ſtinges of ſcorpions and ſerpents. Furthermore, they that are bozne the five and twentieth of Iannuarie (which date is named the conuerſion of S. Paule) in what part ſoeuer of the world they are bozne, they feare not or grudge not at ſnakes: yea, that which is more to be admired, the ſtingings of poiſoned wormes are healed by the verie ſpittle of this Iannuarie bzd. Which thing hath bene of late publiſhed by a well lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curioſitie noted of him, as well by proſe and experience, as by ſare and ſubſtanciall examples, if I take not the matter amiſſe.

NICHE

Polychr. lib. i.
cap. 32.

There be some that moue question, whether the want of venemous wormes be to be imputed to the proprietie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the praesent of saint Patrike, who conuerted that Iland. The greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disaffirmeth flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or hidden proprietie naturallie vntied to the soile, from whom Polydronicon dooth not swarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, so I would haue bene easilie persuaded, being neither hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lukewarme neuter, in omitting the one and the other vnskand, were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some other that masketh vnder his visours, more slanderously than pithilie had busied himselfe therein. Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend my native countrie, than he or his betters may reprove it, especiallie where his slanderous reports are vnderpropt with slim slim surmises: I purpose vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and buckle with him herein: and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And because (gentle reader) I mind to make thee an indifferent vmpier in this controuersie, for the better vnderstanding of the matter, I will laie downe maister Cope his words, in such wise as they are imprinted in his booke. First therefore thou must vnderstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise, a kind of writing as it is vsed, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts. Irenæus entrench into the stage, and in this wise be-
ginneeth.

Incipiam a sancto Paulo : nostri in Melita (quam hodie 60
Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam a manu pendente in
ignem excussisse. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi sunt letales,
Pauli, ut creditur munere sunt innoxii.

Critobulus. *Fortasse hoc habet à natura.*

Irenæus. *Fulcris: nam insulam, ut Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eò paritidam, cui cum mare peperisset, irati dyserpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec qui quum magis quàm præsentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cum ille tantum abisset, ut nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra hominem esse, & deum sub hæmana specie.*

Critobulus. *Sic est, ut dicis.*

Irenæus. Cetera itaque audi. E specu, ad quem diuertisse dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota ferme Europa salutares

Alan.Copus
dialog.3.
acd. 28.

Exod
verse

* Iosf
 verse
 b 3. R
 verse
 Eccle
 verse
 * Aa
 d Aa
 * Act
 f Aa
 z Act
 verse
 b Aa
 verse
 i Aa
 verie
 Aa.9
 Aa.2

August
in lo
Th.p
a. 3 a

Gen

as mores than in Ireland, but onelie the people, which is taken to haue bene said of most men for their brutish and sauage manners.

To this (saith Irenaus) I am come to vnderstand by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poisoned or venemous thing is bred in that realme: in so much that the vertie earth of that countrie being brought into other realmes, killeth all venemous and poisoned woorms. But let the matter fall out which waite it will; I ascribe that proprietie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath ben knowen long before saint Patrike was borne, that Ireland was indued with that proprietie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Witherto Paule Cope.

Judgement.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that Maister Cope handleth two principall points, the proprietie of Malta, and the nature of Ireland in destroying venemous woorms, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in any wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to intermeddle therein, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to disprove his opinion so farre as it standeth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bountifull goodnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aarons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuer into blood, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the scripture; to Josue, to staie the sun; to Elias to raise the dead child; to Peter to make the lame go; to heale Cneas; to reuiue Tabitha; yea with his verie shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whome Maister Cope speaketh, his gracious gift to make the lame go; to quicken and raise the deceased, and for his sake to saue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his goodnes to any reason, even the soner that any of his blessed seruants would harborough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the worse for lodging so happie a guest as Peter: so I am sure Malta was farre the better for harborough so blessed a traueeller or passenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Iland, flocked to Paule, and were cured; and also that the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were three daies verie courteously interteined, was by S. Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Ilanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but cheeflie & especiallie to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our sauiour Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure any ones bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therefore the learned hold opinion, that S. Paule being in Malta expelled from diuerse of their soules the old serpent that decciued our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to insert, as a clause not wholie swaruing from that we treat of, and also that I would be found prest and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretcheth, to vnderstand any opinion that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God.

Howbeit forsomuch as Maister Cope hath so striclie dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing appertaining to this matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the historie of Malta, that as his negligence shall be in the one disshowned, so his vnderous iudgement maie be in the other reuerfed. First therefore where he writeth, that the inhabitants of Malta *Clamabant*, that is, cried, or shouted, it was not so. The Greeke text runneth,

αὐτοὶ τὸν πῶς ἀμύλας, *Dicebant ad inuicem*, that is to saie, They muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceiued that the viper did not annoie Paule, then saith saint Luke, *Conuertentes se, dicebant eum esse deum*; They turning the one towards the other, whispered or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put the case they cried, as Maister Cope saith, is it like that Paule was so busie in making of a fire; or that his eares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue bene whist, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be deified? No trulie. He would haue taken on, as he and Barnabas did at Lifftris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Iupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, rent their clothes, they run into the throng, crying and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betwene both the woords, *Clamantes & dicentes*. Maister Cope addeth further, *Delatum eo parricidam*, and yet the Greeke hath *πῶς τας φωνας*, *Omnino interfecto*, or as the vulgar text is, *Vtique homicida est homo hic*. So that they toke him to be but a manquello, yet Maister Cope maketh him a parricide, which is worse. For although euery parricide be a manquello, yet *E conuerso*, euery manquello is not a parricide.

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Maister Cope proceedeth further, *Irati di. serpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent*: The gods being angrie sent serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsooth, all these serpents were but one viper, as is plainelie exprest in the text, vnllesse Maister Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apostle should haue bene thought to haue sited. As a parson his the parson that preached to his parishioners of the go-spell, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wilderness. (Quoth the parson) what a Christ was that, that with fine barlie loaves, and fine fishes fed fine hundred persons. The clerk hearing his master to grate ouerlong on that point; for he did often iterate that sentence, stole vp to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gowne, whispered in his eare that Christ fed fine thousand. Hold thee contented thou foolish fellow (quoth the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller; and they would not beleue me. So it saith with Maister Cope. Welike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slaine Paule, the reader would haue suspected the untruth of the matter: because it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plurall for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with Maister Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetoricall figure named, *Veritatis superlatio*, in terming muttering, shewing, a manquello, a parricide, one viper, serpents: he must be borne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a little awrie in the remnant of his discourse. For thus he saith.

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And thereupon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venemous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage manners. Here (good reader) thou must vnderstand that Maister Cope putteth the text downe and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland venemous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue ben spoken for their brutish and sauage conditions. Now well harpt by saint Lankfield. Here is a glose, I vnderstande you, suitable to the text. But

Act. 28. vers. 4.

Saint Paule heard not the inhabitants of Malta.

Act. 14. vers. 12, 13, 14.

A parson his sermon.

Maister Cope his rhetorike.

Thomas Razellus,

ed. lib. r. ng. hist. c. 1.

sententia de. titia Solin. p 35.

Exod. c. 7. vers. 10.

1 Josue. c. 10 vers. 13.

2 Reg. 17 vers. 22. and Eccles. 48 vers. 50.

3 Act. 3 vers. 7.

4 Act. 9. vers. 34.

5 Act. 9 vers. 40.

6 Act. 5 vers. 13.

7 Act. 14 vers. 10.

8 Act. 10 vers. 10 & 11.

9 Act. 27 vers. 23.

10 Act. 27 vers. 43.

11 Act. 28 vers. 9.

August. tract. 30 in Iohan.

Th. p. 3 q. 44. a. 3 ad. 3 m.

Gen. 3 vers. 13.

let vs see, how cunninglie *M. Cope* bequiteth himselfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum persona*, secondlie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he sheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point, who knoweth not, that these sayes and gibes are onelie fit for rustians, vices, swashbucklers & tospots. And trulie they beset a diuine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassan on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to strike trenchmore in a paire of buskins and a doublet. The heathen mistaked in an orator squittrillie, what should be thought then of a diuine, whome saint Paule would haue to be sober, modest, graue, and wise? Unlesse *M. Cope* leaning to the letter of saint Paule his words would beare vs in hand, that saint Paule would haue modestie to rest onelie in bishops. We are commanded in the old and new testament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which doth imple, that we ought not to slander our neighbors.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitable, not onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie speake but also write, yea and that in the language that is vniuersallie spoken, throughout the greater part of the world, upon no sure ground, but onelie upon hearesaie, weieing not what the prophet writeth, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciu*, Thou shalt destroye all them that speake vntuths. And were it that anie such slim slim flirts were soothed by anie person of credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that such childeish quips, and scoinesfull talants should sooner by his meanes charitable be whistled, than thorough his procurement carpinglie published. I will stand no longer on this point, but onelie craue *M. Cope* to resort to the first of *Matthew*, and there peruse Christ his verdict touching slanderous tongues. To come to the second part, in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt vnderstand (good reader) that Critabulus, or Critobulus, whome *M. Cope* maketh his bagpipe to belch out his rancour, is a Germane borne, as *M. Cope* saith, who seemeth to be Critabulus his godfather. Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the manners of Germans, iudge, if it be decent, that one of them should scoffe and scoorne the conditions and fashions of other countries. I will not speake by hearesaie, as *M. Cope* doth, but by eyesight. I could neuer espie nor probable haue I heard it reported, no not of the mere sauage Irish, such quaffing, such swelling, such bolling, such gulling, such brutish drunkenness, such surfetting, such vomiting, as I haue seene some Germans do. In good sooth it is knowne, and for my part I haue seene it being beyond the seas, that in their carowling and cup friendship, they threaten such kindnesse on their companions, that least their felowes should mistrust them with double dealing, they will not sicke to shew them the bottome of their stomachs, & to the end they should take the better view thereof, they will place it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Thus when they haue cast their gorges, they clap on their thumbe hats, and run like bedlem barretors into the streets with their naked flatshets, and there they keepe such a stinking sturre with hacking of stones, with heuing of blocks, with thwitting of stocks, with striking of shalles, with thumping at doores, that it would make a horse breake his halter, to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is so naturallie ingrafted in the greater part of them, that a famous diuine did not sicke of late to saie openly in his lecture, that drunkenness in that countrie man, was either *Peccatum originale* or *Accidens inseparabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie

other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the reader his eyes the absurditie of *M. Cope*, in framing poore Critabulus to float Ireland, considering that if he cast his eye homeward, he shall find as filthy puddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms. And therefore this quip saie as vnseemelie in his mouth, as for an whoore to reprehend bitcherie, or for an blurer to condemne simonie. For as there is nothing lesse to be tollerated, than for anie one to haue an other to account for his life, that can yeld no account of his owne: so there is nothing that ought to mozell by anie one from rebuking other nations, than to see the misdeemeanor of his owne native countrie. I would wish *M. Critabulus* or *M. Cope*, if it shall please him to make by the matter, with indifferencie to weie the estate of Ireland, and so without parcialitie to frame his iudgement.

Ireland, and especiallie the ruder part is not stored with such learned men as Germanie is. If they had sound preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the imbalmung of their carian soules with the sweet and sacred flowers of holie writ, would instruct them in the feare of God, in obrieng their pzince, in obseruing the lawes, in vnderpopping in ech man his boication the weale publike; I doubt not, but within two or thre ages *M. Critabulus* his heires should heare so good a report run of the reformation of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as stull as the best part of Germanie. Let the soile be as fertile and bette as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will not manure it, sometime plow and care it, sometime harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, sometime delue it, sometime dig it, and sow it with good and sound cozne, it will bring forth weeds, bindcozne, cockle, darnell, bzambles, bziers, and sundrie wild shoots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of Ireland, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoid of all such necessities as appertene to the training vp of youth: and notwithstanding all these wants, if anie would be so forwardlie set, as to require them, to vse such ciuilitie, as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished with the like helps; he might be accounted as vnreasonable, as he that would force a creple that lacketh both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a galliard that wanteth his upper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldings, and me thinketh such vaine humors are not vterlie dried vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are most commonlie giuen rather to talant that which is amisse, than to praise that which is good; and rather we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in imitating the bee by sucking the honie. Now that it appeareth, that it was not sitting for the author being a diuine, to write so vncharitable, nor for *M. Critabulus* being a Germane to carpe other countries so snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath bene here vterred, and how well the finelnes of *M. Critabulus* his argument shall be found to hang together, when the anatomie therof by paxemeale shall be examined. I call to mind (quoth *M. Critabulus*) that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath bene granted to Ireland through the prayers of *S. Patrike*. *M. Critabulus* read & heard that by the prayers of *S. Patrike*, Ireland hath no venomous worme: Ergo some hold opinion, that the poison resteth onlie in the people. Truly this argument hangeth together by verie strange gimbois. And I dare say, *M. Cope* neuer learned this kind of reasoning in the famous college of *Magdalene* in *Orford*, whatsoeuer *M. Critabulus* did in Germanie. But let vs put the logike apart, & scan the singular point of diuinitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scripture

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

1. Tim 3. berf. 2. & 3.

Psal. 5. ber. 7. Sapient. 1. Vide August in eundem Psal.

Math. 5. berf. 22.

The German his friendship.

2. Mat. 5. 19.

Luc. 8. v.

Luc. 2. v.

Oratio

Interor

o: in what ancient father *Ph. Critabulus* read or heard (for most of his learning hath bene, as it seemeth, purchased by heare-saie) that ante holic prelat, that came of mere charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledg, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the diuell to God (which both imple an expectall zeale in saluing their soules) would purge the soile of all venemous woymes, & leaue the soules that haue more need to be weeded, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Whereby insueeth that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saleng of the *Pachabees* must be falsified: *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit*: God did not chose the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauour *Iesus Christ* dispossessioning the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heard of hogs. *Critabulus* would haue *Christ's* saints do the contrarie, to dispossesse the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint *Patrike* to haue done, by riding the land of all poisoned woymes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioint, I doubt not, but the *Flanders* might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the *Gergesens* came ingratefullie to *Christ*, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing prelat, his come had bene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruerting, than the conuerting of their Iland.

Hitherto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie *Critabulus* hath played his part: now shall I desire thee to vieto how sagelie *Ireneus* claspeth vp all the whole controuersie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breed anie venemous woyme, and that was incident thereto before saint *Patrike* was borne. How proue you that sir? Please you to shew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the five and thirtieth chapter of *Solinus* solemnlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in *Solinus* but this: *Illic anguis nullus, auis rara*, In *Ireland* is no snake, and seldome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in anie other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of *Solinus* furthereth *Ireneus* his opinion. *Ireland* bred no snake before saint *Patrike* was borne: Ergo it ingendred no toad, no adder, no frog, nor anie other virulent woyme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint *Patrike* his time there was no horsemill in *Ireland*: Ergo before his time there was no millhorse. Certes he that would wind vp his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted horse. This authoritie of *Solinus* is so far from vpholding *Ireneus* his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint *Patrike* was moued to expell all the venemous woymes out of *Ireland*, might probable haue bene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this: that he perceiuing the land to breed no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of christian faith, to expell other kind of woymes that lurked there before his coming, as toades, adders, blind woymes, frogs, &c. Here perchase *M. Cope* may blench me, in replieng that *Anguis* may be construed generallie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardo in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

In god sooth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by notifieng a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from playing on sundate, fortified his reason

with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*, It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on sundates or holic daies. Is it (thinke you) fellonie or treason, to bring the credit of *Solinus* in question, for mistaking *Anguis* aswell as *Auis*? For as he was grosslie deceived in the one, in writing that birds were rare in *Ireland*; so might he haue straid as likelie in the other, by disburdening *Ireland* of all venemous woymes, bicause the Iland wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and prattling rumor, and his eie is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such slieng tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as *Solinus* was from *Ireland* when he wrote his pamphlet. The proue thereof as it is daile tried, so not manie yeares past hath bene verie profitlie brekfied. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his enimie in the fields, where they both vpon a frisking quarell fought so frendlie, as they had more need to haue bene graped together with cables, than parted by indifferent sicklers. Howbeit, bicause the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the meadow where they fought; a friend of his reported well of him to an other, saying, that he was like in time to proue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Whereupon some after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought valiantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a shire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the meadow. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure seuerall daies; and I am well assured that was the first fraie that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced manure his heart to the contrarie.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I trauelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to returne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as toke his halfe penie to be god siter) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: How in god faith gentleman (quoth he) you would do verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his daile breakefast. By saint *Marie*, quoth my companion, that is verie cold roste, and if his breakefasts be no better than a peece of cold yron, a little weigh how seldome I take a repast in his companie at anie such ordinarie. Paie, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he vseth to fight fresh and fasting euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part could not restraîne from laughing, seeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bona fide*. Where vpon I shaped him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of anie that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when five quarters made vp the yeare.

The fellow perceiuing that he ouershot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lotobie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight seuerall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his fraie his morning

Rumor cat-
cheth feathers.A frendlie
commenda-
tion.

breakfast, and whereas there are but seauen daies in the weeke, & he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one aboue seauen, and seauen maketh six and one vnder eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, beuer or supper; or else you must grant that there be eight daies in one weeke, or at the least two breakfasts in one daie: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. Saie (quoth the clovone) and you intrap me with such sophistrie, you shall dine, sup and breake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. Whereby may be gathered, that if he had bin sothed up, & his tong let to run at libertie vncontrold, like a bowle that runneth in a smooth allie without anie rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that baie, as he would not sticke to saie that his friend had fought eight daies in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his pizke grew at length by report to an huge post, so the want of one venemous worme in Ireland, being bured in forren realmes, might haue bene so thwitted and mangled in the cariage before it came to Solinus his eares, as he might haue bene informed, that the countrie was denoid of all venemous wormes, whereas indeed there lacked but one kind.

Like as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward wormes: so of his mercie they are remoued from a realme that is pliant to folloiw his lawes and precepts. As when Pharaos would not listen to God his threats denouncing him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is exprest at full in holie writ: and againe vpon Pharaos his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeased, and the vermine quite extinguisht: so I praye you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish priest to embrace the gospel, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as through his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned wormes should be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vpon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a proprietie incident thereto, according to Chyrist his promise: *Signa autem eius, qui crediderint, haec sequentur: In nomine meo demonia eiicient: linguas loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit: super egros manus imponent, & bene habebunt.* And these tokens shall follow them that beleue; In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new songs, they shall drive awaie serpents, and if they drinke anie deadlie thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Iesus, serpents may be driven awaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be denoid of poisoned wormes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saying of the prophet; *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris, Quod habet bene donec by God, and it seemeth wonderfull in our eyes.*

Thus farre (gentle reader) inroching vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my native countrie, against such as labour to distaine it with their slanderous scottes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned wormes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the entrie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not two chips which waite the wind bloweth, because I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmative or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestlie as Cambrensis, the autho; of

Polychronicon or others, that stood to the demall, byue done; he should haue gone scottish with his complices, and haue made in murtherbankwise the most he could of his wares. But for that he would needs see further in a mistone than others, and not onelie slenderlie disproue the trinitall opinion, but scornefullie slander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiors in honour, his betters in parentage, his peres in learning, his mates in wisdom, his equals in courtessie, his matches in honestie: I must craue him to beare it patientlie, if by crying him quittance, I serued him with a dish of his owne coherie. And if for this my strict dealing with him (whereunto I was the sooner led, for that as it is courtessie to mollifie wild speeches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will seeme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may wipe his nose on his sleeve. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replie either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him grotone than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quarrell, either in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I bestow him, for my part, that shall be due to the wall.

Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that barnacles thousands at once are noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, and holds, and such like, which in processe taking liuelie heat of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or flie abroad into the aire. The same doe neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is exprest.

Ancas Syluius writeth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Islands Orkades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth hereof a prettie conclusion against the Jewes in this wise following: *Respice infelix Iudae, respice, uel sero prima hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & femina. Secundamque ex mare sine femina, ob legu uenerationem, diffiteri non audeas. Tertiam solum ex mare scilicet & femina, quia usualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam uero, in qua sola salus est ex femina scilicet sine mare obstinata malicia in proprium perniciem detestaris. Erubescere miser, erubescere, & saltem ad naturam recurrere, quae ad argumenta fidei, ad instructionem nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare uel femina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & hac ultima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam a Domino natura tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda processit. Istam uero non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia sepe fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, ut nihil, praeter imitatum & raro contingens uel pretiosum ducat uel admirandum. Solus ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie uidemus, sine omni admiratione praeterimus. Eclipsim uero solis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. At eadem etiam facere uidetur, flatu solo, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex suo procreatio.*

Parke thou wretched Jew, saith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Cue) for that thou hast the old law in reuerence, thou darest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is dastie bed as difference as thou art, thou dost acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustification (he meaneth the incarnation of Chyrist)

The barnacle.

Sabel part. 3.
Ene. 10. lib. 5.
Cam. lib. 10.
pog. dist. 1.
rub. 15.
Thom. p. 3. 4.
31. at. 4. corp.

Wesley
they are
gender

Iohan.
Gem. in
exempl.
milli. res.
4. c. 31.
whether
barnacle
fish or
Cambr.
topog.
rub. 15.
Polychr.
c. 32.

Adam
onelle
by God
August.
Genes.
lib. 9. c. 1.

Genes.
berle 2.

Adam
of no k
Thom.
92. art. 1.
m.

Exod. 8.
berle 7, 17, 24.
Vide Apoc. 9.
berle 3, at
2. Reg. 8.
berle 37.

Gregor. hom.
29. in euang.
Mat. 16. v. 17.

Psalm. 117,
berle 22.

of a woman without man, with sturdie and obstinat
 ranco: to thine utter destruction thou dost detest.
 Whylly therefore thou unhappie Jew, be ashamed of
 this thy follie, and at the least wise haue recourse to
 nature, and settle hie woorks before thine eyes, that
 for the increase of faith, and to the lessening of vs,
 daily breedeth & ingendzeth new liuing creatures,
 without the coupling of masle or female. Adam
 was created of earth, the barnacles are ingendzeth
 of wood, bicause Adam was once created by him, who
 is Lord of nature, therefore it is continuallie admi-
 red. But for that dame nature the counterfeittesse
 of the celestiaall workman, estones breedeth barna-
 cles, therefore their wood is accompted moze mar-
 uellous than to be maruelled, moze wonderfull than
 wondered. For such is the framing of man his na-
 ture, as he doeth nothing pretious or wonderfull,
 but such things as seldome happen. What may be
 thought moze beautifull than the course of the sunne?
 And yet bicause we see it daily rise and set, we let it
 ouerslip vs as an usuall custome, without anie sta-
 ring or gazing. Yet we are amazed and astounded at
 the eclipse, bicause it happeneth verie seldome. The
 bees that are ingendzeth of the honie combe, onlie by
 a puffed or secret breathing without anie coupling,
 seeme to uphold this procreation of barnacles. Hitherto
 Cambrensis, with whom concerning the ingendzething of
 bees Iohannes de sancto Geminiano accordeth.

Bees how
 they are in-
 gendzeth.

Iohan. de S.
 Gen. in lib. de
 exempl. & fi-
 mili. rerum lib.
 4. c. 31.
 Whether the
 barnacle be
 fish or flesh.
 Camb. lib. 1.
 topog. dist. 1.
 rub. 15.
 Polychr. lib. 1.
 c. 15.

Adam & Eue
 onlie created
 by God.
 August. super
 Genes. ad lit.
 lib. 9. c. 18.

Genes. 11.
 vers. 39.

Adam & Eue
 of no kin.
 Thom. p. 1. q.
 92. art. 2. ad. 3.
 m.

The inhabitants of Ireland are accustomed to
 moue question, whether barnacles be fish or flesh, &
 as yet they are not fullie resolved; but most usually
 the religious of strictest abstinence doe eat them on
 fish daies. Giraldus Cambrensis, and after him Po-
 lydronicon suppose, that the Irish cleargie in this
 point strae. For they hold of certaintie that barna-
 cles are flesh. And if a man saie they had eaten a
 collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten flesh. And yet
 Adam was not ingendzeth of masle or female, but
 onlie created of claie, as the barnacles of wood &
 rotten timber. But the Irish cleargie did not so farre
 strae in their opinion, as Cambrensis & Polychro-
 nicon, in their disproue. For the framing of Adam
 and Eue was supernaturall onlie done by God,
 & not by the helpe of angels or anie other creature.
 For like as it surpasseth natures course to raise the
 dead, to lighten or insight the blind, so it stood not
 with the usuall & common linage of nature, but onlie
 with the supereminent power of God, to frame a
 man of claie, and a woman of a mans rib. But the
 ingendzething of barnacles is naturall, & not so won-
 derfull as Cambrensis maketh it. And therefore the
 examples are not like.

Now it should seeme that in Cambrensis his time,
 the Irish cleargie builded their reason upon this plot.
 What soeuer is flesh, is naturallie begotten or in-
 gendzeth of flesh; barnacles are not naturallie in-
 gendzeth of flesh, but onlie of timber and wood; bar-
 nacles therefore are not flesh, unlesse you would haue
 them to be wooden flesh. And if the reason be so knit
 it may not be dissolued by Cambrensis his example.
 As if a man should argue thus. She that is begotten
 of anie man, must be of force daughter to that man;
 Melcha was begotten of Aran; Ergo Melcha was A-
 rans daughter. This argument is of all parts so for-
 tified, as it seemeth of all sides to be impregnable.
 Yet a busie baine sophister cauilling on the terme
 (begotten) might saie, that Eue was begotten of A-
 dam, and yet she is not Adams daughter. True it is
 that Adam was not Eues father, no moze than Eue
 was Adams mother, neither by that ingendzething
 was there anie degree of consanguinitie sprong be-
 twene them. But bicause the word (begotten) is ta-
 ken in the argument for the naturall ingendzething of

man and woman, the instance giuen of Eue doth
 not disproue the Maior. And yet for the better un-
 derstanding of the question, it is to be noted that the
 philosophers distinguish *Animalia sensitiua*, that is, sen-
 sible liuing things, in two sorts, perfect and imper-
 fect. The perfect are they that are ingendzeth of seed,
 the imperfect without seed. Those that are naturallie
 ingendzeth with seed, can neuer be naturallie ingen-
 dzed without seed: albeit Auicenna verie erroneously
 holdeth the contrarie: as for example.

Bicause man is naturallie ingendzeth of man and
 woman, no man may naturallie be ingendzeth with-
 out the copulation of man and woman: yet super-
 naturallie it may be. As Adam was made without
 man and woman: Eue framed without woman: our
 sauour Christ begotten without man. And there-
 fore the diuell could not haue attained him of origi-
 nall sinne. Contrariwise, the imperfect may be in-
 gendzeth without seed by mire, mud, dong, carien,
 rotten timber, or anie other thing; and chieflie by the
 secret influence and instillation of the celestiaall pla-
 nets, as the sunne and such other. As if you put the
 haire of an horse taile in mire, puddle, or in a dong
 hill for a certaine space, it will turne to a little thin
 spalling worme, which I haue often seene & experi-
 mented. And they are termed imperfect, not in re-
 spect of their owne nature, in which they are perfect,
 but in comparison of other sorts of liuing things.
 Among this crue must barnacles be fetled. But here
 some will saie; Let them be perfect or imperfect, what
 then? I would faine know, whether Cambrensis be
 in an error, or the Irish cleargie. For hitherto I see
 nothing, but Cambrensis his reason disproued. And
 it is often seene that a sound opinion may be weak-
 ned by a feeble reason, as we see manie false gar-
 ments mard in the making. It is true: and if anie
 be desirous to know my mind herein, I suppose, ac-
 cording to my simple iudgement, vnder the correc-
 tion of both parties, that the barnacle is neither fish
 nor flesh, but rather a meane betwene both. As put
 the case it were enacted by parlement, that it were
 high treason to eat flesh on fridaie, and fish on sun-
 daie. Trueth I thinke that he that eateth barnacles
 both these daies, should not be within the compasse
 of the estatute: yet I would not wish my friend to
 hazard it, least the barnacle should be found in law
 fish or flesh, yea and perhaps fish and flesh. As when
 the lion king of beasts made proclamation, that all
 hoined beasts should auoid his court, one beast ha-
 uing but a bunch of flesh in his forehead departed
 with the rest, least it had bene found in law that his
 bunch were an horne.

But some will peraduenture maruell, that there
 should be anie liuing thing, that were not fish nor
 flesh. But they haue no such cause at all. Spits,
 fleshwormes, bees, butterflies, caterpillers, snailles,
 grasshoppers, beetles, earewicks, resemise, frogs,
 toads, adders, snakes, & such other, are liuing things,
 and yet they are neither fish nor flesh, nor yet red her-
 ring: as they that are trained in scholasticall points
 may easilie iudge. And so I thinke, that if anie were
 so sharpe set (the estatute aboue rehearsed, presuppo-
 sed) as to eat fried flies, butterd bees, stued snailles,
 either on fridaie or sundaie, he could not be therefore
 indicted of haulte treason; albeit I would not be his
 ghest, unlesse I took his table to be furnisht with
 moze wholesome and licozous viands. The like que-
 stion may be moued of the sell, and if it were well
 canuaased, it would be found at the leastwise a most
 case. But thus farre of barnacles.

Ireland is storied of colwes, of excellent hoxses, of
 halwkes, of fish and of foule. They are not without
 wolues & greibounds to hunt them, bigger of bone
 and lim than a colt. Their colwes as also the rest of
 the re

Thom. p. 1. q.
 91. art. 2. ad. 2. m.
 Liuing
 things are of
 two sorts.
 Thom. p. 1. q.
 71. t. o. 1. m.
 Auicenna.

Gen. 2. vers. 7.
 Gen. 2. vers. 21.
 Mat. 1. vers. 10
 Luc. 1. vers. 34

Vide Arist. lib.
 1. Meteor. ca. 3.
 6. 7.

The barnacle
 neither fish
 nor flesh.

The sell wher
 it be fish
 or flesh.
 Thom. p. 1. a. 71
 a. 1. o. 3. o.

Sheepe.

Egle.

The Irish hobbie.

The nag.

The chiefe hobbie.

The mongrell hobbie.

Volat. lib. 3.
Geog.
Asturcones.

their cattell, and commonlie at else soeuer the countrie ingendeth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realms. Sheepe few, and those bearing course fleeces, whereof they spin notable rug. Their sheepe haue short and curt tailes. They sheere their sheepe twice yearelie, and if they be left unshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of corne and grasse. The grasse (for default of good husbandrie) suffered vncut, groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell. Egles are well knowen to breed in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so manie as booke tell. The hories are of pale easie, in running wonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for traueiling, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordingle, you shall haue a little tit that will trauell a whole daie without anie bait. Their hories of seruice are called chiefe hories, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reine passingle, and champe vpon their bridels brauelie, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these hories are but for skirmitches, not for traueiling, for their stomachs are such, as they disdain to be hackned. Whereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in traueiling. You shall haue of the third sort a bassard or mongrell hobbie, nere as tall as the hobbie of seruice, strong in traueiling, easie in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the hobbie of seruice they make great store, as wherein at times of need they repose a great pece of safetie. This breed Volaterane wipeth to haue come from Austurea, the countrie of Hispanie, betwene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Asturcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

The names of the ciuities, boroughs and haven townes in Ireland.

The third chapter.

Dublinum.



Dublin the beautie and eye of Ireland, hath bene named by Ptolome, in ancient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublinia, others Dublinia, manie write it Dublinum, and those of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Balla er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath bene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fasten the quakemire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opinion that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pale through a street called the high street, the houses on eith side shall be perceued to shake. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings thereof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 155. For about this time there arrived in Ireland three noble Castrellings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Puorus. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Puorus Limerike. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speech Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferior to anie citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgeous buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chualrie, in

Dublin builded.

Auellanus the founder of Dublin.

Auellana, Eblana.

obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largenesse of hospitalite, in maners and ciuilitie it is superiour to all other citie and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the Irish or yong London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome. If you would traueise hils, they are not far off. If champion ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delighted with fresh water, the famous riuer called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, bicause of the bare haven. Their charter is large. King Henrie the fourth gaue this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter granted by Edward the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare John Mians and Robert Jans, two worshipfull gentlemen, were colleagues in that office, & thereof they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue bene in Dublin. It appereth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *signum praposturae*, that this citie hath bene in old time gouerned by a prapost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that sothlie (London forepiced) herie few such officers vnder the crowne of England keepe so great a post, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their bailie repast at his table, keepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentats of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie few set feasts are prouided for them. They that spend least in their maiorzalitie (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of five hundred pounds for their bland and diet that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in housekeeping, namelie where vittels are so good cheape, and the presents of friends diuerse and sundrie.

There hath bene of late yeares a worshipfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarlesfield, that bare the office of the maiorzalitie in Dublin, who kept so great post in this yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renoume resteth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his especiall and entire friends entring in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expired, moued question, to what he thought his expences all that yeare amounted: Truile James (so his friend was named) quoth master Scarlesfield, I take betwene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his date (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the exchequer within the castell of Dublin) I had three barnes well stozed and thwackt with corne, and I assured my selfe, that anie one of these three had bene sufficient to haue stozed mine house with bread, ale, and here for this yeare. And now God and good companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maiorzalitie with my third barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing limiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of good fellowes that you see here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to sit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

And certes I am so much wedded to good fellowship, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with destraieng of five hundred pounds yearelie, I would make humble sute to the citizens,

Dublin the Irish London.

The situation of Dublin.

The Liffie.

The sword given to Dublin.

Shiriffes of Dublin 1547.

Dublin gouerned by a prapost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and shiriffes.

Com drar his interment.

Chaucer the prolog of his Canterbury.

1551

Patrike Scarlesfield his hospitalitie.

The maior of Dublin when he is sworn.

Nicholas Stanbury.

The hostie of St. Dun.

to be their officer these thre yeaeres to come. Duer this, he did at the same time protest with oth, that he spent that yeaere in housekeeping twentie tuns of claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, sacke, malmesie, muscadell, &c. And in verie deed it was not to be marvelled: for during his maioraltie, his house was so open, as commonly from fure of the clocke in the morning, to ten at night, his butterie and cellars were with one crew of other frequented. To the haunting of which, ghests were the soner allured, for that you should neuer marke him of his bedfellows (such was their burromnesse) once frome of toynlike their foreheads, or bend their browes, or gloume their countenances, or make a fowre face at anie ghest, were he neuer so meane. But their intertainment was so notable, as they would saunce their bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable chere. His porter or ante other officer durst not for both his eares giue the simplest man that resorted to his house Tom drum his intertainment, which is, to hale a man in by the head, and thrust him out by both the shoulders. For he was fullie resolu'd, that his worship and reputation could not be moze distained, than by the currtish intertainment of anie ghest. To be bryefe (accozding to the golden verses of the ancient and famous English poet Geffreie Chaucer:

Tom drum his intertainment.

Chaucer in the prolog of his Canterbury tales

An housholder, and that a great, was hee,
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.
His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one,
A better viended man was no where none.
Without bakte meat was neuer his house,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteouse.
It fiewed in his house of meat and drinke,
Of all deinties that men could thinke.
After the sundrie seasons of the yere,
So changed he his meat and his suppere.
Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew,
And manie a breime, and manie a luce in stew.

Some of his friends, that were smudging penie-fathers, would take him by verie roughlie for his laughing & his outrageous expences, as they tearme it. Unst my maisters (would he saie) take not the matter so hot: who so cometh to my table, and hath no need of my meat, I knowe he cometh for the god will he beareth me; and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he resort for need, howe maie I bestow my goods better, than in releasing the poore? If you had percelued me so far behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought haddocke to paddocke, I would patientlie permit you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to reprove me. But so long as I cut so large thongs of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I keepe my selfe so farre adde, as that I haue as much water as my ship dratweith: I praye pardon me to be liberrall in spending, sith God of his goodnesse is gracious in sending.

Nicholas Staniburgh.

The hospita- lites of Dub- lin.

And in deed so it fell out. For at the end of his maioraltie he thought no man a doctin. What he dispended was his owne: and euer after during his life, he kept so worshipful a standing house, as that he seemed to surrender the princes sword to other maiors, and reserved the port & hospitalitie to himselfe. Not long before him was Nicholas Staniburgh their maior, who was so great and good an housholder, that during his maioraltie, the lord chancellor of the realme was his bailie and ordinarie ghest. There hath bene of late worshipfull ports kept by maister Flan, who was twise maior, maister Sedgrane, Thomas Fitz Simons, Robert Cusacke, Walter Cusacke, Nicholas Fitz Simons, James Bedlow, Christopher Fagan, and diuerse others. And not onelie their officers so farre excell in hospitalitie, but al-

so the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addicted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it would make a man muse which waie they are able to beare it out, but onelie by the goodnesse of God, which is the upholder and furtherer of hospitalitie. What should I here speake of their charitable almes, bailie and honrelie extended to the needie? The poore prisoners both of the Newgate and the castell, with thre or foure hospitals, are chieflie, if not onelie, relieued by the citizens.

Furthermore, there are so manie other extraor- dinarie beggars that daile swarme there, so chari- table succored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in effect their hospitall. The great expences of the citi- zens maie probablie be gathered by the worship and fairlike markets, weelke on wednesdaie and fridaie kept in Dublin. Their shambles is so well storied with meat, and their market with cozne, as not onelie in Ireland, but also in other countries you shall not see ants one shambles, or anie one market better furni- shed with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The citizens haue from time to time in sundrie conflicts so galled the Irish, that euen to this daie, the Irish feare a ragged and tagged blacke standard that the citizens haue, almost through tract of time worne to the hard stumps. This standard they carrie with them in hostings, being neuer displaid but when they are readie to enter into battell, and come to the shoocke. The sight of which danteth the Irish about measure.

The shambles and markets at Dublin.

The blacke standard.

The musters of Dublin.

And for the better training of their youth in mar- tiall exploits, the citizens use to muster foure times by the yeaere: on Blacke mondaie, which is the mo- roth of Easter daie, on Maie daie, saint John Bap- tist his eue, and saint Peter his eue. Whereof two are ascribed to the maior & shiriffes: the other two, to wit, the musters on Maie daie and saint Peter his eue, are assigned to the maior and shiriffes of the Bull ring. The maior of the Bull ring is an office e- lected by the citizens, to be as it were capteine or gar- dian of the batchelers and the unwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeaere he hath authoritie to chastise and punish such as frequent brothelhouses, and the like vnchast places. He is termed the maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the cozne market, to which the bulles that are yeaerlie bated be usuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batchel- ler hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegrome vpon his retorne from church, to the market place, and there with a solemn kisse for his *plimum vale*, he doth homage vnto the Bull ring.

The maior of the Bull ring

The Blacke mondaie muster sprong of this oc- cation. Soone after Ireland was conquered by the Britons, & the greater part of Leinster pacified, di- uerse towneismen of Wikkow flitted from thence to Dublin, and in short space the ciuitie was by them so well inhabited, as it grew to be verie populous. Wherevpon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance in the multitude of the people, and so consequentlie being somewhat restlesse in habding the mountaine enimie that lurked vnder their noses, were wont to come and roile in cluifers, sometime thre or foure miles from the towne. The Irish enimie speng that the citizens were accustomed to fetch such od vaga- ries, especiallie on the holie daies, & hauing an ink- ling withall by some false clatterfett or other, that a companie of them would haue ranged abzode, on mondaie in the Easter weeke towards the wood of Cullen, which is distant two miles from Dublin, they laie in scale verie well appointed, and laid in sun- drie places for their comming. The citizens rather minding the pleasure they should presentlie inioy, than

The blacke mondaie.

Dublin inha- bited by the Britonians. This was a- bout the yeaere 1209.

The description of Ireland.

than forecasting the hurt that might insue. Fleet was armed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that laie候ing in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slain. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens deeming that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the apellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie soon after being peopled by a fresh supplie of Brittolians, to dare the Irish enimie, agreed to banket pearlie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maior and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a pastie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are paroch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chappels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancta trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet soon after by the Danes. The building of which was both repaired & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and soon after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbotw the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intomred. The chappell that standeth in the choyse, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intomred.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable livings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north dore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worthy prelate John Commyn, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, unlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build upon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michael, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Welsh virgin. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. His feast is kept the third of Februarie. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Audon, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the worthies of the citie are demurant within that paroch.

Saint Tillocke now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the more part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the fifth Hammles, called the Cockhill, with Ifferson his innes, & the lane thereto adjoining, which scope is now bried to Saint John his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Michan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthy faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogchape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie stored by strangers; and the citie merchants not uttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chynkes, and thereupon forced to run on the score, were verie much impoverished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canualling of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being won upon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng hope to beare themselves ouertie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all foren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memorall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michael of Poules, *alias* Paules, Saint Bzige, Saint Benin, Saint Peter Demonte, or upon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chaft and sincere wise, as the founders will was upon the erection thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Owen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, *alias* Paules gate, Newgate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Audon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cocke street. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on towards Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street; least he should upon his repaire to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Nottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbey of the frier preachers, called Saint Sauour his monastery, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that waie did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the walls that went along both the heies, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they removed towards the Paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbey they razed; saieing, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Gurmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockholdes post. Some suppose, that one Gurmundus builded this gate, and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by god hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worthy a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Newstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes, and other notorious places in Dublin.
John Decker.

Dimant.

1050

1095
Dimant-
towne, why
called.

The lanes.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The controversy betweene Christs church and Saint Patrikes church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names
of the streets,
bridges, lanes
and other no-
torious places
in Dublin.
John Decer.

Osmanni.

1050

1095
Osman-
towne, why so
called.

The lanes.

The Damnes street, the Castle street, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Werberosses street, Saint John his street, *alias* fishamble street, Skinners row reaching from the pillorie to the tolehall, or to the high crosse. The High street bearing to the high pipe. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a worthy citizen named John Decer, being then mayor of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Wolffans, that reacheth over the Liffie. The Petogate street, from the Petogate to Saint Audoen his church. Saint Nicholas his street, the Wine fauerne street, the Cooke street, the Bridge street. This street with the greater part of the keie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woodkete, the Merchant keie, Osmon-towne, so called of certeine Casterlings or Poymans, properlie the Danes that were called Osmani. They planted themselves hard by the water side nere Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarf in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish captains slain were Brian Borrough, Magh macke Brien, Tadie Mhellie, Dolin Ahertegan, Gille Barrameda. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled the rois. They were interred at Bilmal-nanne ouer against the great crosse. There arrived a fresh supplie of Casterlings at Dublin in the yeare 1095, and settled themselves on the other side of the ciuitie, which of them to this daie is called Osman-towne, that is, the towne of the Osmannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue bene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southwoike is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his street; this street was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New street, Saint Francis his street, the Rowme, Saint Patrike his street, the backside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Reuen his street, the Poule, or Paulmillstreet, Saint Bigbys street, the Sheepe street, *alias* the Ship street. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship street.

This as it seemeth not wholie impossible, considering that the sea floweth and ebberth hard by it: so it carrieth a moze colour of truth with it, because there haue bene found there certeine iron rings fastened to the towne wall, to hold and grapple bores withall. Saint Werberosses lane, by to Saint Nicholas his street, now inclosed, Saint Michaell his lane, beginning at Saint Michaell his pipe, Christchurch lane, Saint John his lane, Ham lane, *alias* the Scholehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Kellers lane. This lane is strepe & slipperie, in which otherwhiles, they that make moze hast, than good speed, clinke their bums to the stones. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of speech, or for that they giue it a nickename, commonlie terme it, not so homelie, as trullie, Kisse arrie lane. Rochell lane, *alias* Backelane, on the southside of the fishambles, the Cooke street lane, Frapper lane, Ciglottes hill, Marie lane, Saint Tullocke his lane, Scarlet lane, *alias* Flouds lane, Saint Pulchers lane, Saint Benin his lane, the White friers lane, Saint Stephan his lane, Hogs lane, the Sea lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an insearcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) conjecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being dailie and hourely molested and pzeided by their prolling mountaine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decay, and embated themselves with in the citie wals.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets innes, which in old time was the Ecacar or Ercheker. Which should imple that the princes court would not haue bene kept there, vntlesse the place had bene taken to be cockfure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie, and as it seemed, retchellie: the Irish espieng the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surprizing the vnweaponed multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and with all, as far as their Scarborough leasure could serue them, they ransacke the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the ercheker was from thence removed. There hath bene also in that lane a chappell dedicated to saint George, likelie to haue bene founded by some worthy knight of the garter. The mai- or with his brethren was accustomed with great triumphs and pageants perrelle on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath bene of late razed, and the stones thereof by consent of the assemblie turned to a common ouen, conuerting the ancient monument of a doutie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the col- rake swaping of a pastioafe baker. The great bridge going to Osman-towne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repared by Nicholas Stani- hurst about the yeare one thousand five hundred forty & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.

The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie Loundres (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substantiall towlers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghams did enlarge the building thereof, or else that he was long in duresse in that tower. This castell hath bene of late much beautified with sundrie and gorgeous buildings in the time of sir Henrie Sidnete, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland. In the commendation of which buildings an expect- all wellwiller of his lordships penned these verses:

*Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.
Perum Sidnei laudes hac saxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libri.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valeant,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaque si pereant, non ergo saxa peribunt,
Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minime consumitur aenum,
Quod cum principiis, sed sine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dum viuere possunt,
Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet aenum,
Lana tua, Sidnei, digna perire nequit.*

There standeth nere the castell ouer against a bold roome called Bresson his innes, a tower named Flouds tower. It toke the name of la Beale Floud, daughter to Angulsh king of Ireland. It seemeth to haue bene a castle of pleasure for the kings to recre- at themselves therein. Which was not unlike, con- sidering that a meaner tower might serue such single soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la Beale, chappell Floud.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his house, as well pleasantlie sited, as gorgeously builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop, to the end the gouernors (which for the moze part late there) should not haue so good liking to the house: not far disagreeing from the policie that I heard a noble man

The old Ec-
acar.

S. George
his chappell.

The bridges.

1544.

The castell.

1220.

Bermingham
his tower.

1566.

Flouds tow-
wer.

Chappell
Floud.

Saint
Pulchers.

man tell he bled, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other choise horses, did bobtail him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so bountifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

Saint Stephens gréne, Hogging gréne, the Steine, Osmantowne gréne. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scald brothers hole, a labyynth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious thiefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hie all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest yong men in all Osmantowne, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shotvoted within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie prolling, till time he was by certeine gaping gromes that laie in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and iolitie he was wont to run. Where standeth in Osmantowne gréne an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

In the yere one thousand one hundred fourscore and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Wicklies, the remnant of the crue was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yielding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leauing behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man liuing to be counterfoiled. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or villiage called Morauie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourteen foot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appeereth that he was called little John ironicallic, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

Here to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annered to the crowne, which are named

to this date, the Kings land; to witt, Newcastle, Passaggard, Elshire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin payeth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanors, toke them vp verie sharplie in the court, and with rough and minatozie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clobberiousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the forehead, and left him there sprawling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhanced, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Prolome nameth it Panapia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space attaine to a bundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townemen, and namelie students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke per they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maiors neither a rich man that is yong, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerfull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benches, no luskish sailors: for yong and old are wholie addicted to thriuing, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aquavita*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The mastiffs had no sooner espied him, but determining he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muzzled, and partlie chained, he doubted not, but that he should haue bene well tugd in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnlie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such weed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene distained with the smallest spot, or dasked with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the citie armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intacta* (The polle of manet: a polle as well to be hartlie followed, as Waterford greatlie admired of all true and loiall townes).

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Phoruz, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notablie fenced Poundster and Connaght: the Irish name this citie Lounneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was stooped with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

The names of the fields adjoining to Dublin. Scaldbrother.

Scaldbrother executed.

Little John. 1189.

Robert Hood.

Little John deceased.

The King his land.

Co. ke.

Drogheda.

Rosse.

The polle of manet.

Limerike so called.

Isle of the King.

incamped in that Ile, hauing so great a troope of horsemen, as the horses ate by the grasse in foure and twentie houres. Whereupon for the notorious number of horses, the place is called *Loun ne augh*; that is, the horse bare, or a place made bare or eaten by horses. The vertie maine sea is three score miles distant from the towne, and yet the river is so navigable, as a ship of two hundred tuns may saile to the keie of the citie. The river is termed in Irish *Shaune amne*, that is, the old river; for *Shaune* is old, & *amne* is a river, deduced of the Latine word *Amnis*. The building of *Limerike* is sumptuous and substantiall.

Corke.

Corke, in Latine *Coracium*, or *Corracium*, the fourth citie of Ireland happilie planted on the sea. Their haven is an haven roiall. On the land side they are incamped with euill neighbors, the Irish outlaws, that they are faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe them shut at seruice times, at meales from sun to sun, nor suffer anie stranger to enter the citie with his weapon, but the same to leaue at a lodge appointed. They walke out at seasons for recreation with power of men furnished. They trust not the countrie adioining, but match in wedlocke among themselves onelie, so that the whole citie is welnigh linked one to the other in affinitie. *Drogheda*, accounted the best towne in Ireland, and trulle not far behind some of their citie. The one moitie of this towne is in *Weth*, the other planted on the further side of the water lieth in *Ulster*. There runneth a blind prophesie on this towne, that *Kosse* was, *Drogheda* shall be the best of the three.

Drogheda.

Kosse.

Kosse, an haven towne in *Down* not far from *Waterford*, which seemeth to haue bene in ancient time a towne of great port. Whereof sundrie & probable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old ditches that are now a mile distant from the walls of *Kosse*, betwene which walls and ditches the reliks of the ancient walls, gates, and towers, placed betwene both are yet to be seene. The towne is builded in a barren soile, and planted among a crue of naughtie and prouling neighbours. And in old time when it flourisheth, albeit the towne were sufficientlie peopled, yet as long as it was not compassed with walls, they were forned with watch & ward, to keepe it from the greedy snatching of the Irish enemies. With thome as they were generallie molested, so the priuat contenting of one pezzant on a sudden, incensed them to inuiron their towne with strong and substantiall walls. There repaired one of the Irish to this towne on horsebacke, & espient a peece of cloth on a merchants stall, toke hold thereof, and bet the cloth to the lowest price he could. As the merchant and he stood dodging one with the other in cheaping the waite, the horseman considering that he was well mounted, and that the merchant and he had growne to a price, made wise as though he would haue dratone to his purse, to haue defrauded the moine. The cloth in the meane while being tucked by and placed before him, he gaue the spur to his horse and ran awate with the cloth, being not imbarred from his posting pace, by reason the towne was not perclosed either with ditch or wall. The townesmen being pinched at the heart, that one rascall in such scornfull wise should giue them the stamp, not so much weicng the slenderesse of the losse, as the shamefullnesse of the foile, they put their heads together, consulting how to preuent either the sudden rushing, or the posthast fleeing of anie such aduenturous rakehell hereafter.

Kosse, of Kosse.

In which consultation a famous *Dido*, a chaste widow, a politike dame, a beautifull gentlewoman, called *Kosse*, who representing in sinceritie of life the sweetnesse of that hearbe whose name she bare, unfolded the deuise, how anie such future mischance should be preuented: and withall opened his coffers liberallie, to haue it furthered: two good properties in a counsellor. His deuise was, that the towne should incontinentlie be inclosed with walls, & there withall promised to discharge the charges, so that they would not sticke to find out labourers. The deuise of this worthy matrone being wise, and the offer liberall, the townesmen agreed to followe the one, and to put their helping hands to the atching of the other. The worke was begun, which thorough the multitude of hands seemed light. For the whole towne was assembled, tag and rag, cut and long talle: none exempted, but such as were bedged and impotent. Some were tasked to delue, others appointed with mattocks to dig, diuerse allotted to the unheaping of rubbish, manie bestowed to the carriage of stones, sundrie occupied in tempering of moxter, the better sort busied in ouersawing the workmen, ech one according to his vocation imployed, as though the ciuitie of *Carthage* were afresh in building, as it is featlie verified by the golden poet *Virgil*, and neatly Englished by master doctor *Phaer*.

The Moores with courage went to worke, some vnder burdens grones: Some at the wals and towers with hands were tumbling vp the stones. Some measurd out a place to build their mansion house within: Some lawes and officers to make in parlment did begin. An other had an haven cast, and deepe they trench the ground, Some other for the games and plaies a statelie place had found. And pillars great they cut for kings, to garnish forth their wals. And like as bees among the flours, when fresh the summer falls, In shine of sunne applie their worke, when growne is vp their yong: Or when their hieues they gin to stop, and honie sweet is sprong, That all their caues and cellars close with dulcet liquor fills, Some doe outlade, some other bring the stufte with readie wils. Sometime they ioine, and all at once doe from their mangers fet The slothfull drones, that would consume, and nought would doe to get. The worke it heats, the honie smells of flours and thime ywet.

But to returne from *Dido* of *Carthage*, to *Kosse* of *Kosse*, and his worke. The labourers were so manie, the worke, by reason of round and exchequer payment, so well applied, the quarrie of faire marble so nere at hand (for they affirme, that out of the trenches and ditches hard by their rampiers, the stones were had: and all that plot is so stonie, that the foundation is an hard rocke) that these wals with diuerse braue turrets were suddenlie mounted, and in manner sooner finished, than to the Irish enemies notified: which I wisse was no small cosse to them. These wals in circuit are equall to *London* wals. It hath three gorgeous gates, *Bishop* his gate, on the east side: *Algate*, on the east southeast side: and *Southgate*, on the south part. This towne was no more furnished for these wals, than for a notable wooden bridge that stretched from the towne unto the other side of the water, which must haue bene by reasonable suruete twelue score, if not more. Diuerse of the poales, logs, and stakes, with which the bridge was vnderpropt, sticke to this daie in the water. A man

would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so stannicke builded, so substantiallie walied, so well peopled, so plentifullie with thastie artificers stoed, would not haue fallen to anie sudden decaye.

Hisse decayed.

But as the secret and deepe iudgements of God are veiled within the couerture of his diuine maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Therefore I, as an historian undertaking in this treatise, rather plainelie to declare what was done, than rashlie to inquire why it should be done: purpose, by God his assistance, to accomplish, as nere as I can, my dutie in the one, leaving the other to the frivulous deciding of busie heads. This Kose, who was the foundresse of these former rehearsed wals, had issue three sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir nephews) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their mother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous volages into forren countries. But as one of the three chapmen was imploied in his traffike abroad, so the prettie peplet his wife began to be a fresh occupieng giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloister of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of hir smocke. Both the parties wallowing ouerlong in the sinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to crepe in some townesmens brains: and to be briefe, it came so farre, thorough the iust iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that the was with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir lover vsed hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onelie vehement, but also the fact too apparent: hir unfortunate husband had no sooner notice giuen him vpon his returne of these sorrowfull newes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eyes to trichle, his eares to dindle, his head to dazell, insemuch as his heart being scared with gelousie, and his wits installed thorough phrensie, he became as mad as a sparck hare.

The pangs of gelousie.

But how beaulie soener hir husband toke it, dame Kose and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townesmen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enormous adulterie, as to see the bedlamb pangs of brainicke gelousie. Whereupon diuerse of the townesmen granting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie vnto her to grub awaie such wild shrubs from the towne: and if this were in a misdisputable wise raked vp in the ashes, they should no sooner traueise the seas, than some other would inkindle the like fire afresh, and so consequentie dishonest their wines, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mood to be hornewood, because rutting wines make often ramish husbands, as our prouerb dooth inferre. Others soothing their fellows in these mutinies turned the priuat iniurie vnto a publike quarrell, and a number of the townesmen conspiring together stoked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbeye, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbeye is yet to be seene at Kosse on the south side) where undersparring the gates, and bearing by the dormitorie doze, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goaring in their blood, roaring in their cabins, and gasping vp their sitting ghosts in their couches.

The vprore was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie the reat astounded. But in especiall the reynant of the cleargie bare verie hollow hearts to the

townesmen; and how scandalic their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgive so horrible a marther, but were fullie resolved, whensoever oportunitie serued them, to sit in their skirts, by making them soule as sorrowfull a kyrie. These three brethren not long after this bloodie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countrie to continue their trade. The religious men bring downe to vnderstand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these three brethren were readie to be embarked, sunkt priuillie out of the towne, and resorted to the mouth of the hauen, nere a castell, named Hulke tower, which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waie to sterne their ships, and to eschew the danger of the craggie rocks there on euerie side of the shore peking. Some iudge that the said Kose was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water. Which practise was not long by them continued, when these three passengers bering saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Hulke tower. But they toke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dashed and past against the rocks, and all the passengers ouerwhelmed in the sea.

This heauie hap was not so sorrowfull vnto the townesmen, as it was gladsome to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archprochers of their brethrens blood. Howbeit they would not crie ho here, but sent in post some of their couent to Rome, where they inhaned the slaughter of the fraternitie so heinouste, and concealed their owne pranks so conuertlie, as the pope commenced the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such cursing and banning of all hands, and such dissentionous hurle burle raised betwene themselves, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned arlie verie, topside the otherwaie, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreme penurie.

The wals stand to this daie, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is steepe and steaming upward. Their church is called Christs church, in the north side whereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke his tome: whereby conjecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This Kosse is called Kosse Nova, or Kosse Ponti, by reason of their bridge. That which they call old Kosse, beareth east three miles from this Kosse, into the countrie of Weifford, an ancient manour of the earle of Kilbarcan. There is the third Kosse on the other side of the water, called Kosse Ibarcan, so named, for that it standeth in the countrie of Kilkennie, which is diuided into three parts, into Ibarcan, Iba, & I'douth. Weifford a hauen towne not far from Kosse, I find no great matters thereof recorded, but onelie that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fostresse and harbor of the English conquerors.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne, or (as they terme it) the properest drie towne in Ireland, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne claimeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions grow daillie betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne

140
The ch
of Kille

William
Barthe

122

The ch
of Kille

The gr
near ch
Dunco
Walter
Murga
Huzge

Peter

The present
estate of Koss

New Koss,
old Koss.

Koss I
barcan.

weifford.

Kilkennie
Wine
led.
The
Kanie

Kilkennie.

towne is the ancienter, and was called the old kille-
hennie, being vnder the bishop his becke, as they are
ought to be at this present. The high towne was
built by the English after the conquest, and had a
parcell of the Irish towne thereto united, by the bi-
shop his grant, made vnto the founders vpon their
earnest request. In the yeare 1400, Robert Talbot
a worthe gentleman, inclosed with wals the better
part of this towne, by which it was greatlie fortified.
This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In
this towne in the choyse of the frier preachers, Willi-
am Marshall earle marshall and earle of Penbroke
was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231.
Richard brother to William, to whome the inheri-
tance descended, within thre yeares after deceased
at killehennie, being wounded to death in a field gi-
uen in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the
twelue of Aprill, and was intomed with his bro-
ther, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:

*Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossus,
Cuius sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa.*

This towne hath thre churches, saint Bennies
church, our ladies church, alias S. Maries church; and
S. Patrikes church, with the abbey of S. John. S.
Bennies church is their chiefe and cathedrall church, a
worthe foundation as well for gorgeous buildings,
as for notable livings. In the west end of the church
yard of late haue bene founded a grammar schole
by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle
of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the coun-
tesse of Ormond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald,
sister to Gerald fitz Gerald the earle of Kildare that
last was. Out of which schole haue sprouted such pro-
per impes, through the painefull diligence, and the
laboursome industrie of a famous lettered man M.
Peter White (sometime fellow of Oxiall college in
Oxford, and scholemaster in Kilkennie) as general-
lie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especial-
lie the southerne parts of that Island are greatlie
thereby furthered. This gentlemen's method in tra-
ining vp youth was rare and singular, framing the
education according to the scholars beine. If he
found him free, he would bide him like a wise Ifo-
crates from his booke; if he perceiued him to be dull,
he would spur him forward; if he vnderstood that he
were the worse for beating, he would win him with
rewards: finally, by interlasing studie with recrea-
tion, forsooth with mirth, paine with pleasure, sweet-
nesse with sweetnesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he
had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good
soth I may boldlie bide by it, that in the realme of
Ireland was no grammar schole so good, in Eng-
land I am well assured none better. And because it
was my happie hap (God and my parents be than-
ked) to haue bene one of his crues, I take it to stand
with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie
in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good
will in remembzing his paines. And certes, I ac-
knowledge my selfe so much bound and beholding
to him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest
stone cemented in the wals of that famous schole.
This towne is named Kilkennie, of an holie and
learned abbat called Kiancus, borne in the countie
of Kilkennie, or (as it is in some booke recorded) in
Connaght. This prelat being in his suckling yerres
fostered, through the prouidence of God, with the
milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Lu-
racus, thereto by Gods especiall appointment depu-
ted, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and lear-
ning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a
mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other: where-
of he gaue sufficient coniecture in his minortie. For
being turned to the keeping of a sheepe, and his fellow
shepheards, wholie yeldding thir selues like lusty

bagabunds to sloth and sluggishnesse, yet would he
still find himselfe occupied in framing with osiars
and twigs, little wooden churches, and in fashioning
the furnitures thereto appertaining. Being slept
further in yeares, he made his repaire into Eng-
land, where cloistering himselfe in an abbey, wherof
one named Dotus was abbat, he was wholie wor-
ded to his booke, and to deuotion: therein he conti-
nued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certeine
time penning a serious matter, and hauing not full
lie datione the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tinge
to assemble the couent to some spiritual exercise. To
which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicir-
clewise vnfinisshed, vntill he returned backe to his
booke. Soone after being promoted to ecclesiasticall
orders, he trauelled by the consent of his fellow
monks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such mani-
fest profe of his pietie, as to this daie in some parts
thereof he is highlie renowned.

Thomas towne, a proper towne builded in the
countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie
an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Wallie
mac Andan: that is, the towne of Fitzantonie.
This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one
of them was espoused to Denne, the other married
to Archdeacon, or Packodo, whose betres haue at
this daie the towne betwene them in coparcenarie.
But because the reader may see in what part of the
countie the cities and chiefe townes stand, I take
it not far amisse to place them in order as insueh.

Drogheda, Carrigfargus, Downe, Armagh, Ar-
glash, Clogher, Puncighan, Donnegauls, Carrig
mac Roffe, Newrie, Carlingford, Ardee, Don-
dalke, Louth, Dublin, Bulrudzie, Luske, Swords,
Cathaggard, Lions, Newcastle, Rathcoulle, Dagh-
ter arde, Paas, Clane, Mainoth, Killecocke, Ra-
ghamgan, Kildare, Luianne, Castletowne, Philips
towne, Pariborough, Kilkullen, Castle Marten,
Thistledermot, Kilca, Aghie, Catherlaugh, Leighe-
len, Sauranne, Thomas towne, Enesiocke, Ca-
shelle, Callanne, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Koffe,
Clonnelle, Meiseford, Fernes, Fidderd, Enesio-
tie, Cathmon, Wickloa, Achloa, Waterford, Lis-
more, Dongaruan, Boghill, Corke, Limerike,
Kilmallocke, Aloane, Caluote, Anrie, Louaghriagh,
Clare, Coame, Sligagh, Koffecomman, Aralowne,
Arinne, Donshaghlenne, Rathlouth, Pananne,
Aboie, Scrime, Taraogh, Bemles, Donboine,
Greenocke, Dulacke, Polingare, Fowrie, Lough-
scude, Kilkennitwest, Poilagagh, Deluinne.

In the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of
king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parlement
holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger
knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Menth should be
diuided and made two shires, one of them to be cal-
led the countie of Menth, the other to be called the
countie of Westmeth, and that there should be two
shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same
shires, as is more exprest in the act.

Loughfoile, the Banne, Melderisith, Carrig-
fergus, Strangford, Ardglas, Loughueen, Car-
lingford, Kilkeale, Dundalke, Kilclogher, Dunane,
Drogheda, Houlepatrike, Panie, Baltraie, Bzi-
more, Balziggen, Roggers towne, Sherrish,
Kush, Malahide, Bantledmole, Yough, Dublin, Dal-
ke, Wickinckloa, Archloa, Meisford, Wagganbun,
the Passage, Waterford, Dongaruan, Koffe noua,
Poughille, Corke mabegge, Corke, Kinsale, Kierie,
Koffe Ilbere, Dorrie, Balfinmore, Downenere,
Downeshad, Downelouige, Attannanne, Crag-
hanne, Downenebowne, Balineskilliedge, Dau-
gine Achouse, Eracie, Deninne, Callanne, Kilne-
wine, Limerike, Inniskartee, Belalenne, Ariner-
newne, Glanemaugh, Ballisweham, Bimwarre,
Dobrie,

Thomas towne.
Thomas Fitzantonie.

The names
of the chiefe
townes in
Ulster.

The names
of the chiefe
townes in
Leinster.

Chiefe townes
in Mounster.
Chiefe townes
in Connaght.
Chiefe townes
in Menth.
Chiefe townes
in Westmeth.

1542

The names
of the chiefe
hauen townes
in Ireland.

1400
Robert
Talbot.

William
Marshall.

1234

The churches
of Kilkennie.

The gram-
mar schole.
Pierce
Butler.
Margaret
Fitzgerald.

Peter White.

Kilkennie
towne so cal-
led.
The life of
Kiancus.

Dowry, Wozan, Roskam, Galwate, Killinille, Innesbosinne, Wozan, Woate, Wilcolken, Burske, Belleclare, Katheribene, Bierweisowe, Buraueis hare, Ardone makow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne, Mal lallele, Kabbanne, Strone, Burwels now, Zaltra, Kallbalie, Ardnoche, Adzowse, Sligaghe, Innes Boswenne.

Cambr. lib. 1.
top. dist. 2. rub.
3. & 4.

Cambrensis obserued in his time, that when the sea doth eb at Dublin, it ebbeth also at Wiffow, and floweth at Milford and Meifford. At Wickloa the sea ebbeth when in all other parts it commonlie floweth. Furthermoze this he noted, that the riuer which runneth by Wickloa vpon a low eb is salt, but in Arkloa the next haven towne, the riuer is fresh when the sea is at full. He writeth also, that not far from Arkloa standeth a rocke, and when the sea ebbeth in one side thereof, it floweth in the other side as fast. Cambrensis insearcheth diuerse philosophicall reasons in finding out the cause, by obseruing the course of the moone, who is the emperesse of moisture. But those subtilties I leaue for the scholestricks.

Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland.

The fourth chapter.

S. Patrike
his purgato-
rie.

Thinke it good to begin with S. Patrike his purgatorie, partlye because it is most notoriouse knowne, & partlye the moze, that some writers, as the author of Polychronicon and others that were miscaried by him, seme to make great doubt where they need not. For they ascribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie, but an other Patrike an abbat, whom likewise they affirme to haue bene employed in conuerting the Island from heathenrie to christianitie.

But the author that brocheth this opinion, is not found to carie anie such credit with him, as that a man may certeinlie affirme it, or probablie coniecture it; vnlesse we relie to the old withered worne eastern legend, loded with as manie towd lies, as lewd lines. The better and the moze certeine opinion is, that the other Patrike found it out, in such wise as Cambrensis reporteth. There is a pole or lake, saith he, in the parts of Ulster, that inuironneth an Island, in the one part whereof there standeth a church much lightened with the brightsome recourse of angels: the other part is ouglie and gaslie, as it were a bedlem allotted to the visible assemblies of horrible and grislie bugs. This part of the Island consisteth nine caues. And if anie dare be so hardie, as to take one night his lodging in anie of these ins, which hath bene experimeted by some rash & haredaine aduenturers, streight these spirits claw him by the backe, and tug him so ruggedlie, and tolle him so crabbedlie, that now and then they make him more franke of his bum than of his tong; a painment correspondent to his interteinement. This place is called S. Patrike his purgatorie of the inhabitants. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuersion of the people of Ulster, by setting before their eyes in great heat of spirit, the creation of the world, the fall of our progenitors, the redemption of man by the blessed and pretious blood of our sauour Iesus Christ, the certeinie of death, the immortallitie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter dome, the ioies of heauen, the paines of hell, how that at length euerie man, small and great, yong and old, rich and poze, king and keaser, potentate and pezzant must

either through Gods gracious mercie be exalted to the one, to stowish in perpetuall felicitie, or through his vnsearchable iustice tumble downe to the other, to be tormmented in eternall miserie. These and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherewith he was abundantlie stowed, so far sunke into their harts, as they seemed verie sterible in condescending to his best: so that some pzoofe of his estrange preaching could haue bene berefied. Wherevpon, without further delate, they spake to the prelat in this wise.

Sir, as we like of your preaching, so we dislike not of our libertie. You tell vs of manie gubawes and estrange dreames. You would haue vs to abandon infidelitie, to rage by our libertie, to brible our pleasure: for which you promise vs for our toile and labour a place to vs as vnknoen, so as yet vincerfeine. You sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offendours and miscredents. In deed if we could find that to be true, we would the sooner be weaned from the sweet napple of our libertie, and frame our selues pliant to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. S. Patrike considering, that these sealie soules were (as all dularnanes for the moze part are) moze to be terrified from infidelitie through the paines of hell, than allured to christianitie by the ioies of heauen, most hartlie besought God, so it stood with his gracious pleasure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out some euident or glimring token of the matter they importunatlie required. Finalitie by the especiall direction of God, he found in the north edge of Ulster a desolate corner hemmed in round, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a church, called Reglis or Reglasse. At the east end of the churchyard a doze leadeth into a closet of stone like a long ouen, which they call S. Patrike his purgatorie, for that the people resort thither euen at this date for penance, and haue reported at their returne estrange visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

The author of Polychronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephan, a knight named Owen pilgrimaged to this purgatorie, being so appalled at the strange visions that there he saw, as that vpon his returne from thence he was wholie mortified, and sequestering himselfe from the world, he spent the remnant of his life in an abbey of Ludensis. Also Dyonysius a charterhouse monke recordeth a vision scene in that place by one Agneius, or Agneius, whereof who so is inquisitiue, may resort to his treatise written *De quatuor nouissimis*. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he surmiseth vpon the gesse of other, that Claudius writeth of this purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place must haue bene ertant befoze saint Patrike, but not so famouslie knowne. The poet his verses are these following:

*Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia lictus,
Oceani preteritus aquis, quo fertur Pylles
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentium,
Flebilis auditur questus, simulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctis que vident migrare figuras.*

There is a place toward the ocean sea
from brim of Gallish shore,
Wherein Vlysses pilgrim strange
with offred blood ygore,
The people there did moue, a skrit-
ching shrill from dungeon lug
The dwellers all appall with gas-
lie galpe of grislie bug.
There onelie shapes are scene to stare
with visage wan and sad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,
in eluifh skips to gad.

They that repaire to this place for deuotion his
lake

Cambr. lib. 1.
top. dist. 2. rub.
6.

Claud. lib. 4.
in Rutin.

Insul-
cium.

like life to continue therein foure & twentie houres, which doing other while with ghostlie meditations, and other while a dread for the conscience of their deserts, they saie they see a plaine resemblance of their owne faults and vertues, with the hozor and comfort thereunto belonging, the one so terrible, the other so ioyous, that they beleeve beeing themselves for the time to haue sight of hell and heauen. The reuelations of men that went thither (S. Patricke yet liuing) are kept to thisen within the abbete there aduising. When ante person is disposed to enter (for the doze. is enen spard) he repaireth first for deuise to the archbishop, who casteth all pericles, and dissuadeth the pilgrime from the attempt, because it is knowen that diuerse entering into that caue, neuer were sente to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fully resolved, he recommendeth him to the p[ri]or, who in like maner sauourable exhorteth him to chose some other kind of penance, and not to hazard such a danger. If notwithstanding he find the partie fullie bent, he conducteth him to the church, inioyneth him to begin with prayer and fast of fifteene daies, so long together as in discretion can be indured. This time expired, if yet he perseuere in his former purpose, the whole convent accompanieth him with solemn procession & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and so bar up the doze untill the next morning. And then with like ceremonies they await his returne and reduce him to the church. If he be sente no more, they fast and praye fifteene daies after. Touching the credit of these matters, I see no cause, but a christian being perswaded that there is both hell and heauen, may without vanitie upon sufficient information be resolved, that it might please God, at sometime, for considerations to his wilddome knowen, to reueale by miracle the vision of ioies and paines eternall. But that altogether in such sort, and by such manner, and so exordiarilie, and to such persons, as the common sense doth suffer; neither beleeue nor wish to be regarded. I haue conferrd with diuerse that had gone this pilgimage, who affirmed the order of the premises to be true, but that they saw no sight, save onelie fearefull dreames when they chanced to nod, and those they said were exceeding horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated more or lesse, according to the qualitie of the penitent.

Cambrensis affirmeth, that in the north of Mourier there be two Islands, the greater and the lesse. In the greater there neuer entereth woman or ante liuing female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath bene often proued by bitches and cats, which were brought thither to trie this conclusion, and presently they died. In this Island the rocks or male birds are sente to chirpe, and yearch up and dounce the twigs, but the female by instinct of nature abandoneeth it as a place utterly poisoned. This Island were a place alone for one that were bered with a shrewd taile. The lesse Island is called *Insula uentum*, because none died there, ne male die by course of nature, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith. Whombeit the dwellers when they are sore frucht with sickness, or so farre withered with age, as there is no hope of life, they request to be conueied by boate to the greater Island, where they are no longer in thored, than they yield up their ghost. For my part, I haue bene berie inquisitive of this Island, but I could neuer find this strange property, sayed by ante man of credit in the whole countrie. Whether tralie would I wish ante to be so light, as to lend his credit to ante such feined gloses, as are neither verified by experience, nor warranted by ante colourable reason. Therefore I see not why it should be terried *Insula uentum*, but lesse it be that none dieth there, as long

as he liueth.

Cambrensis telleth further, that there is a church, yard in Ulster, which no female kind maie enter. If the cocke be there, the hen darth not followe. There is also in the west part of Connaught an Island, placed in the sea, called Aren, to which saint Brendan had often recourse. The dead bodies need not in that Island to be grauelled. For the aire is so pure, that the contagion of anie carrien maie not infect it; where, as Cambrensis saith, maie the sonne see his father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c. This Island is enime to mice. For none is brought thither, but either it leapech into the sea, or else being staied it dieth presently. There was in Kilbare an ancient monument named the Firehouse, wherein Cambrensis saith, was there continuing fire kept day and night, and yet the ashes neuer increased. I travelled of set purpose to the towne of Kilbare to see this place, where I did see such a monument like a vault, which to this daie they call the Firehouse.

Touching the heath of Kilbare Cambrensis telleth that it maie not be tild: and of a certaintie within this few yeares it was tried, and found, that the corne which was sowed did not proue. In this plaine (saith Cambrensis) stand the stones that now stand in Salisburie plaine, which were conueied from thence by the sleight of Merlin the Welsh prophet, at the request of Aurelius Ambrosius king of the Britons. There is also in the countie of Kilbare a goodlie field called Spollesghmast, betwene the Porrough and Kilha, diuers blind prophetes run of this place, that there shall be a bisapie field fought there, betwene the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish, and so bloody forsooth it shall be, that a mill in a vale hard by it shall run foure and twentie houres with the streame of blood that shall p[er]uize downe from the hill. The Irish doubtlesse repose a great assistance in this baldocktum dreame. In the top of this height stand mores or rundels herie formalie fashioned, where the strength of the English armie (as they say) shall be incamped.

The Earle of Sufter being lord lieutenant of Ireland, was accustomed to wish, that if anie such prophesie were to be fulfilled, it should happen in his gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the fielde. Not farre from Spollesghmast, within a mile of Castledermot, or Whistledermot, is there a place marked with two hillocks, which is named the Geraldines his thron or cast. The length of which in beerie ded to wonderfull. The occasion proceeded of this. One of the Geraldins, who was ancestor to those that now are lords of Lackath, predeed an enemie of his, the earle of Kilbare hauing intelligence thereof, suppressing affection of kindred, and moued by zeale of iustice, pursued him with a great troope of hostlemen, as the other was bringing of the prede home ward. The Geraldine hauing notice given him, that the earle was in hot pursute, and therefore being warned by the messenger to his him with all speed possible: the gentleman being nettled, that his kinsman should seme to rescue the prede of his dead lie so; and as he was in such fretting wise frieng in his greafe, he brake out in these cholericke words: And doth my cousin Kilbare pursue me in deed? Now in god saith, whereas he semeth to be a suppresser of his hignes, and an upholder of my mortall enemie, I would wish him no more harme, than that this dart p[er]s as fast in his bodie, as it shall sticke forthwith in the ground: and therewithall glaiuing the spurres to his horse, he hurled his dart so farre, as he abashed with the length thereof as well his companie as his posteritie.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thence, when the earle with his hand made hot foot after, and

C. 3.

dogging

The ceremonies used in entering S. Patricke his purgatorie.

Camb. lib. r. topog. distinct. arub. s.

Insula uentum.

Cambren. in eodem loco.

Aren.

The Firehouse of Kilbare.

The heath of Kilbare.

The stones of Salisburie plaine.

Spollesghmast.

The earle of Sufter.

The Geraldines thron.

1470.

The Geraldines wish.

dogging still the tracks of the predators, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pick-thankie or other let the earle to understand of the Geraldine his wild speeches there delivered. And to inhaunce the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how farre he hurled his dart; when he wished it to be pitched in his lordship his bodie. The erle assented at the length thereof, said: *Proto in god sooth, my cousin in behaving himselfe so couragiouslie, is worthe to haue the prede shot free.* And for my part I purpose not so much to stomach his cholerlike wish, as to imbrace his valliant prowesse. And therewithall commanded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe. There is in *Meeth* an hill called the hill of *Waragh*; wherein is a plaine twelve score long, which was named the *Kempe* his hall: there the countie had their meetings and folkemotes, as a place that was accounted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish historians hammer manie fables in this forge of *Fin mac Coile* and his champions, as the French historie doth of king *Arthur* and the knights of the round table. But doubtlesse the place seemeth to beare the shew of an ancient and famous monument.

There is in *Castlenooke* a village not far from *Dublin*, a windoto not glazed nor latticed, but open, and let the weather be stormie, the wind bluster boisterouslie on euerie side of the house; yet place a candle there, and it will burne as quietlie as if no puffe of wind blew. This maie be tried at this date, who so shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the strange wells that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake little more than that which I find in *Cambrensis*, whose words I will English, as they are Latined in his booke. There is (saith he) a well in *Downster*, with the water of which if a man be washed, he becometh sooth with hoare. I haue seene a man that had one halfe of his beard, being died with that water hoare; the other halfe unwashed was browne, remainging still in his naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a fountaine in the further edge of *Ulster*, and if one be bathed therewith, he shall not become hoare: for which well such as loath greie heares are accustomed to dye. There is in *Connaght* a well that springeth on the top of an hill farre and distant from any sea; ebbling and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea doth; and yet the place is vplandish, and the water fresh. There is another spring in the same countie, the water of which is verie wholesome to men and beastes, but poison to beaues: and if a man put but the granel of this well into his mouth, it quencheth presently his thirst.

There is in *Ulster* a standing pole thirte hundred and paces long, and fiftene thousand paces broad, out of which springeth the noble motherne fluer, called the *Banne*. The fishers complaine more often for burding of their nets with the oier great lake of fish, than for any want. At our time upon the conquest a fish swam from this pole to the shore, in shape resembling a salmon, but in quantitie so huge, that it could not be drawne or carted whole together, but the fishermen were forced to hacke it in goblets, and so to carrie it in peeces all throughout the countie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the report be true, the beginning of this pole was strange. There were in old times there the pole not standeth, blisous and beaustie inhabitants; At which time was there an old said, saw in euery mans mouth, that as soon as a well there springing (which for the superstitious reuerence they bare to was continually couered and signed) were let open and disclosed, so soon would so much water gush out of that well, as would soorthwith ouerwhelme the whole territory. It happened at length, that an old frowe came thither to fetch water, and hearing his child weine, he

ran with might and maine to dandle his babie, for getting the obseruance of the superstitious order to fore-bled. But as he was returning backe to haue couered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowne, as that it past his helpe: and shortly after the, his suckling, & all those that were within the whole territory were drowned. And this seemeth to carie more likelihood with it, because the fishers in a cleare sunnie daie see the steeles and other piles plainlie and distinctlie in the water. And here would be noted, that the riuer of the *Banne* flowed from this head spring before this flood, but farre in lesse quantitie than it doth in our time. Hitherto *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a pole in Ireland; for that he maketh himselfe an euidentie of the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. *Ac quoniam Hibernia incidit mentio, prater infinita in ea rerum miracula, haud importunum fore existimem, si unum, quod obportet nosam nouitatem fidem omnium excedere videatur, nos tamen verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in ecast, circa quem amplissimo circumquaque spatio nec herba nec arbor ulla nascitur, &c: in quem si lignum infigas anni circiter vnus circulo, id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem conuertetur; quod deinceps aqua operietur, in ferrum: reliquum aqua: restans ligni formam naturamque seruabit. Ita conuincta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita nouitate conspiciuntur. But for that mention is made of Ireland, ouer and aboue the infinite number of wonders in that land, it will not be whole beside the purpose, to insert one maruellous thing, which although it may seeme to some to haue no colour of truth: yet because it hath bene by vs experimented, and found out to be true, we maie the better abouch it. There is a standing pole in that land, nere which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor bush. If you sticke a rod or piece of timber in this pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space of one yeare turneth to a stone; as much as is dypt in the water, is conuerted to iron; all that is aboue the water remaineth still in the pristinat and former wooden shape. So that you may see that which is strange, for one sticke or sticke, stone, iron and wood liue and liue together. This much *Hector Boetius*.*

In the countie of *Balkenille* and in the borders thereto continuing, they vble a solemn trial by a water they call *Delashé*. The propertie of this water is, as they say, that if a perjured person drinke thereof, the water will gush out at his bellie, as though the drinker his nauill were bored with an auger. The ritter that runneth by *Dublin* named the *Liffie* hath this propertie for certeine, and I haue obserued it at sundrie times. As long as it reigne, pea if it stoo polozing its daies, both that and diuers shallows brookes, and the riuer will be nothing thereby increased: but within foure and twentie houres after the showres are ceast, you shall perceiue such a sudden spring flow, as if the former raine were great; a verie few places or none at all will be found passable. *Cambrensis* writeth, that in the south part of *Downster*, betwene the maine sea coasting on *Wicklow* and *Kint* *Bendish* his hills, there is an island of the one side inclosed with a riuer about daniellesed with fish, & on the other part inclosed with a little brooke. In which place *Kint* *Bendish* was sette much resistant. This plot is taken to be such a sanctuary for beaues, as if a hare, fox, stag, or other wild beast be chased nere that island by dogs, it maketh straight upon the brooke, and as soon as it passeth the stream, it is so cocked, as the hunter may perceiue the beast resting on the one bank, & the dogs quelling on the other bank, being as it were by some invisible railles imbed from dipping their feet in the shallow ford, to pursue the

The earle of
Kildares
answer.

The hill of
Waragh.

Castlenooke.
The strange
wells.

Camb.in lib. 1.
topog. dist. 1.
rub. 8. & 10.

Hector Boet.
in Scot. reg.
descript. pag.
Sect. 50.

Delashé.

The Liffie.

Camb.in lib.
1. dist. 2. rub. 4.

the beast chased. On the other side of this land there runneth a river flozed above measure with fresh water fish, and in especialtie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, proceeded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pinching colts to make any sale of the fish, let it be powdered as artificiallie as may be, yet it will not keepe (as though it were manna) above the first night or date that it be taken. So that you must eate it with that short compass, otherwise it putrifieth and standeth to no sted.

The Salmon leapt.

This river oversloweth a great rocke, usuallie called the Salmon leapt: for as it is commonlie the propertie of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to flitter against the wind; so it is naturallie giuen to the salmon to struggle against the streame, and when it approacheth nere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenly it fetcheth such a round whiske, that at a trice it skipeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leapt is nere Leship, but not so high as this. There be also, as witneseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Ulster, certeine hills nere to saint Beane his church, where cranes yearely breed. And when they haue laied their eggs, if any purpose to ransacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the eggs, they will shew like yong scrawling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatched, and presently brought out of their shels. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest, forthwith they shew (whether it be by any metamorphosis, or some sugling legier be maine by dazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into eggs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at one instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take awaie the eggs, they will seeme to the looker on as eggs, and to the taker as yong red little cranes, being as bare as a bird his arse.

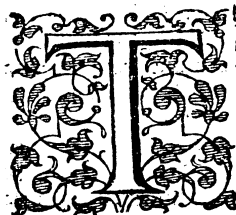
Armagh.

The towne of Armagh is said to be ennemie to rats, and if any be brought thither, presently it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the prayers of saint Patrike. But to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are surmised, or by proofe and experience daily berefted: there are in this land such notable quarries of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plenty of lead, iron, latin and tin, so many rich mines furnished with all kind of metals; as nature seemed to haue framed this countrie for the treasurehouse or treasurehouse of his chiefest treasure. Howbeit she hath not shewed his selfe so bountifull a mother in powring forth such riches, as she proueth his selfe an enuious stepdame; in that the multitude in the inhabitants a drouse lietherness to withhold them from the insearching of his boundles and hidden treasures. Wherein the saith like one, that to purchase the name of a sumptuous frankelard, a good blander, would bid diuerse ghesse to a cosse and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with this secret inchantment would benum them of their senses, or with some hidden lothsome disease would dull their stomachs, as his ghesse by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselves, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to decide whether estate is the better: either for a diligent laborer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a lazily loiterer to be settled in a fertile ground; because the one will, and may not; the other may not, and will not through his painefull travail reape the fruit and commoditie that the earth yieldeth.

Ireland the treasurehouse of nature.

Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities.

The fifth chapter.



The spirituall jurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primasie was euer giuen (in reuerence of saint Patrike that conuerted the countrie) to the archbishopricke of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hibernie*. This custome was since confirmed by Eugenius the third, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall three other pallies of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. To these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Prima* of Armagh, under whose prouince are the bishoprics of Meath and Deren, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Downe, Coner, Clonknoos, Kabon, Downmore. Under Dublin, whereunto Innocentius the third vniited Glandelagh, the bishop of Elphine, Kildare, Fernes, Droghda and Leighlin. Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whom Kilmore is vnited, Corke and Clone, Koss, Ardagh, Limerike, Emelie, Killaloe, and Ardfer. Under Twene, Kilmacco, Doline, Auaghdowne, Clonsfert, Pozrow. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personall and reall vniou of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old booke the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a last register or catalog of them, yet I toke it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. Cormachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuerse others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cormachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Christs church in Dublin, in the upper part of the chancel on the right hand. Patrickus was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanfrancus or Lanfrancus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white silke the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashion. And where you shall espie the armes of any archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great mantle blacke crosses vpon it. An archbishop within three moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall; otherwise he may be removed; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the reioyce, neither may he before summon or call a council, make churche, dedicate churches, giue benefices, or consecrate bishops. He may not weare his pall with the churche, neither in other prouinces; albeit in another prouince he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalia differeth from the pall. Further, whose an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be inferred with him. But to returne to Patrickus, his time was but short, for some after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was drownded with his fellow passengers the same yeare that he was consecrated, the ninth of October. Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeeded Patrickus, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Cerinthus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceased

Armagh.

Dublin.

Cashill.

Twene.

Lib. 10. Scot. Hist. fol. 212. sect. 40.

1074.

What pall what it is.

c. quoniam. c. di.

c. quod sicut de elect. penul. De priuil. & excec. priuil. cap. Archie. & in glof. c. ex tuarum, & c. ad hoc. de auct. & vlu. pal.

1075.

The description of Ireland.

in the yeare one thousand nine hundred and five. Samuel succeeded Donatus, and died in the yeare one thousand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did not succeed immediately after Samuel, for there be thirtie yeares betwene them both. This Gregorius was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was consecrated archbishop in the yeare one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yeare one thousand one hundred thre score and two.

S. Laurentius Othoille. This prelat was first abbat of S. Benins in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnly consecrated and installed in Christs church at Dublin by Gelacius the pimat of Armagh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of Dublin were before the pall given them. He died in Normandie, and was buried in our ladie church of Angie in the yeare one thousand one hundred and four score, the fourteenth of November.

Johan Cummin an Englishman succeeded Lawrence. This famous prelat being cloistered by in the abbey of Eusham in Worcester-shire was highly renowned of all men, as well for his deepe learning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of Dublin being given to understand of so worthy a clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his maiestie Henrie the second, that through his means such an unvaluable iewel should be installed in Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest sute agreed he should be consecrated their archbishop, which was an happy houre for that countrie. For besides the great trauell he induced in edifying his flocke in Chrastian religion, he was founder of S. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before specified. He deceased in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, and was intombed in the quere of Christs church.

Henrie Londres succeeded Cummin. This man was nicknamed Scorcbill, or Scorcbillein thorough this occasion. Being settled in his see, he gave commandment to all his tenants to make their appearance before him at a daie appointed: and for that he was raw as yet in his revenues, he took it to stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his commoditie, that each of them should shew their evidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tenants mistrusting no subtilty dealing, but constraining all to be meant for the best, delivered their evidences to their landlord, who did scantlie well peruse them when he srong them all in the fire. The poore tenants espiesng this subtilt prank to be verie vnfitting for a bishop, could not bide their tongues, but broke out on a sudden: Thou an archbishop? saie, thou art a scorcbillein. But it could not be gessed to what end this fact of his tended; for notwithstanding this, the tenants inioined their lands, unlesse he did it because they should be tenants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This prelat doubtlesse was politike, and well lettered, and for his wisdom and learning he was elected lord iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He deceased in the yeare one thousand two hundred twentie & five, and lieth buried in Christs church. Whereby appereth that Marchaus Parisiensis did overthot himselfe, in writing one Hu or Hugo to be archbishop of Dublin in the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtene, whereas Londres at that time was in the see, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirtene yeares.

Johan Stamford succeeded Londres, but not immediately, and was consecrated in the yeare one thousand two hundred four score and five. This man, upon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbishop of Linc, was made lord iustice of Ireland in

the yeare one thousand four hundred forty four and seven. And some after being in England he was sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the French king, and upon his returne he deceased in England, & some after was buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin.

William de Winton is placed by some antiquaries to be archbishop of Dublin, much about this time, but whether the man here bene installed in this see at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to denie: but certene it is that the date is mistaken, for upon Johan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betwene whome and the lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the manner of Wollistood with the appurtenances. Which manor the lord Butler recovered by an arbitrement or composition taken betwene them in the king his bench at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yeare one thousand three hundred and six.

Richard de Hanerings was successor unto Flerings, who after that he had continued to indure the space of five yeares in the see, was sore appalled, by reason of an estrange and wonderful dreame. For on a certene night he imagined that he had seene an vglie monster standing on his breast, who to his thinking was more weightie than the whole world, in so much as being as he thought in maner squised or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster, he would haue departed with the whole substance of the world, if he were thereof possessed, to be disbursed of so heauie a load. Upon which wisly he suddenly awoke. And as he beat his braines in diuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how that he gathered their fleeces yearelie, by receiuing the revenues and perquisites of the bishoprike, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse sore wounded in conscience, he travelled with all speed to Rome, where he resigned by his bishoprike, a burthen too heauie for his weak shoulders, and being upon his resignation competentlie benefited, he bestowed the remnant of his life wholie in deuotion.

Johan Lech nephew to Hanerings, upon the resignation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat was at contention with the pimat of Armagh, for their iurisdiction: insomuch as he did imbarre him within the pponince of Leitster, which was contrarie to the canon law, that admitteth the crosser to beare the crosser before his archbishop in an other pponince. This man deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred and thirtene.

Alexander Wigmore was next Lech consecrated archbishop with the whole consent aswell of the chapter of Christs church as of S. Patrike. Whobest by on the death of Lech there arose a schisme & diuision betwene Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor of Ireland and Wigmore then treasurer of the same countie. The cancellos to further his election determined to haue passed to Rome, but in the waie he was drowned with the number of 156 passengers. Wigmore staing in Ireland, with lesse aduenture and better speed, with the consent of both the chapters was elected archbishop. And in the yeare 1317 there came bulls from Rome to confirme the former election. At which time the archbishop and the earle of Ulster were in England. This prelat some after returned lord iustice of Ireland, and some after he had landed at Woghitt, he went to Dublin, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporall promotion he was receiued with procession and great solemnities.

Scorcbillein.

Matth. Paris, in vita Ioan, pag 316.

1585.

1304.

1305. Ioan. Cant. de antiqu. Cant. Acc. de mabail.

Edmund Butler, 1031. Wollistood in Fingall.

1306.

Hanerings dreame.

1314.

De priuilegiis excess. pri. c. Archiep.

1313.

1318.

The f. of Bill.

The f. of Bill.

Walter Thorneburie, 1313. The f. of Bill. Leigh.

solentinitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof maister William Rodlard was chancelloz, a well learned man and one that proceeded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Bigenor deceased in the yeare 1349.

John de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop vpon Bigenor his death. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred sixtie and two. Thomas Pinot succeeded John, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred seuentie & six. Robert Wikeford succeeded Thomas, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and nintie. Robert Waldebie succeeded Wikeford, this prelat was first an Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred nintie and seauen. Richard Porthalis was removed from an other see and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise deceased the same yeare he was elected. Thomas Crawlie an Englishman succeeded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surreie. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand four hundred and thirtene. In whose gouernement the English did skirmish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare nere Kilka, where the English vanquished the enimie, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Crisseldermot, or Castle dermot, a towne adioining to Kilka, praieing for the prosperous successe of the subjects that went to skirmish with the enimie. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comeliness with inward qualities. For he was so liberall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so deepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so found a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without good cause accounted the phenix of his time. In daillie talke as he was short, so he was sweet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yeare one thousand four hundred and seuentene, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in New college at Oxford. In the yeare one thousand four hundred thirtie & nine, there hath bene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whome a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eighteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first. In the yeare one thousand four hundred and sixtie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland. I found in an ancient register the names of certaine bishops of Kildare, that were in that see since the time of saint Brigids; the names of whome I thought here to insert. Lonie was bishop in saint Brigids time, which was about the yeare of our Lord four hundred fortie and eight; the rest doe here follow:

2	Inoz.	14	Robert.
3	Conlie.	15	Bonifacius.
4	Donatus.	16	Madogge.
5	David.	17	William.
6	Magnus.	18	Calfride.
7	Richard.	19	Richard.
8	John.	20	James.
9	Simon.	21	Wale.
10	Nicholas.	22	Baret.
11	Walter.	23	Edmund Lane, who
12	Richard.		flourished in the yeare
13	Thomas.		1518.

There hath bene a worthie prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Jake, who among the rest of his charitable deeds, builded the bridge of Kilcollen, and the next yeare following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to

the great and daillie commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.

The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countie of Ireland.

The sixt chapter.

Gerald Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangbolw his kinsman, whose armes he giueth, into Wales, nere of bloud to Alice ap Griffin, prince of Wales by Beffa the mother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald removed into Ireland, in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surreies, made vpon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne. From Tuscan came my ladies worthie race, Faire Florence was sometime hir ancient seat: The westerne Ile whose pleasant shore doth face Wild Cambers cliffes, did giue hir liuelie heat, Fosterd she was with milke of Irish brest, Hir fire an earle, hir dame of princes bloud, From tender yeares in Britaine she dooth rest With kings child, where she tafts costlie food. Hunsdon did first present hir to mine eie, Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she light, Hampton me taught to wish hir first for mine: And Windsor, alas, dooth chase me from hir sight, Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from aboute, Happie is he, that can obtaine hir loue.

The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, doth incorporate it to houses thereto linked in no kindred, and consequentlie blemisheth diuerse worthie exploits atchiued as well in England and Ireland, as in foren countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authors that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, that name and write themselves Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in Ireth. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they seeme forsooth by theatning kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrees from their ancestors, but they are so nere of bloud one to the other, that two bushels of beanes would scantlie count their degrees. An other reason why diuerse strange houses haue bene confused in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the christening of their children, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or such like, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgerald: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or three descents they shoue themselves among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishtment of houses.

This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages flourished in the most renowned countries of Europe. Marring Fitzgerald was one in great credit with king John. I find an other Giraldine

The skirmish of Kilka.

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The bishops of Kildare.

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Maurice Jake.

The bridge of Kilcollen, and Leighlin.

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Math. Paris, in vita loh. pag. 316. vers. 40.

The description of Ireland.

raldine *Archiepiscopus Burdegalenfis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giralbine parsiarch of Ierusalem, in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesseth Matthæus Parisiensis. There was one Giralb of Werneill an excellent poet in the Italian tong: an other named Baptiste Giralb, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert physician, and an exquisite philosopher, being publike professor of philosophie in the said citie, during the space of ten yeares. I haue seene a worke of one *Gregorius Giraldu Ferrariensis de dyis gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a pishie booke and verie well penned. Also Syluester Giraldu Cambrensis hath bene one of this familie, neere of kin to sir Maurice Fitzgiralb. This gentleman was bozne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrensis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Britannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the second, conqueror of Ireland, being at that time the kings secretaire. And for that speciall affiance king Henrie reposed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince John the kings sonne into Ireland, as one of his chiefeest and discrettest counsellors.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a tolerable diuine, a commendable philosopher, not rude in physike, skilfull in cosmographie, a singular good antiquarie, an orator, in indenor comparable to the best, in his stile not in those dates taken for the worst, rather eschewing the name of a rude writer, than purchasing the fame of an eloquent chronicler. Among other his works, he wrote one booke of the description of Ireland, other two of the conquest thereof. John the abbat of saint Albons saith, that this clerke was somewhat spare in words, and liberal in sentences. What he meaneth by this verdict I know not, unlesse he taketh the man to be overlaushy of his pen in trumping of his aduersaries with quipping tatwits, which (as I geisse) flowed rather from a flanting ostentation of a roisting kind of rhetorike, than from anie great malice he bare anie one. Holobreit, I maie not gaine saie, but as he was kind where he toke, so he was somewhat biting where he disliked. But what his iudgement is of the Giralbins maie plainlie appeare in his chronicle, out of which I haue culled this praiseworthe sentence insuing.

Hoc est huius generis omen & hac conditio. Semper in armata militia chari semper primi semper rebus in Martijs ausis nobili prestantissimi. Cessante vero necessitate articulo, statim exosi, statim ultimi, statim ad ima liuore depressi. Perstanten tanta generositatis solum liuor ad plenum extirpare non potuit. Unde & usque in hodiernum gens hac nouis plantularum succrementis vires in insula non modicas habet. Qui sunt, qui penetrant hostium penetralia? Giralbide. Qui sunt, qui patriam conseruant? Giralbide. Qui sunt, quos hostes formidant? Giralbide. Qui sunt, quos liuor detrahat? Giralbide. Si principem tante strenuitatis merita digne pensantem reperissent, quam tranquillum, quam pacificum olim Hibernie statum reddidissent? Sed horum sine causa semper est suspecta strenuitas. This hath been continuallie, saith Cambrensis, a destrinic or fatall propertie annexed to this house. In warre and martiall byolles they are dandaled, they are colled, they are lulled, who but they? They rule the roff. But when these martiall garboiles are appeased, they are either through false informations wrongfullie behated, or else by enuious carpers snifferlie suspected. Holobreit, enuie with all hir malicious drifts, could neuer wholie supplant the fertill groue of this courageous & noble progenie. And maugre the heads of all malicious promoters, this sept, yea euen at this daie beareth, with the few slips there ingrafted, no small stroke in Ireland. Who are they that scale the enemies fort? The Giralbines; Who are they

that defend their countrie? The Giralbines. Who are they that make the enemie quake in his skin? The Giralbines. And who are they whome enuie backbiteth? The Giralbines. If it had stood with the good fortune of the Giralbines, that the king with equall balance would poise their balure, long yre this had all Ireland bene put in quiet and peaceable staie. But their valiantnesse and power hath bene from time to time without sufficient cause suspected. Wherto Cambrensis.

And soothlie, as often as I call to mind the saicng of this hystorlographer, I may not but muse how sumpe he hitteth the nail on the head. And who so will conferre their continuall successe from the penning of this sentence (which was written aboue 400 yeares and byward) with this age of ours, shall some perceiue, that these words were rather prophesies of future mishap, than complaints of former injuries. At this daie let them behaue themselves valiantlie in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding, such standers are raised, such rumors noised, such tales byuted, such fables twittled, such vntrue reports twatled, such malicious inuentions forged, that such as are in authoritie cannot but of force suspect them, unlesse they were able, like gods, to pze in the bottom of each mans conscience. But who so witheth anie godnesse to that miserable countrie, and noble progenie, let him with all the veines of his heart beseech God, first that the higher powers be slowe in belæning the despitfull reports of enuious backbiters. Secondlie, that the Giralbines beare themselves in all their affaires so dutifullie, that these curious inserchers be not able to depaint their seigned gloses with anie probable colours. So shall suspicion be abandoned, so shall malicious standers be squatted, so shall that noble house be trusted, and consequentlie the battered weale-publike of Ireland redressed. The familie is English, and it is well knowne that the Irish rather feare their force, than loue their persons. And reason god pardie. For the Irish bearing in mind, that the Giralbine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in all ages conquered their lands, abated their courages, discomfited their men, banquished their armies, daunted their power, suppressed their force, and made them become true and tributarie subiects to the crowne of England: they haue god cause to beare that sept but holow hearts, what shew so euer they make in outward apperance. Thus much generallie of the Giralbines, now I purpose particularlie to treat of the house of Bildare.

Maurice Fitzgiralb, one of the earles progenitors, was lord iustice of Ireland in the yere 1242, at which time he builded the castell of Sligagh. This Maurice was lord of Circonille, and being entrelie seized of the whole countrie, he gaue the one moiety thereof to Cormoche mac Dermot, mac Morie. I read the Giralbine baron of Ophalte, in the yere 1270. I haue seene it registred, that there died a Giralbine the fourth earle of Bildare, in the yere 1287. But I take that kalendar to beare a false date. Wherefore the truth & certaintie is, that John Fitzgiralb, sonne to Thomas Fitzgiralb, was the first earle of Bildare, and was created earle vpon this occasion.

In the yere 1290, and in the eighteenth yere of Edward the first, William Ulesie was made lord iustice of Ireland. This man being either negligent or raw in the government of the countrie, emboldened the Irish enemie to indamage the kings subiects moze effronies than they were accustomed to do. These enormities being for the space of foure yeares tolerated, the subiects mistaking of the slacknesse of their gouernour, gaue out such sinister speeches of the

The castell of Sligagh. Circonille.

Baron of Ophalte.

The first earle of Bildare.

1290 Ulesie lord iustice.

Giraldu Cambrensis.

Ioannes de locofumenci part prima granarij.

Cambrensis lib. 2 conqu. lib. rub. 17.

lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart root. Some after, as the nobles in open assemblie were ripping up by pcernele the seuerall harms their tenants suffered, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of the crime, began with mistie kind of speaches to laie the whole fault on the lord John Fitzgiralde shoulders, sateng in parable wise, that he was a great occasion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in priuat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these public intories he was as meeke as a lambe. The baron of Dphalie spelling and putting these syllables together, spake in this wise.

These accuseth the lord Fitzgiralde.

The lord Fitzgiralde answer.

My lord, I am hartlie soze that among all this noble assemblie, you make me your onelie marke whereto to shot your bolt. And trulie were my defects so heinous as I suppose you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with such darke riddles, as at this present you haue done; but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as mine ancestozs with spending of their blood in their souereignes quarell aspired to this type of honour, in which at this date (God and my king be thanked) I stand: so your lordship taking the higher waie to the wood, by charging me with treason, would gladlie trip so roundlie on my top, that by shedding of my blood, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that butt so nere vpon your manozs of Beldare and Rathimgan, as I dare saie they are an eie-soze vnto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper gentleman.

The lord iustice replyeth.

A gentleman: quoth the lord iustice: Thou bald baron, I tell thee the Wescies were gentlemen before the Giraldines were barons of Dphalie, yea and before that Wescie bankrupt thine ancestour (he meant sir Maurice Fitzgiralde) feathered his nest in Leinster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyrypings after an other fashion than to be thus malepertlie cocking and billing with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the patientest philosopher that is, to be chokt with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speches, as though I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mood. I saie to the face of thee, and I will anow that I say vnto thee, that thou art a supporter of theues, a bolsterer of the kings enemies, an vpholder of traitozs, a murderer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate these words, I will make thee eate a peece of my blade.

The baron bydeling with might and maine his choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the lord iustice was hot in words, and replied in this wise. My lord I am verie glad, that at length you vntwapped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this while you masked. As for mine ancestoz, whome you terme a bankrupt, how rich or how poze he was vpon his repairs to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie, that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He bought the enemies land by spending his blood: but you lurking like a spider in his copweb to intrap flies, endeuor to beg subiects liuings wongfullie, by despoiling them of their innocent liues. And whereas you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume to chop loglike with you being gouernour, by answering your snappish *Quid*, with a knappish *Quo*, I hold with you to vnderstand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your dunghill gentilitie. Lastlie, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murderer, and the like, and therewithall you wish me to resolue my

selfe, that you rest vpon reason, not vpon rage: if these words proceed from your lordship, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of law, and am sozrie that the gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publicke authoritie to be my iudge, is by reason of priuat malice become mine accuser.

But if you vtter these speches as a priuat person, then I John Fitzgiralde, baron of Dphalie, do tell thee William Wescie, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the onelie buttresse, by which the kings enemies are supported, the meane and instrument by which his maiesties subiects are dailie spoiled. Therefore I as a loiall subiect saie traitor to thy teeth, and that shalt thou well vnderstand when we both shall be brought to the reherfall of these matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the time you beare office, I am resolu'd to giue you the maister in words, and to suffer you like a bialling cur to barke, but when I see my time I will be sure to bite.

These biting speches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mightie words, and deepe offes; till time either part appeased his owne. The baron of Dphalie not sleeping nor slacking his matter, squadded with all hast into England, where he was no sooner inshored, than Wescie, after he had substituted William Haie in his roome, was imbarcked, making as hot foot after the baron as he could. The king and his counsell vnderstanding the occasion of their sudden arriualls, to the end the truth should be brought to light, appointed a set date for the deciding of their controuersie, and that each of them should speake for himselfe what he could. Wherevpon Wescie being commanded to begin, spake to this effect.

The lord Fitzgiralde raid posteth into England

Wescie followeth.

My dread souereigne, as I must acknowledge my selfe somewhat agreed, to be intangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so bright an vmpire. And whereas it stood with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable counsell, that I, as vntowthe, should haue the gouernment of your realme of Ireland; and during my time, your maiesties subiects, haue bene, I may not denie it, diuerslie annoyed, for my discharge, as I said in Ireland: so I anow here in England, that he knealeth here before your highnesse (pointing to the baron of Dphalie) that is the root and crop of all these enozmities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but frowne at them, they dare not be so hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And whereas his force doth greatlie amaze them, thinke you but his countenance doth wonderfullie incourage them: To the furtherance of which, it is apparantlie knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath not onelie in hucker mucker, by sundrie messages imboldered your maiesties enemies, to spoile your subiects, but also by his personall presence, in secret meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench the flame of these hurlie burlies, that through his traitorous drifts were inkindled. These and the like enozmities through his priuite packing with rebels being dailie committed, to bring me your maiesties gouernour in the hatred of the people, his adherents both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclaimed against me and my gouernment, as though the redresse of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine hands.

Wescies oration.

Wherevpon being in conference with such as were the chieffeins of your realme of Ireland, albeit

"beit I take it to be expedient, to point with my finger to the berie sinke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your maiestie and your subiects, yet notwithstanding having more regard to modestie, than to the defects of the baron of Dhalie, I did but glasse at his packing in such secret sort, as none or a berie few of the companie could gesse, whome with my mistie speeches I did touch. And as commonlie the gald horse doth sonest kicke, so this gentleman being prickt, as it should seeme with the sting of his guiltie conscience, brake out on a sudden, and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and his dutie to me your deputie, he took me vp so roughlie, as though I had bene rather his vnderling than his gouernour. The summe of which despitfull speeches I refer to the testimonie of the honorable audience where they were deliuered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the triall for a few daies, I will charge him with such apparent ftems, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to denie anie one article that shall be booked against him. When Mescie had ended, the baron of Dhalie prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

The lord Gerald's oration.

"Most puissant prince and my dread souereigne, were master Mescie his mouth so iust a measure, as what he spake, should be holden for gospel, this had bene no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glossing would gladlie proue me to be. But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent balance to ponder both our tales, I am throughlie perswaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to ouerpoise his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath heard manie words to small purpose. And as his complaint hitherto hath bene generallie huddled vp, so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a supporter of thauces, a packer with rebels, a conspirator with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie the premises, all his gate glose of glittering speeches would suddenlie fade awate. Yea, but he craueth respit for the booking of his articles. Trulie so he hath need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. Wherein he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon menacing wordes, to schoule his alle in philosophie, so he had seuen yeares respit; because that in that space he was perswaded, that either the tyrant, the alle, or he would die. In likewise master Mescie, vpon respit granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your maiestie (which God forbid) should be shortened; or that I, in tract of time, would be disfaunured; or that he by one subtill pranke or other should be of this heauie load disburdened.

"But if I haue bene as manie yeares a malefactor as he aduoucheth, how hapeneth it, that his tongue was tied before this late disention begun? Whie did he not from time to time aduertise the counsell of my treasons? Whereas now it may be probable coniectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he oweth your roiall maiestie. Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be cald to testifie such speeches as I deliuered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errant in the carriage, as master Mescie hath done, or to craue further respit for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings with Irish rebels, where I perswaded master Mescie,

that you were able to proue them, I would be found willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience were so dampelie strong, as you pretend, I would take it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespass, to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denieng my faults, to stand to the rigor of his iustice.

"And as for meetings, I had neuer so manie in woods with rebels, as you master Mescie, haue had in your chamber with colwes. For it hath bene manifestlie apparented, that when the baron of Dhalie, and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue bene imbarde from entring your chamber, an Irish cow should haue at all times accesse vnto you. No, master Mescie: a cow, an horse, an hawke, and a silver cup haue bene the occasion of your slacknesse. When the subiects were preiudged, you would be content to winke at their miserie, so that your mouth were stoppt with baberie. And when you had gathered your crums sufficientlie together, you held it for a pretie policie (and yet it was but a bare shift) to charge the nobilitie with such packing, as you dailie did practise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse ioggling trick, you may so easilie dulse or dazell our eyes. Can anie man that is but slenderlie witwed, so far be caried, as to beleue, that master Mescie, being the kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings armie at his commandement; but that, if he were disposed to bestirte himselfe, he were able to ferret out such barebreach brats as swarme in the English pale? If he said he could not, we must smile at his simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he colour his dissolutie?

"Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie them. What then? Because the baron of Dhalie can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assistance of the deputie; therefore the deputie may not vanquish weake and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Dhalie: whereas the contrarie ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can tame the Irish, what may then the publike magistrat doe, that hath the princes pale? But in deed it is hard to take hares with fores. You must not thinke, master Mescie, that you were sent gouernour into Ireland to dandle your trulls, to pen your selfe by within a towne or citie to giue rebels the gaze, to pill the subiects, to animat traitors, to fill your coffers, to make your selfe by marring true men, to gather the birds whilst other beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you onelie haue committed.

"But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that you would be taken for a champion, I am knowne to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lieng for barlets, herding for ruffians, facing for crakers, chatting for twatlers, scolding for calliets, booking for scriueners, pleading for lawyers; and let vs trie with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to doe, our mutuall quarels. Wherefore to iustifie that I am a true subiect, and that thou Mescie art an archtraitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable assemblee, I challenge the combat. Whereat all the auditozie shouted.

"Now in good faith, quoth Mescie, with a right god will. Wherevpon both the parties being dismist vntill the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the counsell, that the fittest triall should haue bene by battell. Wherefore the parties bring as well thereof aduertised, as the daie by the king appointed, no small promise was made for so eager

The combat challenged.

eager a combat, as that was presupposed to have bene. But when the desired date approached nere, Elscie turning his great boast to small roff, began to crie creake, and secretly sailed into France. King Edward thereof advertised, bestowed Elscies lordships of Kildare and Keshingam on the baron of Ophalie, saying that albett Elscie conveyed his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Kildare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the fourteenth of Oate. He deceased at Larraghbrine (a village nere to Dainmoth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Kildare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Kildare among diverse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie insured it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the severall assaults of diverse enemies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now liveth is the tenth earle of Kildare, to whome from John the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which trueth in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now living as his ancestors before him, have bene shrewdly shamed at by his enmit toillers, saying that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the poise that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this tolle:

Quid possum, iactant: quid vellem, scire recusant.

Viraque Regina sunt, rago, nota mea.

His eldest sonne is lord Gerald, baron of Ophalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potenter.

Formae faciat Christi, nobilitas Gualde, bonitas.

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Desmond and Osserie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and were the seventh in all ages. Theobald Butler lord of Carrick and John Cogan were lord justices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castle of Arklow in the yeare 1285. His lord Theobald Butler the younger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serve against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Turvie, and his bodie was conveyed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, upon the repairs of John Magan (who before was lord justice) to England, besieged the Obyenies in Glindaloe: and were it not that they submitted themselves to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not bene onlie for a season vanquished, but also utterly by him extirped. This noble man was in his government such an encourager and furtherer of scrutators, as that he dubbed saint Michael the archangels date shrieve knights in the castle of Dublin. He was a scourge unto the Scots that invaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discomfited Donoughs motions to rebellion neare a towne named Wallisban. After diverse victorious exploits by him achieved, he sailed into England, and so to his paine in pilgrimage to saint James.

Upon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conveyed into Ireland was interred at Ballinacorney.

James Butler earle of Desmond was lord justice of Ireland, in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Charles was dubb knight by Henrie the first in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time Sir James Butler, Sir John Butler, Sir Ralph Butler, were in like manner knighted. James Butler, who married the earle of Desmond's daughter, was preferred to the earldome of Desmond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell upon the heirs generall, lastlie upon Sir Thomas Butler earle of Wiltshire, after whome it reverted to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossorie. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine historie calleth him *Domini-mum de pincerna*, the English le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince.

His verie name is Becket, who was advanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturburie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Charles. For the earle now living these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

Magnus animi, maiorq; pater, sed natus utroq;

Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.

Gerald fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, soon after that Butler became earle of Desmond. His eldest sonne is lord fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now living, thus speaketh:

Quasi tandem, iactans fluctibus alii,

Et precor in portu sit mea tanta ratio.

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Glenrickard, a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes have bene ancient noble men before their coming to Ireland: and in old time they have bene earles of Ulster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Enikelline. His verse is this:

Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,

Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.

Connogher Obyen earle of Lomond: the name of earle given to Purragh Obyen for tearme of life, and after to Donogh Obyen, in the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, now confirmed to the heirs males; his eldest sonne is baron of Izacan. Upon the erle now living this fantasie was devised:

Non decet externas, sine causa, querere reges,

Simplex in tuta vivere pace domi.

Spac Cartie Moore earle of Clencare, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie, Vicount Roch, Pierce son Vicount of Gormanstowne: wherunto is late lie annexed the baronie of Rathmedzelle. One of their ancestors Sir Robert Drexton, then chiefe baron of the exchequer, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman matched in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham la die of Carbyle, who deceased in the yeare 1361. After whose death Sir Robert Drexton was seized of the said lordship, in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castle, whereby the subjects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoyed.

There hath bene another Sir Robert Drexton of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now living. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, he was deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, erle of Penbrooke, a lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall receiver of his revenue in Ireland. How tollente this noble man behaved himselfe in peace, and how valiantlie he bequit himselfe in warre, sundrie of king Henrie the seventh his letters to him being deputie, adressed, do manifestlie witness. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was revealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seventh; Sir Christopher Drexton was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Drexton was lord justice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient planted in Lancashire, and

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Elscie fled into France. Kildare bestowed on the lord Gerald.

The first erle of Kildare created. 1315

The numbers of the earles of Kildare.

Lord Gerald.

Earle of Desmond. 1247

The Butlers (as I am informed) are found by ancient records to have bene earles of the Carricks. 1299

1309

1315

1313

1315

1316

1321

1322

1359

1425

1427

1427

1427

1427

1427

Tipperarie.

Clenrickard.

1550

Clencafe. Barrie. Roch. Gormanstowne.

1361

1367

1476

1492

1494

1397

and

Wexham came
from Lancashire.

and from thence departed into Ireland, being to this date seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the house Wexham. The vicount now living speaketh in this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:

Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,

Nota esset patria mens mea firma mea.

Walsingham.

Cusace alias Wolwar, vicount of Walsingham, lord of Kilcullen to him and his heires males, the foure and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Their ancestor Robert de Wolwar was sent into Ireland with commission, and his ofspring hath ressed there since the yeare 1175. Wolwar alias Cusace is twelfth baron of Downe in the yeare 1317. The vicounts poesse now living is this that followeth:

Cum bonus ipse manes, an non laus magna putatur,

Prudenter cuius posse placere viro?

Mountgaret.

1550

Dece.

Athenrie.

Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgaret to him and his heires males in the first yeare of Edward the first. Vicount Dece, Lord Bermingham baron of Athenrie, now degenerate and become mere Irish, against whome his ancestors served valiantlie in the yeare 1300. John Bermingham was lord of Athenrie Anno 1316. John Bermingham baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de alio Dei, in the yere 1318. Mac Maursce, alias Fitzgerald, baron of Berie. L. Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fleming baron of Slane. Simon Fleming was baron of Slane, 1370. The L. now living thus speaketh:

Slanus inuictus princeps mihi nomen adaptat,

In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.

Ardigh.

Berie.

Courcie.

Slane.

Killine.

Blunket baron of Killine, his familie came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet speciall monuments. Sir Christopher Blunket lord of Killine, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to be seene at this day in Killine, grauen on his tombe. The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poesse:

Ornant viuentem maiorum gesta meorum,

Talia me nequeunt viuā cadente mori.

Deluin.

Pugent baron of Deluin, an ancient house. Sir Gilbert de Pogent, or Pugent, came into Ireland, with Sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and valiant conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had giuen him vpon the conquest the baronies of fonte, and of Deluine by the said Sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Pogent, otherwise called Richardus de Capella, the house of Deluin is descended. In a conuenance past from Sir Gilbert to his brother Richard, these words are inserted: *Dedit & concessit fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vocatur Deluin, & totam terram meam in Anglia.* The baron now living, louing his countie thus speaketh:

In patria natus, patria prodesse laboro,

Viribus in castris, consilijsq; domi.

Howth.

S. Laurence, baron of Howth, signifieng the disposition of his mind, he speaketh in this wise:

Si redamas, redamo, si sperna, sperno. Quid eris?

Non licet absq; tuis viuere posse boni?

Dunsanie.

Blunket baron of Dunsanie. Vpon the baron now living, this deuise was framed as you see

Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna rogabit,

Dux tam preclaro stemmate dignus eris.

Trinlestowne.

Barnewall baron of Trinlestowne. They came from litle Brittain, where they are at this day a great surname. Vpon their first arriual, they waigreat possessions at Berthauen, where at length by conspacie of the Irish they were all laine, except one young man, who then studied the common lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Drumnagh besides Dublin, where his heires to this date are settled. This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname,

beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland: howbeit of late it hath bene greatlie maimed thozough the decease of thre worthie and famous Barnewalls. The first was Robert Barnewall L. of Trinlestowne that last was, a rare noble man, and indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable countrie, was resolved for the whetting of his wit, which nathelesse was pregnant and quicke, by a short trade and method he toke in his studie, to haue spt by the verie sap of the common law, and vpon this determination sailing into England, sickened shortly after at a worshipfull matrones house at Cornberie, named Margaret Tiler, where he was to the great græfe of all his countrie pearled with death, when the weale publike had most need of his life. The second Barnewall that deceased was M. Marcus Barnewall of Donbroa, whose credit and authoritie had it bene correspondent to his valure and abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue bene accounted and knotone for as od a gentleman (none disputed) as anie in the English pale of Ireland.

The third of the surname that departed this life, was Sir Christopher Barnewall knight, the lanterne and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnished as well with the knowlege of the Latine tong, as of the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent to the reformation of his countrie. A deepe and a wise gentleman, spare of speech, and therewithall pitie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in anie pleasant conceipt rather giuen to simper than smile, beris vpight in dealing, measuring all his affaires with the safetie of conscience, as true as stele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a good quarrell, a great houtholder, sparing without pinching, spending without wastage, of nature mild, rather choosing to pleasure where he might harme, than willing to harme where he might pleasure. He sickened the thre and twentieth of Iulie of an hot burning ague, and ended his life at his house of Ercuis the fift of August, to the great losse as well of his friends as of his countie; vpon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph consisting of sixtene verses.

Leta tibi, sed mesta, tuis mors accidit ista,

Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat, ampla tuis.

Barones in caelis villo sine fine triumphans,

Mactatus at in terris diues inopique iacet.

Idem sapiente caret diues, qui paria gubernet,

Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.

Te gener ipse caret, vidua te rustica turba,

Et que urbana cohors, se (acer alme) caret.

Non est digna viro talis respublica tanto,

Non sanctus sedes non nisi sancta decet.

Miror loquor, sed vera loquar, non ficta renoula,

Si maior loquar, nisi nisi vera loquar.

Mortuus es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt,

Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.

Plures in celo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,

Plures in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.

For the lord of Trinlestowne now liuing, describing a name of fame after death, this was deuised.

Quod doni vita dedit, fratre, mors sena negat,

Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.

Edward Butler baron of Donboin, giuen to Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. For the baron now liuing, these verses are made.

Dum sequitur natus summi uestigia patris,

Etiam optato tramite cuncta geret.

Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick baron of Upper Osserie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Gillpatrick and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Donat Clonagh Macgillpatrick

Robert Barnewall

1572

1574
Marcus Barnewall

Sir Christopher Barnewall knight

1175

1541

1541

trike was a pèrèlesse warriour in the yeare 1219. Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, now lord of Hyper Deserie, was knighted by the duke of Suffolke at the siege of Leith in Scotland: in the beginning of Elizabeths reigne, for whom these verses are made:

*Principis in gremio summi nutritus et alius,
Haesit ab illustri regia dona schola.*

Louth.
1541

Plunket, baron of Louth, to sir Christopher Plunket and his heires males, in the 33 yeare of H. Henrie the eight. This baronie was an erldome pertaining to the Berminghams, in the yeare 1316, & sooner. For the baron now living, this was devised:

*Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoque firmus amicus,
Nubila seu celum luxue serena regat.*

Dungauon.

Curragh-
more.
Desert.

Inskelme.
1543

Baronets.

Banret what
it signifyeth.

Onelle, baron of Dungauon, to whom the earle done of Liron was intailed by gift of king Henrie the eight. Polwar, baron of Curraghmore. Mac Surtan, lord Desert, his ancestors were lords in the time of Lionell duke of Clarence, earle of Ulster, in the yeare 1360: now verie wild Irish. Curraghmore, baron of Inskelme, to him and his heires males, in the fine and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. There are besides these noble men, certeine gentlemen of worship, commonlie called baronets, whom the ruler sort doth register among the nobilitie, by terming them corruptlie barons; whereas in verie deed they are to be named neither barons, nor baronets, but banrets. He is properlie called a banret, whose father was no carpet knight, but dubbed in the field under the banner or ensigne. And because it is not vsuall for anie to be a knight by birth, the eldest sonne of such a knight with his heires, is named a banneret, or a banret. Such are they that here insue. Sentleger, banret of Flemarge, mére Irish. Den, banret of Portmanstowne, waring Irish. Fitzgibbon, banret of Burnehurgh. Mellesse, banret of Portragh, Hulseie, banret of Galtrim. Saint Pighell, banret of Scrine. And Pangle, banret of the Pauan. English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ireland are those, which at this day either in great pouertie or perill doe keepe their properties of their ancestors lands in Ulster, being then companions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that part. These are the Saunges, Jordans, Fitz Simons, Chamberleins, Kussels, Bensons, Audleies, Whites, Fitz Ursulies, now degenerat and called in Irish Mac Mahon, the Beares sonne.

The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote.

The seuenth chapter.

Ardicua:



Ardicua, whome Marianus Scotus termeth Barbosus, because of his long beard, a learned man, greatlie in old time renowned in Ireland. But for as much as in his age the countrie was not stored with such as imploied

their labors in gathering together the sayings and doings of sage persons, the discontinuance of his fame is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the time, than to the want of his deserts. He flourished in the yeare 1053. Alen, a learned physician. James Archer a student of diuinitie. Argobastus, the second bishop of Argentine, successor to the holie prelat saint Amand, borne in Ireland, a learned and deuout clerke: who leaving his countrie and liuing in heremit wile, in certeine solitarie places of France, instructed the people of that realme in the feare of God, and the knowlege of the scriptures.

Alen.
Archer.
Argobastus.

In his preaching he was noted to haue so singular a grace, and so prosperous successe, that such as were by anie worldlie misaduenture afflicted, upon the hearing of his godlie sermons would suddenlie be comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduertised of his learning and vertue, caused him to be sent for, vsing him as his chiefe counsellor in all his weightie affaires; and after aduanced him to be bishop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies. He decessed in the yeare 658: & was buried hard by a gibbet nere the citie, pitcht on the top of an hill called saint Michaels hill, which was done by his owne appointment, in that he would follow the example of his maister Christ, who did vouchsafe to suffer without the citie of Ierusalem, where offenders and malefactors were executed. Barnwall. Barnabie a preacher. Brendan an abbat borne in Connagh, in his youth trained by vnder Hercules a bishop: and being further kept in yeares, he travelled into England, where he became a profess monke, vnder an abbat named Congellus, he flourished in the yeare 560: and wrote these bookes insuing. Confessio christiana lib. 1. Charta coelestis hereditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1.

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Barnwall.
Barnabie.
Brendan.

Edmund Bernerden a frier, he proceeded doctor Bernerden, of diuinitie in Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Brigide the virgin, borne in Leinster, she flourished in the yeare 510: she wrote a booke of hir reuelations. Browne a ciuillian. Burnell. Butler a Waterfordian, sometime scholer to maister Peter White; he translated Maturinus Corderius his booke of phrases into English, in the yeare 1562. James Caddell, he wrote Diuersa epigrammata. Carberie a profound ciuillian. Cellus archbishop of Armagh, borne in Ireland, and scholed in the vniuersitie of Oxford, he flourished in the yeare 1128: he wrote these bookes following. Testamentum ad ecclesias lib. 1. Constitutiones quardam lib. 1. Ad Malachiam epistolae complures. Clere, borne in Kilkennie, and proceeded maister of art in Oxford. John Clere. Clm borne in Leinster, being profess a greie frier, he bestowed his time in preaching, chiefe in the towne of Kilkennie. This man was a good antiquarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, beginning at the natiuitie of Christ, and stretching to the yeare 1350: in which yeare he flourished. He wrote these bookes following. Annalium chronicon lib. 1. De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De custodijs prouinciarum lib. 1. De Franciscanorum cenobijs & eorum distinctionibus lib. 1.

Browne.
Burnell.
Butler.

Caddell.
Carberie.
Cellus.

Clere.
Clm.

Henrie Cogie doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Colme, a learned and an holie monke, he flourished in the yeare 670: he wrote a booke intituled Pro socijs

Cogie.
Colme.

Quartadecimanis. Columbanus, borne in Ulster, and trained in learning and knowledge as well in England as in France, for his learning and vertue, was elected to be abbat. Having traueled diuerse countries, at length he repaired to Italie, and there in an abbey by him founded, called Monasterium Bobiense, he ended his life the twentieth of Nouember. He left to his posteritie these bookes: In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1. Epistolas ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduersus regem adulterum lib. 1. Conganus an Irish abbat, of whom saint Barnard maketh great account, he flourished in the yeare 1150: and wrote to saint Bernard Gesta Malachiae archiepiscopi lib. 1. Ad Bernardum Clareuallensem epist. plures.

Columbanus,

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Connour. Walter Conton: he wrote in the Latine tongue diuerse epigrams and epitaphs. Simon Contell a diuine. Cornelius Hibernus, otherwise named

Conganus,
Barnardus in vita Malachiae in praefat.
Connour.
Conton.
Contell.
Cornelius.

D. 2.

Hector Boetius
proful. Scot.
hnt.

Creagh.

Crumpe.

Curren.
Cusacke.

Dalfe.

Darcie.

Delahide.

Deuor.

Dillon.
Douball.

Dormer.

Duns Iohannes
maior lib.
4. cap. 10.

Cicero orat.
pro Arch.
poeta.

named Hector Boetius, by reason that he was taken in his time for an erquist antiquarie, as may appeare by the Scottish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to be greatly furthered. He flourished in the yeare 1230: and wrote Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Richard Creagh borne in Limerike, a diuine, he wrote Epistolae complures, Responiones ad casus conscientiae. De vitis sanctorum Hiberniae. Topographiam Hiberniae, with diuerse other bookes.

Hentie Crumpe borne in Ireland, and brought by in the vniuersitie of Orford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no small credit. Having repaired to his native countrie, minding there to desraie the talent wherewith God had indued him, he was suddenlie apprehended by Simon bishop of Metch, and kept in duresse, by reason that he was suspected to be of no sound religion. He flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred ninetie and two, and wrote these bookes: Determinationes scholasticarum lib. 1. Contra religiosos mendicantes lib. 1. Responiones ad obiecta lib. 1. Edmund Curren archdeacon of old Laghlin, there hath bene an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a gentleman borne, and a scholer of Orford, sometime scholemaster in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart him, gaue great light to his countrie; he imploied his studies rather in the instructing of scholers, than in penning of bookes, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred three score and six, and wrote in Latine Diuersa epigrammata.

Dalfe schooled in the vniuersitie of Paris, having a pretie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he made Diuersas conciones. Sir Willielme Darcie knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke intituled, The decaye of Ireland. David Delahide, an erquisite and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of Mertton college in Orford, verie well sene in the Latine and Graeke tongues, expert in the mathematics, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine. Whereby I gather that his pen hath not bene lazie, but is daily breeding of such learned bookes as shall be available to his posteritie. I haue sene a proper oration of his in the praise of master Heywood being Christmasse lord in Mertton college intituled, Deligno & sceno, also Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta. Deuor, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometimes scholemaster in Wexford.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and John Dillon likewise a student in diuinitie. Douball, sometime prebend of Armagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike prelat, verie zealous affected to the reformation of his countrie, he made Diuersas conciones. Dormer a lawyer, borne in Koffe, scholer of Orford, he wrote in ballat rofall, The decaye of Koffe. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Iohannis Iohannes Maior a Scottish chonticler would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was borne in England. So that there shall as great contention rise of him, as in old time there rose of Homers countrie. For the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie; the Chians claimed him to be theirs, the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countirman: but the Smirnians were so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no mate in the matter, & therupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countirman soeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound clerke. The onelie fault wherewith he was dusked, was a litle spice of baseness, being giuen

to carpe and taunt his predecessour diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Whereupon great factions are growen in the scholes betwene the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ring leader of the one sect, and Scotus the bellwadder of the other. He was fellow of Mertton college in Orford, and from thence he was sent for to Paris to be a professor of diuinitie. Finallie, he repaired vnto

10 Cullen, where in an abbete of greie friers (of which profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote are these: Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta scholastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In metaphysicam quaestiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Collationes Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quaestiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quaestiones predicamentorum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categorias Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quadam lib. 1. Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1.

Cusacke a doctor of diuinitie, a verie good scholemaster, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and six. Disser or Diuer Cusacke a student of the ciuill and canon law, a good humanician, and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Cusacke a gentleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue. Maurice Cusacke a student of diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire liuing, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from the world.

Fagan a batchelloz of art in Orford, and a scholemaster in Waterford. Daniell Ferraille, a diuine and a scholemaster. Fergusius son to Fergus, quhardus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose him to haue bene an Irish man. He flourished in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seventie and eight, and before the incarnation two hundred ninetie and two, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was by his misadventure drowned nere a roche in the north of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carregfergus; vpon whose mishap these verses were made:

Icarus Icareis ut nomina fecerat undis,

Fergusius petra sic dedit apta sua.

50 This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicae lib. 1. Finnanus scholer to one Hennius and Segentius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he flourished in the yeare six hundred sixtie and one; he wrote Pro veteri paschatis ritu lib. 1. Field a physitian. Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzgiralde, commonlie named John Fitzedmund, a verie well lettered ciuillian, a wise gentleman, and a good householder.

60 Robert Fitzgiralde alias Robert Fitzmaurice borne in the countie of Kildare. David Fitzgiralde, usually called David Duffe, borne in Kerie, a ciuillian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skillfull in physike, a good & generall craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who comming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, ware nothing but such as was of his owne making; his shoes, his pattens, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did weare, with a signet therein verie perfectlie wrought, were all made by him. He played excellentlie on all kind of instruments, and song therto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logicke, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none.

Richard

Thomist,
Scotist,

1303

Cusacke

Fagan,
Ferraille,

Fergusius,

Carreg-
fergus.

Finnan.

Field.

Hippias.

The description of Ireland.

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Fitzg.

Richard Fitzgale, primate of Armagh, scholer in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, & no ignorant diuine : an enimie to fraters, namelie such as went begging from doze to doze, whereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his means made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created primate of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the first, for repprouing the begging fraters. In the heat of the said contention he deceased in Italie, whose bones were caried into Ireland, and buried at Donnalke, where he was bozne. He wrote these booke insuing: De paupertate seruatoris lib. 7. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In extrauagantem Ioannis 23 lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra suum archidiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad crucem Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersalis ecclesie lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Questiones earundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clerum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Marie laudes Auenioni lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominica lib. 1. De peccato ignorantie lib. 1. De lure spiritali lib. 1. De vaticijs Iudæorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurimum librum vnum.

1360

Fitzsimons.

Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and exquisitely learned both in philosophy and diuinitie : being in companie with king Henrie the seventh, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demanded him, what fault he found most in the oration: Trulie (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, saving onelie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. Now in god faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a verie proper diuine : he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well sene in the Greeke and Latine tongue, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematical, and a painefull student in diuinitie : he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michael Fitzsimons, scholemaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexie Dublinium, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti, Diuersa epigrammata.

Flattisburie.

Phillip Flattisburie, a worthe gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine tongue, at the request of the right honourable Gerald Fitzgale of Bilsdare, Diuersas chronicas : he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seauenteene, & deceased at his towne named Johnstown nere the pass. Thomas Fleming : there is a Fleming now liuing, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof. Foillanus a learned monke, he trauelled into France, where thorough the liberalitie of an holie virgin, named Gertrude, he founded an abbey called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdome. Fursus peregrinus, so called, because he was bozne in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbey named Cœnobium Latiniacense : he wrote certeine pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he flourished in the yeare six hundred and fiftie, he was buried in his owne monasterie.

Fleming.

Foillanus.

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Fursus.

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Gogan.

Robert Gogan, fellow of Oxall college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken

as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogan a preacher. William Hardit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Hickie, physicians, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a greie frier, and a great trauelier, he flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftie, he wrote Itinerarium quoddam lib. 1. Oliuer Huseie, a professor of the arts in Dowae. Derbie Hurlie, a ciuilian, and a commendable philosopher : he wrote In Aristotelis physica. Robert Josse, bozne in Bilkennie, a god humanician. Radulphus Kellie a monke, brought vp in the knowledge of the Latine tongue in Bilsdare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Clement the first, as the speaker or locutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocat or deputy under Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was aduanced to be archbishop of Cashill, in which honour he deceased, hauing at vacant houres written In iure canonico lib. 1. Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1. Thomas Kenedie, a ciuilian.

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Kernie, he wrote in Irish Catechismum, Translationem bibliæ. Cagher, a nobleman bozne, in his time called Mac Murrough, he descended of that Mac Murrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Crage : he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. James King, bozne in Dublin, and scholer to sp. Patrike Cusacke, vnder whose being commendable trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could ataine to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidnei, Diuersa epigrammata. Kelse, a learned and an expert physician. Leurouse a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Bilsdare, and deane of saint Patriks in Dublin. Aeneas Loghlen, or Macleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pretie Latinist : he wrote De speciebus contramendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, The-ses ex præcipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas.

Peter Lombard bozne in Waterford, scholer to master Peter White, hauing imployed two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louaine, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vniforme consent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in many yeares before : he wrote Carmen heroicum in doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi. Doobie Macdrazagh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a scholemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sundrie ballads. Malachias bozne in Ulster, his life is exactly written by saint Barnard, in whose abbey he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fortie and eight, he wrote Constitutorum communium lib. 1. Legum celibatus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epist. plures. Malachias, the minorit or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he attended to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe repprouer of vice, a zelous imbracer of vertue, enimie to flatterie, friend to simplicitie, he flourished in the yeare

Gogan.

Hardit.

Hickie.
Hugo.

Huseie.

Hurlie.

Josse.

Kellie.

1342

Kenedie.
Kernie.
Macuannagh.

King.

1569

Kelse.
Leurouse.
1558

Loghlen.

Long.

Lombard.

Macdrazagh.
Macgrane.
Malachias.

Malachias
minorit.

one thousand three hundred and ten; he wrote De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1.

Mauricius,
Iohannes Cam-
mert in cap.
35. Sol.

thus writeth. *Annis ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professor, in dialecticis, utraque philosophia, metaphysicis, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vix insuper dici potest, qua humanitate, quaque morum sanctimonia praeclatus fuerit. Is cum annis plurimis in Patavino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, à Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuvanensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quo cum relicta Italia bellis in ea seculentibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquagesimum aetatis suae attigisset annum, mortem obiit. Erant plurima sua doctrina in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter eum, dum viveret, & necessitudinis vinculum, testantur sexcentae epistolae, quas plenas charitatis indicys, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Eis (quanta vera amicitiae vis) post amici obitum, relegens soleo assidue recreari.*

There did (saith Iohannes Camertes) of late yeares one Mauricius bozne in Ireland excell, a grete frer profess, verie well scéne in logike, depeleie grounded in philosophie, both mozall & naturall, learned in the metaphysiks, in diuinitie pærelesse. Scantlie maie I tell with how great courtesie & vertue he was indued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall artes manie yeares with no small renoume; he was created by Iulius the second, not onelie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was traueiling thitherward, being departed frō Italie, by reason of the bpizes that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fiftie yeares old. He had sundrie woorks in hand, which he could not haue finished by reason of his vntimelie death. How déere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addresed me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, thwackt with loue and kindnesse, do manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus farre Camertes. This Mauricius wrote Commentarios super Scotum in prædicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4. Mauricius archbishop of Cashill, he flourished in king Johns reigne. Giraldus Cambrensis, vpon his comming into Ireland, and debasing the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, saieing that albeit the inhabitants were wont to brag of the number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: Pour sake verie well sir (quoth the archbishop) indeed as rude as this countrie is or hath béene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall (I trust) shortly be stored with martyrs.

Mauricius
Cashillensis.

Diagh.

Monte.
Pellam.

Pigran.
Porsis.

Pugent.

Obuge.

John Diagh a diuine, he wrote a treatise, De possessione monasteriorum. Monete a ciuillian and a good Latinist. Pellam, sometime fellow of Aloules college in Drford, a learned physician. Patrike Pigran a diuine. Philip Porsis a scholer of Drford and after deane of S. Patriks in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these woorks. Declamationes quoddam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicantem validam lib. 1. Pugent, baron of Deluiv, scholed in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. Willfain Pugent a proper gentleman, and of a singular good wit, he wrote in the English tong diuerse sonets.

David Obuge, bozne in the towne of Bildeare, for his learned lectures, and subtile disputations openlie published in Drford and Treuers in Germanie, he

was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bononiensis, bring maister generall of the Carmelits, was at iar with William Bidington, the prouinciall of all the English Carmelites. Whereupon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelits that then were resiant in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bononiensis vnderstanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerly bent against Obuge, because he assumed himselfe to haue had saunour at his hands, by reason Obuge was bozne in that countrie where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and thereby on he was banished Italie. This storne in processe of time being appeased, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. Duer this he was so polittike a counsellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotile, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panozmitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deceased at Bildeare, leauing these learned woorks insuing to posteritie. Sermones ad Clerum lib. 1. Epistolae 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatas lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulae Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Giraldus
Bononiensis.

Owen Odeuæ, a preacher, and a maker in Irish. Thomas Oheirname, deane of Corke, a learned diuine, he wrote in Latine Ad Iacobum Stanihurthum epist. plures. Thomas Oheirigh, bishop of Koffe, an exquisite diuine, brought vp in Italie. Pander, a man zeloulie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled Salus populi. Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman bozne, yet I may not ouerslip him in the catalog of Irish authozs, for as much as his whole woorks tended to the conuersion and reformation of that countrie: he was surnamed Succetus or Pagonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segetius a priest, he conuerted the Island from idolatrie and paganisme to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hybernicae lib. 1. Historia Hybernicae ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectoria quaedam 366. lib. 1. Ad Cereticum tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolos epist. 1. Ad Hybernicas ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures. He deceased, being one hundred, twentie, and fwo yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Dotone, according to the old verse, which saith:

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*Hi tres in Duno tumulo, tumulantur in vno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pium.*

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the ediffing of his countriemen: he flourished in the yeate 850, and deceased at Glacomburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie; but that error hath béene before sufficientlie reponioned. This abbat wrote Homilias lib. 1. Ad Hybernos epist. plures. Petrus Hybernicus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renowned as Socrates is

Patricius
abbas.

Petrus
Hybernicus.

for being master to Plato; or Plato is, for having Aristotle to his scholar. This Petrus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1. Plunket, baron of Dunsanie, scholar in Katough, to M. Stagghens, after sent by sir Christopher Barne- wall knight, his frendlie father in law, to the uni- versitie of Orford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance pre- sentlie perceive, so hereafter when his workes shall take the aire, that now by reason of bathfull mode- stie, or modest bathfullnesse are wrongfullie impri- soned, and in manner stieled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renoume in lear- ning, shall be answerable to his desert and balure in writing.

Downrell, a batchelor of divinitie, sometime chap- leine in New college in Orford, after returning to his countrie, he was beneficed in Drogbeda, from thence stitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his privat studie, he purchased a laudable know- ledge in divinitie. Whereby he gaue manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Upon this occasion, one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his divinitie by hearefate. He deceased at Louaine in the yere 1573.

Nicholas Quemeford, doctor of divinitie, proceeded the thre and twentieth of October, he wrote in Eng- lish a verie pithie and learned treatise, and there, withall exquisitelle pend, intituled; Answers to certaine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diverse sermons. There lived latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and properlie learned.

Rian, there lived two brethren of the surname, both scholars of Orford, the one a good ciuillan, the other verie well scene in the mathematical. Richard archdeacon of saint Patriks, chancelor in the uni- versitie of Dublin, proceeded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Robert Rochford bozne in the countrie of Welfesford, a proper diuine, an exact philosopher, and a verie good antiquarie. There is another Rochford that is a student of philosophie. Roth, batchelor of law, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Orford. There hath bene another Roth vicar of S. Johns in Kil- kennie prettie learned. Iohannes de sacro bosco, bozne in Holtwood, and thereof surnamed De sacro bosco; he wrote an excellent introduction, De Sphæra. Sedgrauæ, two brethren of the name, both students in divinitie. Shaghens fellow of Balliol college in Orford, after scholemaster in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man. Sheine, scholar in Or- ford and Paris; he wrote, De Repub. Elias Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, sometime scholar of Orford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. Michael Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, master of art. Skidmo, bozne in Cozke, and gardian of Boghill.

Richard Smith bozne in a towne named Rack- mackrie, thre miles distant from Welfesford, sur- named Smith, of his father, who was by occupation a smith, being foureteens yeres of age he stole into Crigland, and repaired to Orford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of divinitie, was elected do- ctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a pærelelle pearle of all the diuines in Orford, as well in scho- lasticall as in positive divinitie. Upon the death of quene Marie he went to Louaine, where he read o- penlie the apocalpye of saint John, with little admi- ration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious saying, or the libertie of saying, The assertion of the sacrament of altar, A defense of

the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of vntwitten verities one booke; Retractions one booke. In the Lat in tong he wrote De coelibatu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum.

Nicholas Stanhurst, he wrote in Latine Dic- tam medicorum lib. 1: he died in the yeare one thou- sand five hundred fiftie and foure. James Stan- hurst, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact know- ledge in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper diuine. He wrote in English, being spea- ker in the parlements; An oration made in the be- ginning of a parlement holden at Dublin befoze the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c. in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie; An oration made in the beginning of the parlement hol- den at Dublin befoze the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quene Elisabeth; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin befoze the right honorable sir Henrie Sid- neie knight, &c. in the eleuenth yere of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quene Elisabeth. He wrote in Latine, Pias orationes. Ad Coraciensem decanum epistolas plures: he deceased at Dublin the seuen and twentieth of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. Upon whose death, I, as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

*Vita brevis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,
Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.
Vrbs est orba sopho, legum rectore tribunal,
Causidicoque cliens, atque parente puer.
Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,
Fingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.
Non opus est falsis, sed quæ sunt vera loquenda,
Non mea penna notet, blucina fama sonet.
Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoque parentem
Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.
Filius hæc dubitans, talem vix comperit vsquam,
Vllus in orbe patrem, nullus in vrbe parentem.
Mortuus ergo, pater, poteris bene viuus haberi,
Vivus enim mundo nomine, mente Deo.*

Walter Stanhurst, sonne to James Stanhurst, he translated into English Innocent de contemptu mundi. There flourished befoze ante of these a Sta- nhurst, that was a scholar of Orford, brother to Gennet Stanhurst, a famous and an ancient ma- trone of Dublin, she lieth buried in saint Michaels church. Sutton, one of that name, is a verie good maker in English. Matthew Talbot scholemaster, a student in Cambridge. William Talbot, John Talbot sonne to William, a master of art, he wrote in Latine, Orationem in laudem comitis Essexæ, Diuersa epigrammata. Edmund Tanner a pro- found diuine, he wrote Lectiones in summam D. Thomæ. Tatter batchelor of art, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Orford; he wrote in Latine Epigram- mata diuersa.

Thomas Hybernus bozne in Palmerstonone nere the Maas, he proceeded doctor of divinitie in Paris, a deepe clerke and one that read much, as may easlie be gathered by his learned workes: he flourished in the yeare 1290, and wrote with diuers other workes, these bookes insuing: Flores biblia, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De Christiana religione lib. 1. De il- lusionibus demonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs victorum lib. 1. Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dublin. Trauerse doctor of divinitie, he flourished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. There hath bene after him a scholemaster in Dublin of that name. Tundalus Magus a knight, after he be- came a Charterhouse monk, much given to con- templation, wherein he is reported to haue seene di- uelle visions of heauen and hell, and thet upon he wrote

Stanhurst.

1557.

1560

1568

1573

Circa nnum Dom. 1506.

Sutton.
Talbot.

Tanner.

Tatter.

Thomas Hy-
bernus.Toole,
Trauerse.

Tundalus.

Wrote Apparitionum suarum lib. 1. he flourished in the yeare 1149.

Virgilius Soli-
uagus.

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Virgilius Soliugus a noble man borne, being slept in yeares, he traueled into Germanie, where being known for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was chosen by Dilion duke of Banaria, to be their rector: or gardian of an ancient abbete, named S. Peters abbete, placed in the citie of Salisburgh, after he was created Episcopus Iuanienensis, and founded in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being general bishopp in Banaria, rebaptized certeine, whome he suspected not to haue bene orderlie baptized. Virgilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Sidonius archbishop of Banaria, withstood Bonifacius in his fond attempt. The controuersie being brought before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sidonius published in that point sound doctrine, as who so will read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall plainelie see. Virgilius deceased 784, and lieth buried in his church at Salisburgh: he wrote Ad Zachariam Rom. pont. epist. 1.

Tomo primo
concluciorum.

Altagh.
Vitanus.

Vigalius.

Alther.
wadding.

Wersh.

When Altagh a physician, his father proceeded doctor of physike in Paris. Vitanus a learned monke fellow to Foillanus, with whome he traueled into France, and with continuall preaching edified the inhabitants of that realme; he flourished in the yeare 640. Gilbertus Vigalius a profess Carmelite, and a student in Orford, he flourished in the yeare 1330, he wrote in two great tomes, Summam quarundam legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1. Alther, or Wadding a student in Cambridge, and a preacher. Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine vpon the burning of Paulus Steele, Carmen heroicum, Diuersa epigrammata. Edward Wersh, he flourished in the yeare 1550, and wrote in English, The dutie of such as fight for their countrie, The reformation of Ireland by the word of God. James Wersh, master of art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into English, Giraldum Cambrensem, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

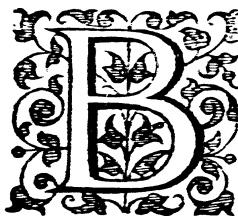
Richard Wersh master of art and student in diuinitie. There is a learned man of the name benefited in S. Patrikes church in Dublin, student in Cambridge, and now a preacher. Peter Wersh a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life, he died of a surfet at London, about the yeare 1571. There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a verie proper Latine verse. Wershleste deane of Bilsare, there lieth an other learned man of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patrikes. Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Oxall college in Orford, the lorde schoolmaster of Spourster; he bestowed his time rather in the making of scholars, than in the penning of books, and to the instruction of youth, he wrote Epitome in copiam Erasmi, Epitome figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes in orat. pro Archia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa. John White bachelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in Latine Diuersa pia epigrammata. Andretto White a good humanitian, a pretie philosopher. White, of this surname there flourish sundrie learned gentlemen. There lieth one White in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English. Andretto White a toward youth, and a good versifier. William an abbat, and (as it is thought) a soothsayer, he flourished in the yeare 1298, and wrote Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1. David Wersh, a diuine.

Thus far (gentle reader) haue I indureoured to heape vp together a catalog of such learned Irishmen, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found.

Holubett, I am to request that not to misastre the ample number of the learned of that countrie by this briefe abstract: considering, that diuerse haue bene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge that to me are unknowne, and therefore in this register not recored.

The disposition and maners of the more Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish.

The eight chapter.



Nowe I attempt the unfolding of the maners of the more Irish, I thinke it expedient, to forewarne the reader, not to impute any barbarous custome that shall be here laid downe, to the citizens, towne men, and inhabitants of the English pale, in that they differ little or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositions of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being the refce as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irish man standeth so much vpon his gentilitie, that he termeth any one of the English sept, and planten in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saronnegh, that is, a Saron churle: so that both are churles, and he the onelie gentleman. And the vpon if the basest pezzant of them name himselfe with his superiour, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as I and Onelle, I and you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the courtesie of the English language is cleane contrarie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, frantke, morous, frefull, sufferable of infinit paines, verie glorious, manie sorcerers, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great almesgiuers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewder sort, both chearkes and late men are sensuall and ouer loose in liuing. The same being vertuouelie bred by or reformed, are such mirrors of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations reterne but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead corpse to the graue with holding and barbarous outcries, pitifull in apparence: whereof greiue, as I suppose, the prouerbe; Lo wepe Irish.

Credite of praisie they be, & fearefull of dishonour, and to this end they esteeme their poets, who write Irish leameable, and pen their sonets heroecall, for the which they are bountifullie rewarded; if not, they send out libels in dispraise, whereof the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie their foster children, and bequeath to them a childe portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so beneficiall euertie waie, that commonlie five hundred coloes and better, are giuen in reward to win a noble mans childe to foster, they loue & trust their foster brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire headed, big & large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of bodie.

Their infants, they of meaner sort, are neither swaddled nor lapped in linnen, but folded vp stark naked in a blanket till they can go. Proud they are of long crisped bushes of haire which they terme gubs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning, to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable peece

Irish gentilitie.

The inclination of the people.

To wepe Irish.

Poets esteemed.

Foster children.

The stature of the people.

Gubs.

one

Wershleste.

Whites.

White.

William.

Wersh.

Their Diet. of villanie. Water crosses, which they tearme Cham-
rocks, roots and other herbs they feed upon, o'temeale
and butter they cram together, they drinke wheie,
milke, and beefe-broth. If lesh they deuoure without
bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boileth in their sto-
machs with *Aqua vite*, which they swallow in after such
a sarfet by quarts and pottels: they let their colowes
blow, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouer-
spread with butter, and so eate it in lumps. No meat
they fantasie so much as porke, and the fatter the bet-
ter. One of John Onels household demanded of his
fellow whether beefe were better than porke: That
(quoth the other) is as intricat a question, as to aske
whether thou art better than Onele.

Poske. Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and
then make a set feast, which they call coshering, wher-
to flocke all their retainers, whom they name follo-
wers, their rithmours, their bards, their harpers
that feed them with musike: and when the harper
twangeth or singeth a song, all the companie must
be whist, or else he chafeth like a cutpurse, by reason
his harmente is not had in better price. In their
coshering they sit on straw, they are serued on
straw, and lie vpon mattresses and pallets of straw.
The antiquitie of this kind of feasting is set forth by
Virgil, where Dido interteineth the Trojan prince
and his companie. They obserue diuerse degrees, ac-
cording to which each man is regarded. The basest
sort among them are little yong wags, called Dal-
tins, these are lackies, and are seruiceable to the
groomes or horseboies, who are a degree above the
Daltins. Of the third degree is the Kerne, who is an
ordinarie souldior, vsing for weapon his sword and
target, and sometimes his peece, being commonlie
so good markemen as they will come within a scoze
of a great castell. Kerne signifieth (as noble men of
deepe iudgement informed me) a shower of hell, be-
cause they are taken for no better than for rakebels,
or the diuels blacke gard, by reason of the stinking
sturre they keepe, wheresoeuer they be.

Lib. pri. Aen. circa finem. The fourth degree is a galloglasse, vsing a kind of
pollax for his weapon. These men are commonlie
weildward rather by profession than by nature, grim
of countenance, tall of stature, big of lim, burle of
bodie, well and stronglie timbered, cheslie feeding on
beefe, porke & butter. The fift degree is to be an horse-
man, which is the chieffest next the lord and capteine.
These horsemen, when they haue no state of their
owne, gad & range from house to house like arrant
knights of the round table, and they neuer dismount
vntill they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table.
There is among them a brotherhood of Karrowes,
that proffer to plaie at cards all the yeare long, and
make it their onelie occupation. They plaie a waie
mantle and all to the bare skin, and then trusse them-
selves in straw or leaues, they wait for passengers
in the high wate, inuite them to game vpon the
greene, and aske no more but companions to make
them sport. For default of other stufte, they pawne
their glsbs, the nailles of their fingers and toes, their
dimissaries, which they leaue or redeeme at the courte-
sie of the winner.

Taketeller. One office in the house of noble men is a tale-
teller, who bringeth his lord asleepe with tales baine
and frivulous, wherewith to the number giue forth and
credit. Without either precepts or obseruations of
congruities, they speake Latine like a vulgar lan-
guage, learned in their common scholes of leach-
craft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold
on till the twentieth yeares, conning by rote the
aphorismes of Hippocrates, and the ciuill institutes,
with a few other parings of those faculties. In their

scholes they growell vpon couches of straw, their
bookes at their noses, themselves lie flat prostrate,
and so they chant out with a lowd voice their lessons
by peecemeale, repeating two or three wordes thirtie
or fortie times together. Other lawyers they haue lia-
ble to certeine families, which after the custome of
the countrie determine and iudge causes. These con-
sider of wrongs offered and receiued among their
neighbores: be it murder, felonie, or trespassse, all is
remedied by composition (except the grudge of par-
ties seeke reuenge) and the time they haue to spare
from spoiling and preiding, they lightlie bestow in
parling about such matters. The Breighon (so they
call this kind of lawyers) sitteth on a banke, the lords
and gentlemen at variance round about him, and
then they proceed. To rob and spoile their enemies
they deeme it none offense, nor seeke anie meanes to
recouer their losse, but euen to watch them the like
turne. But if neighbores & friends send their puruei-
ors to purloine one another, such actions are iudged
by the Breighons aforesaid. They honour and reue-
rence friers and pilgrims, by suffering them to passe
quietlie, and by sparing their manions, what soeuer
outrage they shew to the countrie besides them. The
like fauor do they extend to their poets & rithmours.

In old time they much abused the honozable state
of marriage, either in contracts vnlaesfull, meeting
the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorlements at
pleasure, or in retaining concubines or harlots for
wiues: yea euen at this daie, where the clergie is
faint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and
a daie of probation; and at the yeares end, or anie
time after, to returne hir home with hir marriage
goods, or as much in value, vpon light quarrels, if the
gentlewomans friends be vnable to reuenge the in-
iurie. In like maner maie she forsake hir husband.
In some corner of the land they vied a damnable su-
perstition, leauing the right armes of their infants
vnchristened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might
giue a more vngratious and deable blow. Others
write that gentlemens children were baptised in
milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who
had the better or rather the onelie choise. Diuerse o-
ther baine and execrable superstitions they obserue,
that for a complet fecitall would require a leuerall
volume. Whereto they ate the more stiffelie wedded,
bicause such single preachers as they haue, repute
not in their sermons the penitence and fondnesse
of these frivulous dreamers. But these and the like
enormities haue taken so deepe root in that people, as
commonlie a preacher is sooner by their naughtie
liues corrupted, than their naughtie liues by his
preaching amended.

Againe, the verie English of birth, conuersant with
the sauage sort of that people become degenerat, and
as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup,
are quite altered. Such force hath education to make
or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the
eyes of that rude people, that at length they maie see
their miserable estate: and also that such as are depu-
ted to the gouernement thereof, bend their industrie
with conscionable policie to reduce them from rude-
nes to knowledge, from rebellion to obedience, from
trecherie to honestie, from sauagenesse to ciuilitie,
from tolennesse to labour, from wickednesse to goodli-
nesse, whereby they maie the sooner espie their blind-
nesse, acknowledge their losenes, amend their liues,
frame themselves pliable to the lawes and ordinan-
ces of hir maiestie, whome God with his gracious
assistance preferue, aswell to the prosperous gouern-
ment of hir realme of England, as to the happie re-
formation of hir realme of Ireland.



The first inhabitation of Ireland, by whome it vvas instructed in the faith, *with the seuerall inuasions of the same, &c.*

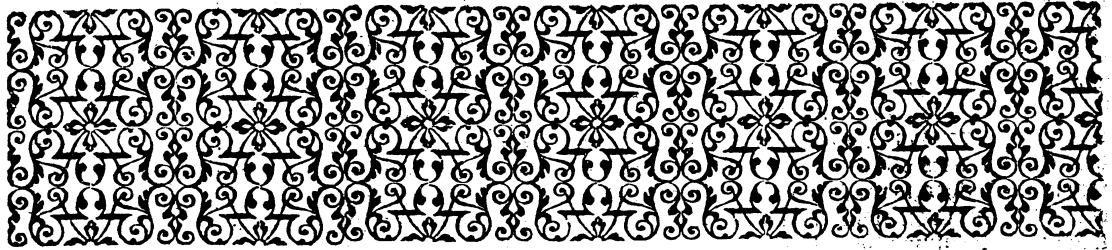
The authors preface or introduction to the
sequele of the historie.



Lthough (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is so vncerteine, that who soeuer shall enter into the search thereof, further than he findeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities sufficient where-vpon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Irish historie we chieflie follow) haue set downe what they haue found in the Irish antiquities, concerning the first inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and because the reader also may be peraduenture desirous to vnderstand the same, we haue thought good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due consideration of the circumspect reader; and where the errors are too grosse, giuing by the way some cautions, inlike sort as our authors themselues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that seeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furthest from some one of ancient antiquitie: so likewise the Irishmen haue registred in their chronicles, that their countrie was first inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.



THE



THE FIRST INHABI- tation of Ireland, &c.



Cefara nece
to Noah.

An. mundi.
1556

Rob. Place in
Gene. 5.

In the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance to folloive for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to foretello his kinfolkes and friends of that uniuersall flood which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered with water; & that within few yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall flood, one hundred & fine and twentie yeares. But when euery man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cefara that was nece to Noah, bearing his vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe; and therefore determined with certaine his adherents to seeke adventures in some forren region, perswading his selfe, that if he might find a countrie neuer yet inhabited, and so with sin vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods iustice should not there take effect. Wherevpon rigging a name, he committed his selfe to the seas, sailing forth, till at length he arrived in Ireland onelie with threemen; a fiftie mount, having lost the residue of his companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwracks made in that his long & troublesome iourneie. The names of the men were these, Wabht, Laigria, and Jintan. The coast where he first set foot on land, and where also the lieth buried, is called *seanachaire linn*, that is, the shipping ciuitie or thore: the stones whereat the memorie hereof was preserved from violence of waters, haue bene some of some (as they themselves haue reported) but how trulie I haue not to say: within fiftie daies after his coming on land there, the uniuersall flood came & ouerflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale betwixt his selfe too manifestlie to be a more buttrill, if the time and other circumstances be thoughtlie examined, I will not stand longer about the proof or disproof thereof; saying that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was unknowne to the world before the uniuersall flood; and no part inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged tale, with the record thereof grauen in a stone (a deliue howeued from Josephus, as some thinke) if it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that

Ireland was discovered and peopled by some of Noahs kinred, euen with the first Islands of the world (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to that which is set forth in their histories, then about thre hundred yeares after the generall flood immediatlie vpon the confusion of tongues, Japhet & his posteritie emboldened by Noahs example, adventured to commit themselves by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuerse Isles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolennus or Baskolennus, who incouraged with the late attempt and successe of Japhet kinman to Japhet (then netelle intruded vpon the monarchie of Assyria) searched so far west, intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his thre sonnes Languis, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right actiue and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names in certaine notable places named after them; as Languis, Astragrus, and mount Salanga, since named saint Duninkes hill, and Ruthurgus his poole. Little is remembred of Bartolennus; saying that in short space with manie hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countie ouergrown with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people vnder the gouernment of those thre sons of Bartolennus and their offspring, about the space of thre hundred yeares. Together with Bartolennus arrived Ireland certaine godles people of Japhets kinred, worthilie termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vied their strength to gaine soueriegnitie, and to oppresse the weakie with rapine and violence. That kinage (Chams brood) did grow in short while to great numbers, and alwaie indioyed themselves where soeuer they came to beare the rule ouer others. The cause hereof was their bodilie strength, answerable to their bogenesse of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoroastres the magiellan; and Japhet grandfather to Japhet. Which two persons in themselves and their progenies were renowned through the world as victorious pittices, ruling ouer thre mightie kingdoms Egypt and Assyria. A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed vpon Sem and Japhet, thinking it necessary to withstand and preuent all lawfull rule and domination, least the curse of Canaanie prophecied by Noah should light vpon them, as at length it did. Herevpon

An. mundi.
1557
After the best
authoris make
300 yeares,
and not 100
betweene
Noahs flood
and Babel.

Bartolennus,
or Baskolennus.
Clem. lib. 4.
Cambred,
lib. 3.

Ruthurgi stagnum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giantes.

Bergon the
sonne of Japhet
and brother
ther to Albion
(as Iohn Bale
hath) conquered
Ireland
and the Dyaks
reits.
Quill examples
some fol-
lowed.

Rebellion against governours.

A worthy resolution.

Ancient cruelties.

Anno mundi.
2557

Ruamus how long he lived.

Forged tales and fables with credit in time, to passe among the unskillfull people for true histories.

Gen. 10.

upon rebelliouslie withstanding their due obedience from their lawfull governours here in Ireland, and taking head, set by a king of their owne faction, and maintaining his estate to the oppression of the subjects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull governours & these usurpers, with daile raffles and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them that coveted to live in quiet under their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one general battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their lives in freedom, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certeine debates and enmitie among themselves, whereby they had infeebled their owne forces, they thought good to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agreement, and joining in league with promise to assist each other to take their common enemies, they assemble their power south of all parts of the land, and coming to foure battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie together for the space of certeine houres, the victorie inclined to the right. At last, so that the lawfull kings prevailing against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole kind of that mischeifous generation. For the kings meaning to deliever themselves of all danger in time to come, used their happy victorie with great crueltie, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waye for more despise, & fuller satisfaction of their whole revenge, they did not boushase to burye the carcasses of their slaine enemies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof through stench of the same, such an infective pestilence infused in all places through corruption of aire, that few escaped with life; beside those that got them alive by sea.

And hereby lieth a baline tale among the Irish men, that one of the giants named Ruamus, chancing to be preserved from this mortalitie, lived for south two thousand and one and fortie yeares; which is more than twisse the age of Jerusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countie; and after that upon request he had received baptism of the said Patrike, he deceased in the yeare after the birth of our saviour foure hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin unadvisedlie registred. But such foolish tales and baline narrations may warne the advised reader how to beware of yielding credit unto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light upon such blind legends. For where some of the poets brag for invention sake to saie such dreaming fables for exercise of their wits and wits rather towards through error and lacke of knowledge, they have bene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants slaine and made a waste in manner afore rehearsed, certeine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caves, and there kept them till lacke of victuels forced them to come forth, and make shift for subsistence; and perceiving no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they wared bolder; and when they understood how things had passed, they settled themselves in the best part of the countie, easilie subduing the poore selie soules that remained, and so retaining their lineage, they became lords of the whole Island, keeping the same in subjection for the space of thre score yeares together.

Among Iaphets sons we read in Genesis that Japhog was one, who planted his people in Scythia nere

Canais, from whence about the yeare of the world two thousand thre hundred & sequenteene. Semodus with his foure sonnes, Startus, Garbanules, Aninnes, Fergusius, captains over a faire compaignie of people, were sent into Ireland, who passing by Grecia, and taking there such as were desirous to take adventures with them, at length they landed in Ireland, inhabited the countie, and multiplied the rest, although not without continuall warre, which they held with the giants for the space of two hundred and sixtene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants prevailing chased them thence againe, so that they retired into Syria. This was about the yeare after the creation (as by their account it should seme) two thousand five hundred thirtie and thre, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without foren invasion, till the yeare two thousand seaven hundred and foureteene; but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-welth: for falling at variance among themselves, and measuring all things by might, seditionlie they bered each other. Which thing coming to the knowledge of the Grecians, moved five brethren, sonnes to one Dela, being notable seamen and skillfull pilots to rig a naute, and to attempt the conquest of this Island. These were of the posteritie of Semodus, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutheranus, & Slantius. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they toke the sea, and finally arriving here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants soe weakened through their owne civil dissension: so that with more ease they atchieved their purpose, and won the whole countie, bitterlie destroying and rooting out that wicked generation enemies to mankind; and after divided the Island into five parts, and at each of them they severallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and avoid contention, they concluded to fir a more-bone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which each of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equalitie partakers of the commodities found within that countie soile.

These are also supposed to have intended the distribution of threes into cantreds, everie cantred to have one hundred towne-ships. At length desire of sovereignty for the five brethren at variance, grew to the growing wealths. But Slantius getting the upper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a towne, take on him as himself above his other brethren, incroching round about the middle shore for the space of certeine miles, which plot in time obtained the priviledge & name of one entire part, & so to make up the number of five parts (into the which Ireland is saide to be divided) and is called *Speth*; and in Latine *Provincia*, taking that name (as some have gessed) for that in respect of the other, it contained but the moitie of cantreds; that is, *Speth* (where each of the other comprehended two and thirtie a piece): or else for that it lieth in the middle of the land. This part Slantius joined as a surplusage over and above his inheritance, to his brother Rutheranus: which part notwithstanding grew to a severall kingdom. Thirtie yeares the monarchy yet continued in this order, but finally Slantius deposed his life, and was buried in a mountaine of *Speth*; that being thither to (as they saie) the name after him. When the princes subject to him, began to quarrell the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: thereupon ensued continuall wars betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of *Speth*; which title of long time might seeme to have prevailed. In the meane of these troubles also there grew in Ireland a new armie of Scythians, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their

Anno mundi.
2317
Semodus
with his
four sonnes.

Ireland then
was inhabited
by the
spring of
Japhet.
The giants
prevailed.
2533

The sonnes
of Dela
Grecian
skill in the
art of sailing.

They passed
into Ireland,
and destroyed
the giants.

They divided
the countie
into four
parts.

A cantred.

Desire of
sovereignty
cause of
variance.

Slantius
departed
this
life.

A new
armie
of Scythians
land in
Ireland.
Parta-
king.

their forefather Memobus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an vpyre, that haucke was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable manner.

Brannus called into Ireland: so did one part of the famous people.

Segwin.
Allobroges.

To be short, they spent themselves in pursuing one another with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what soldier they received to their aid, to keepe by or beat downe a side. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brannus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same name which he had made readie to passe ouer into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countreies called Saunoie and the Delphinat. But his enterpryse into Ireland toke small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurguntius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer inioied the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worke with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare awaie great plentie. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (under the conduct of foure capteins) passed into Ireland from Wiscie, and inhabited that Island, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author keepeth, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appeere from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

2436

In the yeare of the world 2436, after the vniuersall flood 780, whilst the Israelites serued in Egypt, Cathelus the sonne of one Peale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon dissaue exiled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends. This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honorable intertainment of Pharaosurnamed Mus, as in the Scottish historie more plainelie appeareth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauesed the seas, and landing first in Portingall, after some bickering with the inhabitants; at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lieng by the banks of the river ancientlie called Spunda, & now Spundego, where shortly after he began to build a citie first named Brachara, but now Barsalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Cathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they removed into Galicia, where they also builded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Coruna. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that Galicia was not able to susteine them, Cathelus with a certaine number of them passed ouer into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highlie honored: for he not onelie enriched and beautified the Irish tongue, but also taught them letters, sought by their antiquities, practised their youth in warlike feats after the maner of the Grekes and Egyptians, from whence he descended.

Brigantium.
See more hereof in Scotland.
Cathelus passeth into Ireland.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Island after him Cathelis, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, aswell in the miscount of yeares as other vniuersalities found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, throughlie weighed, and well considered. Yet

certaine it is, that Ireland was ancientlie named Scotia, and the people Scots, as by diuerse old writers it may be sufficientlie proued: albeit by what occasion it first toke that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the historie as we find it. The residue of Cathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the citie of Baion in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with store of inhabitants, and welneere about two hundred yeares after their first arrivall there (when they were estones pestered with multitude of people) they began to fantasie a new voiage, but whether at that time they passed ouer into Ireland, or some whither else, it is vncertaine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe honour of Baion with foure brethren Spaniards, of the which two are said to be Iberus and Hermion, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Cathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Isles were emptie of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, imbarcked with the same in thre score great vessels, and directing their course westward, honored a long time in the sea about the Isles of Dykenie, vntill by good hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British historie it appeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittels and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbered with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for ever.

Gurguntius aduising himselfe hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholie destroye that vniuersal generation, toke the othes of those Spaniards with hostages; and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them ouer into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guides, they made a conquest of the whole countrie, & settled themselves in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present hold of all inhabitants: but yet they agree that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons, & that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appeareth the kings of this our Britain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they neuer mainteined, and sometimes pccauiled in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of king Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiection with paiement of their tribute, and making their appeerance at the citie called in the British tongue Caer Ubeon. Wherevnto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be inferred.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially aided by the Britons, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning seuerallie apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of welth, vntill their pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Iberus and one of his brethren against Hermion and the other brother. In this dissention Hermion due his brother Iberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further

E. 1.

appeareth,

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards to subiection.

The arrivall of the Spaniards in Ireland, Gessie Mon.

The Irish were subiect to R. Arthur, westchester.

Dissention between the brethren.
Such are the fruits of ambition.
See more hereof in the description.

For time so manifest of detestable that wanteth a colourable pretense to excuse it.

Ireland divided into five kingdoms. One sovereign ruler over the rest.

appeareth: although some rather hold, that it took the name of iron, of the plentiful mines of that kind of metall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to proceed. Hermon hereupon to avoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus attained to the sovereignty by the unnatural slaughter of his brother, in that unhappy civil warre, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither maliciouslie nor contentiously, but for his necessarie defense and safetie he had borne armes against his brethren: and to witnesse how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certaine captains as kings, to rule under him severall countries, reserving to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Weth* allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

These parts appointed forth in this wise at length grew to five kingdoms, Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, and Mounster divided into two parts, and sometime to more, by usurping or compounding among themselves: but euer one was chosen to be chiefe sovereign monarch over them all. Thus it seemeth that certeinly the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countries about Biscaye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their owne histories and the British do wholly agree): but from whence they came first to inhabit those countries of Spaine, verelie I have not otherwise to avouch: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as have registered the Scottish chronicles) make mention of the coming thither of Gathelus with his wife Scotia and their people, in manner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermon to Laogirius, the sonne of Dealus Magnus, in whose time that holie esteemed man Patrike converted them to christianitie. But now in the meane time whilst the Irishmen lived in some tollerable order and rest under their severall kings, one Rodorike a Scythian prince with a small companie of men, being weather driven round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast upon the shore of Ireland.

Weths arrive in Ireland.

The oration of Rodorike king of the Weths king of Ireland.

These were Weths, and the first that had been heard of in these parties (as some authors have recorded) a people from their verie cradle given to dissention, landleapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craued intercessors, which granted, Rodorike their chiefeleine made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as denegate from the courage of our ancestors, but fashioning our selves to fortunes course, we are become to craue of Ireland, as humble supplicants that never before this present have so embased our selves to any other nation. Behold sir king, and regard us well, no light occasion causeth these lustie vallant bodie to stoop. Scythians we are, & Weths of Scythia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the civil warre that hath expelled us from our native homes, or rip up old histories to move strangers to bemoane us? Let our servants and children discourse therof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant us some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our urgent necessitie beseecheth your favors, a king of a king and men of men are to craue assistance. Princes can well discern and consider how nere it toucheth their honour and suertie, to behold and releue the state of a king, by treason decayed. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more besemeth the nature of man, than to be moved with compassion, and as it

were to seele themselves hurt, when they heare and understand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beseech you) and receive amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scythia: if your comes be narrow, we are not manie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are borne and enured to hardnesse: if you live in peace, we are at commandment as subjects: if you warre, we are ready to scrue you as soldiers: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are here alone, and have left such things behind us with our enemies: howsoever you esteeme of us, we shall content our selves therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we have bene, but what we are.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and manie things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish laid forth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries; that is, such as were skillfull in old histories and sayings of their elders, whereunto they gave credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme breedeth quarrels: moreover, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as Rome in the whole Ile was unable to receive them, and therefore those few new commers, being placed among so manie old inhabitants, might breed quicklie some disturbance to bring all out of joint. But (said they) though we may not convenientlie receive you among us, yet shall you find us ready to further you to be our neighbours.

Not far hence there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part thereof, being void of inhabitants, your manhoods and policies may purchase for you comes to place your selves at ease: we shall appoint you captains to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make ready your ships that ye may passe thither with all convenient speed. Encouraged with this persuasion, they took their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was ready to await their coming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, slew Rodorike with a great number of his retinues. Those that escaped with life, and sought to him for grace, he licensed to inhabit the uttermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfre Lhuid taketh to be the same, whom the Romane writers name Arviragus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord seuentie, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should seeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfreie Lhuid anoucheth) was *Wethrig*.

But now concerning the Weths, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king *Wethrigs* grant (as above is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Isles of *Wetheneie*, and there remained. Whiles they wanted also to increase their issue: and because the Britons thought scoone to match their daughters with such an unknowne and new come nation, the Weths continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obtained wives from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yield thus much to the prerogative of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the blond rofall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Bede) the Weths were well known to keepe unto his time.

But howsoever we shall give credit to this historie of the first coming of Weths into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geffrie of Monmouth reporteth

Donnell consultation.

The answer of the Irish to the request of the Weths.

The Irish persuade the Weths to place themselves in Britaine.

Marius or otherwise called Arviragus king of Britons.

Weths marry with the Irish and so the succession of their kings.

reporte of this victorie obtained by Marius against the Brits: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reader, that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. For Amertinus in his oration intituled Panegyricus, Max. Dictus bath these words (speaking of the conquest which Iulius Cesar had here against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre for battell on the sea, and the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against pirats, and after that against Mithridates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Moreover, the British nation was then unskillfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie used to the Brits and Irish entimies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans force, so that Cesar might onelie as it were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

See Diodorus Siculus lib. 6. cap. 9 who say they should inhabit a part of Britaine.

Hec. Boetius.

Whereby it should seeme that the Brits and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Iulius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, or in some of the out Isles by Scott and, either in ante part of Germanie, or Scandinavia; or else whether they were already setteled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathnesse, towards Dungeblie head: we haue not to affirme, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But for the first comming as well of the Brits as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants with in this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had anie gouernement here, by anie ancient or approved writer. I cannot persuaide my selfe, that either Scots or Brits had anie setteled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauour: but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the westerne Isles called by the Romane writers Hebrides, and the Brits, in the Isles of Orkneye called in Latine Orchades, did vse to make often inuasions vpon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coasts that lie nere to the sea side ouer against those Isles.

See more hereof in England. The Brits when they first inhabited Britaine.

The Scots in Britaine.

Hum. Lhuid.

From whence they comming ouer in such vessels or boats, as the fishermen doe yet vse, at length the Brits first about the yere of our Lord 290, as Humfreie Lhuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathnesse, and other the north parts of Britaine, where they setteled themselves, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shortly the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the north of Ireland, and in those westerne Isles, which Isles they first got into their possession. And in this sort those nations Brits and Scots came first to inhabit here in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfreie Lhuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoritie to lead him so to esteeme, hath written in his short commentaries of the description of Britaine.

And verelie I thinke we may more safely beleue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith for anie thing I can perceiue, his authorities bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But for the man himselfe, euen as he hath verie oordlie, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and reported some other contrarie to the truth of the historie for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it;

so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the author of those matters, but wrote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gefferie of Monmouth wrote what he found in old ancient British monuments, & was not the deuiser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expressed. But now to returne to the Brits. It may be that they came at severall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whome the first is remembred to be Fergus, the son of Fergusard, a man right skillfull in blasoning of armorie, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scottish historie is mentioned, brought into Ireland by Simon Bredius, and kept till those daies as a pretious iewel, this Fergus obtained towards the prospering of his iourneie: for that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obtaine soueraintie and rule ouer others as a king, namelie those of the Scottish nation. This stone Fergus bringing into Scotland, left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among those Scottish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, & was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finally he was drowned by misfortune in the creeke of Knockfergus.

That he incountred with Coilus king of the Britons (as the Scots write) is not possible, as our author hath verie well noted; except they mistake the name of Coilus for Cailus, with whom the age of Fergus might well meet: the rather, for that in the first yere of Cailus reigne the Brits entred, Fergus immediately after them, 330 yeres per Christ was borne; where Coilus reigned in the yere after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arrivall of the Brits in Britaine. And thus it may be they mistake, by error of the name, Coilus for Cailus, and the second arrivall of the Brits for the first. But now to the course of the historie. Whilist the Brits were seated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundrie errands ouer to visit their daughters, nephews, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certaine waste corners, and small Islands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

Whereof they aduertised their pictures, namelie Keuther or Keuda, who being descended of Fergus, determined to inuest himselfe in certaine part of land beside the Brits. He therefore well appointed passed ouer, and partlie by composition, and partlie by force, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits; and finally got betwixt the Brits and Britons, possessing that countrie which toke the name of him called Keuderdaill, and now Kildesdale (as you would saie) Rheudas part; for Dahall in the Scottish tongue signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not settle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his successors: and the Brits and Scots grew in friendship together, permitting each other to liue in quiet.

The Scots nested themselves in the Isles and coasts alongst the sea side. The Brits held the middle part. But shortly after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, together with the memorie of old grudges, moued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were ready to breake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer

Gefferie Monmouth the translator: not the author of the British historie.

The doubt of the time of the comming of Brits and Scots into Britaine. Fergus king of Scots. The marble stone.

Knockfergus

Keuther or Keuda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Brits.

Their falling out.

Strife about
a dog.

wanteth one deuisse or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scottish nobilitie had got out of Grece (as some write) a Molossian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted peerlesse. This hound being stolen by a Brit, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof ensued, as in the Scottish historie more at large appeareth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne over the Scots when this quarrell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinth's daies. Whosover it shuld seme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or grehound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grece, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding because the Latinists call such kind of dogs *Molosi*, for that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grece called Molosse; it may be, that some haue thought that this grehound came from thence, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whence the breed of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

Carauilius
agreeth them.
Anno Christi.
288

After the Scots and Brits had tugged together a while, at length one Carauilius a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, persuaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine: but his hap was shortly after to be slaine by the Romane capitaine Alecius. And so new sturs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Brits for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Marimus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Brits at variance, and joining with the Brits in league, vsed their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestly pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were utterly expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ower into Ireland, and the Isles, where they remained for the space of fourtie three yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thenceforth the Scots kept such foot in Britaine, that they incroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they waxed stronger than the Brits, whome in the end they quite rooted forth, and nestled themselves in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Brits, that joining their forces together, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enemies to them both.

The Brits
rooted forth
by the Scots.

Thus the Scots a liuelie, cruell, bruiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Ile of Britaine, mixed first with Britons, secondly with Brits, thirdly and chieflie with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and chose rather to be called Irish: and then came by the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chieflie preuailed vnder the leading of sir vallant gentlemen, sons to Muridus king of Ulster, who in the time of Pele, surnamed the great that inioined the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countreymen there, at length toke vp for themselves certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hereof more largely in his booke intituled *Topographia Britanniae*. Since which time they haue bene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Irish nation being diuised into

Giraldus
Cambrensis.

corners, albeit the mountaine parts and out Isles vnto this daie are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, esteemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Brits.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Ireland, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a iourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Isles called Iona, or Colmekill, where they speake naturallie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would seme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a revolting from the right inheritors: although they doe confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, otherwise than by forging a tale that they willinglie forewent it, as reaping lesse by reteining it, than they laid forth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the keeping of it they gaue it ouer, persuading themselves that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilste sir Henrie Sidneie was gouernour there, when the countie of Ulster was aouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was proued in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earldome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearelie, the same being but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well looked vnto, and such improvement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beate the necessarie charges, and yeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

But now as it falleth forth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatly after Christes time, saint James the apostle, & other traouelling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospell, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and beleued, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generally conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scottish chronicles aouch, that in the daies of their king Finco-marke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption three hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

A woman of the Irish blond chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the queene of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the queene hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselves, this should not seme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristened Isles, till about the yeare foure hundred twentie and six, whilste Celestine the first of that name gouerned the see of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the restoring of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatly decayed there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnderstood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of auncient of those lands whither it shuld please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiency of the man consecrated him bishop, & authorized his iourneie by letters vnder his

Gregorie
king of Scots
subdueth
Ireland.
875

Sir Henrie
Sidneie.

Ireland in-
strued in the
faith by saint
James the a-
postle.

Paladius of-
fereth to go
into Ireland.

He is con-
secrated bishop.

scale,

In the christian faith and religion.

seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him such religious persons and others as were thought necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible with great solemnitie, & other monuments in furtherance of his good speed. At length he landed in the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped right hardlie with his life into the Isles adjoining, where he preached the gospell, and conuerted no small number of Scots to the christian beliefe, and purged that part that was christened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at large appeareth. He was required by the Scots that inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Isles and come ouer vnto them, there to instruct the people in the waie of true saluation, to the which with the popes licence he seemed willing enough: and the bishop of Rome the more readilie condescended thereto for that in the instant time, when Valadius was to depart, one Patrike attended at Rome, suing for licence to be sent into Ireland.

The pope therefore granted that Valadius might passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed Patrike to go with authoritie from him into Ireland; where, vpon his arrivall he found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to their accustomed frowardnesse, that a man would haue thought that had saine their readines, how that the land had bene reserued for him to conuert. And because it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought good in following our author herein, to touch some part of the course of his life. This Patrike in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the marches betwixt England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side called Giburne, whose father hight Calphurnius, a deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous bishop of Towers in France.

Patrike of a child was brought vp in learning, and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to deuotion. The Irishmen in those daies assisted with Scots and Picts were become archpirats, soze disquieting the seas about the coasts of Britaine, and vsed to sacke little small villages that laie scattered along the shore, and would often lead a waile captiue the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it chanced, Patrike being a lad of sixteen peares old, and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken among other, and became slaue to an Irish lord called Machuaine, from whome after six peares terme he redeemed himself with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie, being appointed by his maister to keepe them. And as affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the regard of his former education printed in him such remoyse and humilitie, that being thenceforth wearied from the world, he betooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that in continuance some good might be wrought vpon them, he learned their tong perfectlie. And alluring one of that nation to heare him companie for exercise sake, he departed from thence, and got him into France, euer hauing in his mind a desire to see the conuersion of the Irish people, whose babes yet vnborne sented to him in his dreames (from out of their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

In this purpose he sought out his vncle Martine, by whose means he was placed with Germanus the bishop of Auxerre, continuing with him as scholer or disciple for the space of fortie peares: all which time he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures, prayers, and such godlie exercises. When at the age of

threescore and two peares, being renowned through the Latine church for his wisdom, vertue and skill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation from the French bishops vnto pope Celestine, to whom he vntered his full mind and secret vowe, which long since he had conceiued touching Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and primate of the whole land, set him forward with all fauour he could deuise, and brought him and his disciples onward to their countrie.

In the three and twentieth yeare therefore of the emperor Theodosius the younger, being the yeare of our Lord 430, Patrike landed in Ireland, & because he spake the tong perfectlie, and withall being a reuerend personage in the eyes of all men, manie listened and gaue good care to his preaching, the rather for that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his doctrine with diuerse miracles: but speciallie those regarded his words before all others, that had some fail of the christian faith aforehand, either by the coming into those parties of Valadius, and his disciple one Albion an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some other: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there remained some sparke of knowledge of christianitie euer since the first preaching of the gospell (which was shortly after the ascension of our saviour) by saint James (as before is mentioned.) In continuance of time Patrike won the better part of that kingdome to the faith.

Laigerius sonne of Deale the great monarch, although he receiued not the gospell himselfe, yet permitted all that would to embrace it. But sith he refused to be baptised, & applie to his doctrine; the bishop denounced against him a curse from God accordinglie, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as thus: That during his life he should be victorious, but after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his linage inherit. From thence he toke his waile vnto Conill lord of Connagh, who honourablie receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people; and after sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Leinster, whome he likewise conuerted. In Mounster he found great friendship and fauour by means of an earle there, called the earle of Daris, who honoured him highly, and gaue him a dwelling place in the east angle of Armagh called Sozta, where he erected manie celles and monasteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled thirtie peares in preaching through the land, planting in places conuient bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous conuersation by the speciall grace and fauor of God, established the faith in that rude nation. Other thirtie years he spent in his prouince of Armagh among his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two peares, and lieth buried in Downe.

Of saint Patricks purgatorie ye shall find in the description of the countrie, and therefore we doe here omit it. But yet because we are entered to speake of the first foundation of churches and religious houses here in Ireland, in following our author in that behalf: we will speake somewhat of such other holie men and women as are renowned to haue liued in Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their zeale had bene seasoned with true knowledge of the scriptures: as it maie well be that in some of them it was, howeuer mistaken by the iudgement and report of the simple, which hath raised not onlie of these persons, but also of the verie apostles themselves, certeine fantastick tales, which with the learned are out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to diuines to discusse, trusting that the reader will content

Patrike the first
archbishop of Ire-
land.

430

Albion an Irish
bishop, disciple to
Valadius.

Laigerius son
to Deale the
great monarch
of Ireland, per-
mitteth the
Irishmen to
become chris-
tians.

Conill lord of
Connagh.
Logan king of
Leinster.

The earle of
Daris.

S. Patricks
purgatorie.

Religious
houses & churches
founded.

Whens doings
mistaken.

tent himselfe to heare what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best moue them.

Giral. Camb.

Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patriks time flourishd saint Bride the virgine, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrike, were buried in Downe (as in the Scottish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there thorslie after the conquest. 10
Sir John Conweie being president of Ulster, in viewing the sepulture, testified to haue seene three principall towells, which were then translated, as honourable monuments worthy to be preserved. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Bridget, otherwise called Bride, was base daughter to one Dubtactus, a capteine in Leinster, who perceiving the mother with child, sold hir secretlie (fearing the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish poet, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there deliuered of this Bridget, whome the poet trained vp in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

Sir John Conweie president of Ulster.
S. Colme.

Poet, that is, Magus in Latine, or (as we may say) a magician or sorcerer in English.
An. Dom. 439.

The estimation wherein she was had.

The king of Leinster.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrike, that preached then in those quarters, wherupon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled nere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactus as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costlie iewels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sicke neighbours diuerlie distressed for want of necessarie reliefe (hir father being a sterne man, and his ladie a cruell threwe) she could deuise no other shift to helpe to releue the want of those poore and needie people, but to impart the same iewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was heinouslie taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that thorslie after he came to a banquet in hir fathers house, and calling the maid afore him that was not yet past nine yeres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had done his. She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremitie, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too, all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue. She possessed virginitie, and allured other noble yong damselfs vnto hir fellowship, with whome she continued in hir owne monasterie, where she was first professed, vntill the yere of our Lord 500, and then departing this life, she was buried in Downe in saint Patriks toime.

She professed virginitie.

An. Dom. 500.
Bridget departed this life.

A concordance of the foure euangelists.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hers, there was found a concordance of the foure euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortall hand, beautified with mysticall pictures in the margent, the colours and cunning workmanship whereof at the first blash appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull view of the diligent beholder verie liuely and wonderfull artificall. Cenanus that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrike in the see of Armagh, after he had certeine yeres followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yeres was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therewith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselves to haue gained the most worthy fruit that might insue of their marriage, by

Cenanus first a man of war, and after a bishop.
Brendan.

mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourishd in the daies of saint Bridget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Madoc alias Conan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Lemore, and kept in his court with diuerse yong men his schoolefellowes, openlie adured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, the which being now kept in sunder and restrained of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Thereupon immediatlie they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Melingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands deriued and brought a running spring to his monasterie, induring that trauell daily after praier and studie for the space of eight yeres together.

Madoc.

Melingus.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Cormack the kings son of Tensill prisoner, he went boldlie with twelue of his disciples through the please of all the souldiours, and in sight of the king was suffered to loose the yong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceived an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merueille to haue objected to Morice then archbishop of Cashill, that Ireland in so manie hundred yeres had not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantly (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enormities, yet haue spared euer the blood of vertuous men. Parte now we are deliuered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Malachias was borne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought vp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained forth in learning, professed greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was epied diuerse times to seale awaie from his companions to praie in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuerer scholemaster, refusing an excellent cleark, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his youthfull yeres, he became the disciple of Imarius an old recluse, whose austeritie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence. There he became a deacon, and at fixe and twentie yeres a priest.

Colme king of Leinster.

The answer of the archbishop of Cashill to Giraldus Cambrensis.

Malachias.

The archbishop, for the same and the opinion of his worthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reuiued the force of religion, namelie in the vniformitie of their church seruice, wherein before time they tarred. The famous monasterie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vnckle left him. The same monasterie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Columbanus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbey being spoiled and nintie of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions whereof being come to the hands of Malachias by his vnckles assignement, he restored forthwith, and aduanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yeres he was by canonically election forced to accept the bishopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most sauage and wild, whome with inestimable trauell he reclaimed from their beastlie manners. In the meane while died Cellus bishop of Armagh, after whome succeeded

The monasterie of Banchor repaired.

which held the
the successu-
be and of one
humble, nei-
ther would
the Irish have
had any other
than of the
house.
The saint
Bernard in
the Malachias
hall, &c.
The bible and
hall.

For lineall
descent of bis-
shops.

ded Malachias, at the age of eight and thirtie yeares. But before this, more hand the space of two hundred yeares together, a custome had crept into the countrie, that the metropolitan see was conferred upon such bishops as were married, and were of the blood royal, in manner by way of inheritance. Wherefore Higellus or Peale the next of kindred, animated by the partialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patrike, whereunto opinion of the com-¹⁰ mon people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of souldiours to haue laine the bishop. When all the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie souldiours let- ting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretended murtherer, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Three yeares he sat in the primasie rather to dis- continue the horrible corruption before used, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had re- moved the abuse, he procured Malasius to succeed him in the archbishops see, and he returned to his for- mer see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishopricke of Coner. But Malachias vnderstand- ing that in times past they were six severall sees, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bi- shopricke of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his charge than to enlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Malachias being demanded of his bre-²⁰ thren the monkes of Benchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it laie in his choise? He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patrike: if beyond the seas, at Clarenale where saint Bernard was then resiant, and in the feast of Allsoules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was shortly after ac- complished. And in this viage which he thus made, he staid at Clarenale, and there diuerse times o-³⁰ penlie foretold, that the yeare of his departure forth of this world was come; and accordingly when he had taken leave of saint Bernard and the bre- thren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which done, he return- ed to his lodging, and there on Allsoules daie in the yeare of his age 54 he gaue vp the ghost, so mild- lie and quietlie, that it seemed rather a sleepe than a death.

Malchus.

Discord be-
tweene the
king of
Mounster and
his brother.

Malchus, though borne in Ireland, yet he spent the most part of his time in the monastirie of Win- chester in England, and from thence was taken and admitted bishop of Lismore. Saint Bernard re- memb'reth of him, by occasion he cured a lunatique child in confirming, else (as they termed it) in bishop- ping him. This miracle scene and confessed by ma- nie hundreds of people, was blown through the world. The same time happened discord betwixt the king of Mounster and his brother, and as the mat-⁵⁰ ter was handled, the king was overmatched and fled into England, where he visited Malchus in his ab- bete, and would by no meanes depart from him; but remaine there vnder his rule and gouernment, so long as it pleased God to denie him quiet returne into his countrie: he contented himselfe with a poore cell, vsed daile to bath himselfe in cold wa- ter, to assuage the wanton motions of his flesh, and for his diet receiued none other delicats than bread, water, and salt, day and night, sobbing and bewail- ing with great remorse of conscience his former misdemened life. At length the other kings and peo- ple of Ireland began to repine at the vsurper, set vpon him with open war, vanquished him in a pitch field, and called home the rightfull prince his brother

again, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest perswasions of Malchus and of Malachias could breith be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delecta- tion inured himselfe vnto.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be esteemed right vertuous and god- lie men, so other of them are to be suspected as per- sons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than indued with anie such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion, as are worthy to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certeine late writers may appeare. But this we leaue to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to preiudice anie mans opinion, but one- lie with the reader to take heed how he giueth credit to that which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine super-¹⁰ stitious dealings, wherethrough manie zealous per- sons haue often bene deceiued. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Islands in the north- west ocean called the Isles of Orkenie, and scow- red the seas, that none other nation durst bineth ap- peare in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to seeke the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warme and fruitfull places for to inhabit than their owne. These³⁰ hot fellowes chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Careticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six seue- rall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioiced not a litle at this ciuill discord betwixt the Britaine king and his subiects.

Wherevpon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & utterly to expell them forth of all the⁴⁰ Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Gurmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a nauie in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Bri- tains into the marches of Wales. For from thence (being retired into the mounteis and woods) they could not drue them. This Gurmound (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Gurmoundchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a viage into Ireland, where he sped not great-⁵⁰ lie to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for anie of their conquests, as some of their an- tiquaries informed our author. Gurmound there- fore finding but forrie successe, built a few slight ca- stles and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was laine. Our chronicles in deed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obtained dominion in their countrie.

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole⁶⁰ (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conque- red the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Gur- mundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numb'reth betwixt Laogtrius king of Ire- land that liued in the yeare foure hundred and thirtie, and Columding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hun- dred yeares, so that Turgesius liued in the yeare after the incarnation eight hundred and thirtie. Then it is too plaine that he could not haue anie doings with Gurmundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Careticus, in the yeare five hundred foure⁷⁰ score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be untwined

Fox,
Bale.

586
The Norwe-
gians scow-
red the seas, and
inuaide the
Isles of Orke-
ney.

They inuaide
Ireland.

Gurmundus
an archpriest
of the nation
of Norwaie.

Campion,

Turgesius.

Laogtrius.
430

The doubt
reliued.

untwined with moze facilitie thus. Gormundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himselfe king, which title our histories doe allow him, because he made the waite plaine, intioed it a while, and set open the gate vnto his countreimen. Turgesius achieved the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in these respects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgesius
what he did.

He buildeth
fortresses.

Turgesius
reigned in
Ireland thir-
tie yeares.

Dmalagh-
len king of
Meth.

The policie of
Dmalagh-
len.

Turgesius therefore with his Norwegians the second time invaded Ireland, sustained diuerse losses and overthrowes: but in the end fortifying himselfe by the sea coasts, & receiuing thereby his friends at his pleasure, waied so strong that he subdued the whole Ile, still erecting castles and fortresses as he wan ground, so to maister the Irish that with such manner of strengths of waals and rampires had not as yet bene acquainted: for till those daies they knew no defense but woods, bogs, or strokes. Turgesius so subdued the Irish kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirtie yeares. He cried haucke & spoile where anie rich preie was to be had, sparing neither those of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chapell, abusing his victorie verie insolentlie. Dmalaghlen king of Meth was in some trust with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgesius craved for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgesius in this wise: Sparing your fantasie my lord (quoth he) there are diuerse ladies of blood in this countrie murther bedfellows for a king than that browne griffie: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his neeces and cousines, indowed (as he set them forth) with such singular beautie, as they seemed rather angels than mortall creatures. The tyrant as it were ranshed, and doting in loue of those perieles paces before he saw them, by reason of such exceeding praises as he thus heard of them, doubted yet least Dmalaghlen extolled them to preserve his daughter out of his hands: and the subtil father clothed his dyist with modest behauior, lingering time to inflame the leachers follie, as he that wished anie thing moze to be suspected, than that which he meant most earnestlie to bring to passe.

At length, when Turgesius seemed to take his de-
laiing thus of time somewhat displeasinglie, he vsed
this or the like speech: If I should saie (quoth he) that
I gaue you my sole daughter with goodwill to be de-
scoured, your high wisdom would some ghesse that
I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were
dearer to me than your good pleasure and contentati-
on, by whose bountifull goodnes both the, & I, and we
all are supported, I were unworthie that secret and
nere friendship wherein it liketh you to vse me. As for
the wench, it will be in part honozable for hir to be re-
quired to the bed of such a prince, sith quenes haue
not stiked to come from farre, and yeld the vse of
their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to
haue issue. And howsoeuer it be taken, time will
weare it out, and redeeme it; but such a friend as
you are to me and mine, neither I nor mine shall
liue to see. And verelie I meane not to hazard your
displeasure, if it were for a greater matter than the
alue of twentie maidenheads; seeing fathers haue
not stiked to giue by their owne wiues to quench
the lusts of their sons. Therefore am I thus agreed,
name the daie and place, separat your selfe from the
view of your court, conferre with those that haue a
deintie insight, & skillfull eyes in discerning beuties;
I will send you my daughter, & with hir the choise of
twelue or sixteen gentlewomen, the meaneest of the
which may be an empresse in comparison. When they
are before you, make your game as you like, and
then if my child please your fantasie best, she is not

to good to be at your commandment: onelie my
request is, that if anie other shall presume vpon your
leanings, your maiestie will remember whose child
she is.

This liberall proffer was of Turgesius accepted
(whose desire was most insatiable) with manie good
words, thanks, & faire promises. To be short, the same
daie Dmalaghlen put his daughter in prince-
like apparell, attired after the trimmest wise, and
with hir sixteen proper yong men beautifull and a-
miable to behold: and so being sent to the king were
presented vnto him in his priuite chamber, hauing
none about him but a few dissolute youthfull per-
sons; whereupon those disguised yong striplings dretw
forth from vnder their long womanish garments
their skeins, and valiantlie bestirring themselves,
first stabbed their weapons points through the bodie
of the tyrant, and then serued all those youths that
were about him with the like saluoe, they making
small or no resistance at all. The brute of this mur-
ther was quicklie blowne abroad through all Ire-
land: and the princes readie to catch hold on such ad-
uantage, rose in armes with one assent, in purpose
to deliuer themselves from bondage, and recouer li-
bertie.

All Meth and Leinster were speedilie got tog-
ther, resorting vnto Dmalaghlen the author of this
practise, who lightlie leapt to horse, and commending
their forward redinesse in so naturall a quarell, saide:
My lords and friends, this case neither admitteth de-
laie, nor requireth policie; hart and haff is all in all.
Whiles the matter is fresh and græne, and that some
of our enemies lie still and sleepe, some lament, some
curse, some are together in counsell, and all the whole
number dismayed: let vs prevent their furie, dis-
member their force, cut off their flight, seise vpon
their places of refuge and succour. It is no victorie
to plucke their feathers, but to breake their necks;
not to chase them in, but to rotte them out; to weed
them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe,
but to rot them vp. This lesson the tyrant himselfe
did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in
a parable, by what god husbandrie the land might be
rid of certeine rauening foules that annoied it. He
advised vs to watch where they bred, and to fire their
nests about their eares. So we then vpon these co-
uozants which shrowd themselves in our possessions,
and let vs so destroe them, that neither nest nor root,
neither seed nor stalke, neither branch nor stampe
shall remaine of this vngracious generation. Scarle
had he ended his tale, but that with great howls
and clamors they extolled the king, as defender of
their liues and liberties; assuring them both of their
bold and hardie stomachs and speedfull expedition ioi-
ned with their confederats, and with a running
campe swept euerie corner of the land, rased the ca-
stles to the ground, chased awate the strangers, sue
all that abode battell, ech man recouering his owne,
with the state of gouernment.

Thus in effect haue the Irish writers reported of
Turgesius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne be-
fore the supposed time of Gormond, or whether that
he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it shuld
be true, no doubt the same Gormond was some
king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the
Africans (as some of our countreimen name him.)
Which error is some committed, in taking one hea-
thenish nation for another, as those men haue done
that haue named the Hungarians (when they did
inuaide Gallia before they were christians) Sara-
cens. And so likewise might that author (who soeuer
he was) whome Geffreie of Monmouth followeth,
finding Gormond written to be a king of the mis-
creants, mistake the Norwegians for Africans, be-
cause

The like was
practised by
Alexander
son to Amyn-
tas king of
Spacedon to
gainst the
Persian am-
bassadors.
Carion lib. 3.
fol. 109.

The person
on of Dma-
laghlen.

Gormond

cause both those nations were infidels: and therefore sith hapilie the Affricans in the daies when that author liued, bare all the byte above other heathenish nations then, as the Turks do now, he named them Affricans. Howsoeuer it was, certeine it is that the Danes or Norwegians made sundrie inuasions into Ireland, and that at seuerall times. But for Turgesius, whether he were an absolute king, or but a lieutenant of some armie, vnder some other king named Gormound, or peradventure Gormo, (as such names are soon corrupted) I cannot affirme, because that no certeine time is set downe in the chronicles which are written of those nations, where, by they may be so reconciled together, as sufficeth to warrant anie likelie conjecture in this behalfe.

But if I should saie (with the readers licence) what I thinke, this Gormound whatsoeuer he was, made no such conquest of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of Britaine (as by some writers is supposed) but yet might he peradventure land in Wales, and either in fauor of the Sarons then enemies to the Britons, or in hatred of the christian name persecute by cruell wars the British nation, and vse such crueltie as the heathenish nations then were accustomed to practise against the christians in all places where they came, and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chiefest cause that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I find not in anie of our approued ancient English writers, as Beda, Malmesburie, Huntington, Hoveden, or such like, anie plaine mention made of him; whereby I may be thoughtlie induced to credit that which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others recorded of him, except his name be misfaken, and so thereby some error crept in, which I am not able to resolute.

But sith we are entred to speake thus farre of the Norwegians, here by the waie I haue thought it not impertinent to the purpose of this Irish historie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles of those northerlie regions, Denmarke, Norweie, and Sweden, written by Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Crantz, and others, concerning the sundrie inuasions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans (whether we list to call them) into Ireland. Fridlenus, or Fridlenus king of Denmarke that succeeded Dan the third of that name, surnamed the Swift, arriuing in Ireland, besieged the citie of Dublin, & perceiuing by the strength of the walles, that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine force of hand without some cunning policie, he deuised to catch a sort of swallowes that had made their nests in the houses within the towne, tied wild fier to their wings, and therewith cast them vp, and suffered them to flie their waies, whereupon they coming to their nests, set the houses on fier, which whiles the citizens went about to quench, the Danes entred the citie and wan it.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the third of that name, after he had subdued the Britons here in this Ile, made a voiage into Ireland also, where he landed with some danger: for the Irishmen had strawed all alongest the shoare a great number of caltrops of iron, with sharpe pickes standing vp, to wound the Danes in the feet, as they should come forth of their ships to follow them, for they meant to flee of a pretended policie for that purpose. But Frotho perceiuing their deceitfull craft, followed them moze aduisedlie than rashlie, and so put their capitaine named Heruill to fight, and slue him in the field; whose brother remaining in life, & mistrusting his owne puissance, yielded himselfe to Frotho, who diuiding the preie amongst his souldiers and men of warre, shewed thereby that he onelie sought for glorie and not for gaine, reseruing not a pennie of all

the spoile to his owne vse. After this, in the daies of Frotho the king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in company with Iaco a Danish capteine, made a iourne like wise into Ireland, where in the same season, one Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who hauing plenty of treasure, was yet so giuen to couetousnesse, that by such vnprincipellie parts as he plaid, to satisfie his greedie desire to fill his coffers, he became right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his subiects. Yet there were of his nobles, verie valiant and warlike men, namelie two, Gegathus, & Suibdanus: whereupon, when it came to passe that he should soine in battell with his enemies the Danes, the most part of all his people fled out of the field, so that Gegath and Suibdanus were in maner left alone. For they regarding their honours and dutie that appertained to men of their calling, would not flie, but manfullie did what laie in their powers to beat backe the enemies, insomuch that Gegathus raught Iaco such a wound, that the vpper part of his liner appeared bare. He also wounded Starcater in the head right fore, so that in all his life daies, he had not before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was slaine, and Starcater obtaining the victorie, did make great slaughter of the Irish subiects, the which had followed their king to this battell, being men (thorough his corrupt example and slothfull trade of life) degenerated from all warlike order and vse of manlike exercise.

After this, the Danes went into Dublin, which towne they easilie toke, and found such store of riches and treasure therein, that euerie man had so much as he could wish or desire; so as they needed not to fall out among themselves for the partition, sith there was so much for each mans share as he could conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Grammaticus written in effect of Starcater's coming into Ireland: of whom the Danish writers make such mention, both for his huge stature and great manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was the verie same man which the Scots name Finmacole, of whom in the Scottish historie we haue made mention: but whereas the Scottish writers affirme that he was a Scottish man borne, the Danish writers report that he was borne in Eastland, among the people called Ethones. Reigntrus the sonne of Siwardus the second king of Denmarke, hauing attained sundrie victories in England and Scotland, and subdued the Isles of Orkney, he passed likewise into Ireland, slue Melbryche king of that land, and toke the citie of Dublin by siege, where he remained the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he departed from thence.

After this, Gormo the third of that name king of Denmarke, although an infidell himselfe, and a cruell persecutor of the christian religion, yet toke to wife a christian ladie named Thira, daughter to Ethelred king of England, who had issue by him two sonnes Canute, and Harold, growing men of high balliance and notable prowesse, insomuch that after the atchuing of diuerse warlike victories against the enemies neere home, they made a voiage into England, not sparing to invade the dominions of their grandfather king Ethelred: who rather reioicing, than seeming to be offended with those manlike enterprises of his consins, proclaimed them his heires to succeed after him in all his lands and dominions, although of right the same were to descend first vnto their mother Thira. The young men being encouraged with their grandfather's bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuasion of Ireland, where at the siege of Dublin, Canute or Canaught

Saxo Gram.
Albert. Crantz.

Fridlenus.

Dublin besieged.

Dublin set on fire, and won by the Danes.

Frotho the third.

Caltrops strawed by the Irish to annoy the Danes.

Heruill governor of Irishmen slaine.

Frotho the fourth.

Starcater a giant.

Huglet king of Ireland.

Gegathus & Suibdanus.

Iaco wounded.

Starcater wounded.

Huglet slaine.

Dublin won.

Reigntrus.

Melbryche king of Ireland slaine.

Gormo the third of that name king of Denmarke.

Thira daughter to Ethelred king of England.

Canute and Harold.

They invade Ireland.

Canute is slaine.

Canaught

The fundrie inuasions of Ireland.

Laught the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: howbeit his death was kept close by his owne commandement given before he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to rebound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble young gentleman Canute, who for his high prouesse and valiancie was most tenderlie beloued of all men; but namely of his father king Gozmo, inso much that he swore to kill him with his owne hands, whosoeuer should first tell him newes of his death.

This Gozmo was now a man far stricken in age, and blind, hauing small ioye of auncient pleasures, otherwise than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When therefore his wife quene Thira had perfect aduertisement of his sonnes death, and that neither she nor anie other durst breake the matter vnto his husband, she deuised a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward signes, which by word of mouth she was afraid to expresse, as thus. She caused morning apparell to be made for his husband, & putting off his roiall robes, clad him therewith, and other things appertaining to mourners she also put about him, and prepared all such furniture and necessities as were used for funerall requies, witnessing the lamentable grieffe conceived for the losse of some friend, with that kind of morning weed and funerall ceremonies. Which when Gozmo perceiued: Who is me (saith he) you then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Where-
to she made answer, that he and not she did discouer the truth of that which was meant by those morning garments; and with that speech ministred cause of his husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a widow, not openlie mourning for his sonne, before she mourned likewise for his husband: for he took such grieffe for Canutes death, that immediatlie he died thorough sorow and dolor: so as Thira was thus driuen to lament, as well the death of his sonne, as of his husband both at once. But now to the purpose of the Irish historie.

We haue thus partlie heard that the Danish writers do record in their histories, touching the conquests which their people made in Ireland; but whether the same be meant of that which goeth before, or rather of that which followeth, touching the trade which the Norwegian merchants used thither; or whether the Irish writers haue passed these iournies ouer with silence, which the Danish writers in some (as before is touched) do make mention of, I cannot asseure. But like it is that as the Danes, or Normans, whether you will call them, did inuade Ireland as well as England, France, and Scotland, in those daies according to the report of their writers, and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer the countrey, as to take prizes, prisoners, and booties, and not for trade of merchandize onelie: albeit that they might peraduenture so get entrie at the first, as by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortly after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards when they saw themselves settled, and perceiued that they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish neighbours, who thereupon would not sticke to molest them as occasions serued, they saw no better meane to assure themselves against their aduersaries, than to send vnto their countreymen; which in those daies roned abroad (as before I haue said) in euerie quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for opportunitie to aduance their conquests in each countrey where anie thing might be gotten: And so this mate agree verie well with the Irish writers, whom as I do not take vpon me to controul, but rather to report the storie as I find it by them written, I will

proceed with the order which they follow. After the countrey was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people, Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so Cambrensis esteemeth them) the Irish deliuered of seruile bondage, fell to their old wonted vocation, in persecuting each other: and hauing latelie defaced their fortified townes and castles, as receptacles and couerts for the enimie, all sides late more open to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughlie considered, the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand to discoure the madnesse & follie of their ancestors, which saw not the ble of that which their enemies abused: they began to loth their vnquiet trade of life, to wish either lesse discorde, or more strength in each mans dominion; to cast the danger of naked countreies, readie to call in the enimies, as the strength of forts & castles was a meane to preserve them from losse. Faine would they haue provided remedie in this case, if they had knowne how. The former subiection, though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding steps towards peace. The gaine that rose of merchandize, rest and suertie to the whole estate of the countrey. For the difference was great betwixt the indentours of the two nations, Norwegians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thine, might they get some commodious seats and soile. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the princes and potentats staid vpon such a good consideration, certeine merchants of Norwaie, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called *Ostmanni*, or (as in our vulgar language we tearme them) *Eastlings*, because they lie East in respect of vs, although indeed they are by other named properlie Normans, and partlie Saxons, obtained licence safelie to arrive here in Ireland with their wares, and to utter the same. Hereupon the Irish, thorough traffike & bartering with these Normans or Danes (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and deliting also with gaie conceits, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) haue towne in places most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

Amilanus founded Waterford; Sutaricus, *Limerike*; *Quorus*, Dublin; and so by others diuerse other towne were built as lesse serued. Then by the helpe and counsell of these men, manie castles, forts, steeples, and churches, euerie where were repaired. And thus are the Irish mingled also with the blood of the Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, who from thenceforth continuallie flocked into Ireland, to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, liuing amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not haue holden out, had not the conquest insuing determiued both their quarrels. In the meane while they became lords of the hauens and burrow towne, planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured their fortune with indifferent gaires, and crept no higher than the same would giue them leane. Whelie a memorie is left of their field in Clontars, where diuerse of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buried before the crosse of Kilmainam. These are by our author, not without good iudgement, reported to be Danes,

The policie of Thira to signifie to her husband the death of their sonne Canute.

Gozmo dieth of sorow.

Eastlings began to trade into Ireland.

They build towne on the sea coasts.

Waterford, Limerike, Dublin.

The merchant strangers moue rebellion.

The field of Clontars.

The severall
names of the
strangers
which in
these daies
afflict
France,
England,
Scotland and
Ireland.
1095

The Easter-
lings will be
called Nor-
mans.

Macimus
is the great
king of Ire-
land.

Danes, which people then being pagans, soe afflicted England, and after that France, from whence they came againe into England with William Conqueror. So that those people called *Normanni*, *Engsterlings*, *Normans*, *Danes*, *Norwegians*, & *Suedeners*, are in effect all one nation, borne in that huge region called *Scandinavia*; and as it appeareth by conference of times and chronicles, much about one season, vered the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ireland. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, perceiving great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction of the names *Engsterlings* and *Irish*, that were altogether westerne; and the *Engsterlings* not easterne indeed, but rather simple northerne: in consideration whereof, and because they magnified themselves in the late conquest of their countriemen, who from *Normandie* comming over into England ruled there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland would algate now be also called and accompted *Normans*.

Long before this time (as yee have heard) Ireland was bestowed into two principall kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was ever elected and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a monarch, whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*, that is, the greatest king, or else without addition, *Regem Hibernia*, the king of Ireland: the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to wit, small kings or else kings, by limiting the places whereof they were to be reputed kings; as of Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, Mounster, or Meth. To the monarch, besides his allowance of dominion, titles of honoz, and other pri-

uileges in jurisdiction, there was granted to him a negative in nomination of bishops, when they were vacant: for the cleargie and laetie of the diocesse commended one, whom they thought convenient unto their king, the king to the monarch, the monarch to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland had not received their palles.

In this sort was nominated to the bishopricke of Dublin then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at the petition of Godertus king of Leinster, by suffrance of the cleargie and people there, with the assent of Terdienatus the monarch, a learned prelat called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canturburie consecrated in Paules church at London, and swore him to obedience after the manner of his ancestors. Christian bishop of Lismore, legat to Eugenius the third, summoned a provinciall councell in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure metropolitans, Armagh, Dublin, Cashill, and Tuene; of the which places were bishops at that present, Gelasius, Gregorius, Donatus, Ebonius. For hitherto though they yielded a primacie to the bishop of Armagh in reuerence of saint Patrike the first bishop there: yet the same was but of god will, and confirmed rather by custome than by sufficient decrees; neither did that archbishop take upon him to inuest other bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as before is mentioned) which from henceforth they used not to do, insomuch that the next bishop named Laurence, sometime archbishop of saint Kenins in Conlandilagh, was ordered and installed at home by Gelasius primate of Armagh.

The power of
the monarch
in election of
bishops.

Godertus
king of Leins-
ter.

Terdienatus
the monarch
Patricius
consecrated
bishop of Du-
blin by Lan-
franke.

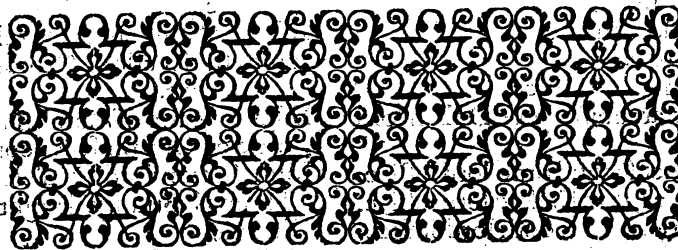
1152
Christian bi-
shop of Lis-
more.

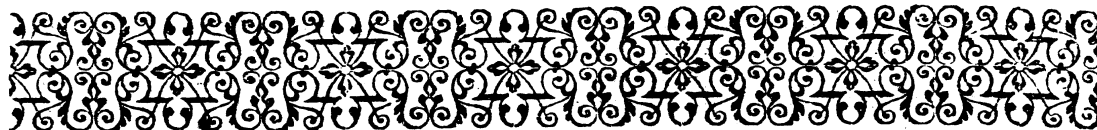
Foure metro-
politans
in Ireland.
The bishop of
Armagh.

Laurence
archbishop of
s. Kenins.
1162

FINIS.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable inducement: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending (without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ireland, as the same was left recorded by Girald of Cambria: whose prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo immediatlie follow.





The names of the gouernors, lieu-

tenants, lord iustices, and deputies of Ireland, since the

conquest thereof by king Henrie the second.

The year of
our Lord.

The years of
our Lord.

- 1174 **R**ichard Strangbow earle of Penbroke gouernor, hauing Reimond le Grace ioined in commission with him.
- 1177 Reimond le Grace lieutenant by himselfe.
- William Fitz Aldelme lieutenant, hauing Iohn de Curcie, Robert Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioined in commission with him.
- Hugh Lacie lieutenant.
- 1182 Iohn Lacie constable of Chester } gouernors.
and Richard de Peche
- Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.
- Hugh Lacie the younger, lord iustice.
- 1227 Henrie Loandoris archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.
- 1228 Maurice Fitzgiralde lord iustice.
- 1253 Iohn Fitzgeffrie knight, lord iustice.
- Alain de la Zouch lord iustice.
- 1258 Stephan de Long Espe lord iustice.
- William Deane lord iustice.
- 1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iustice.
- 1267 Dauid Barrie lord iustice.
- 1268 Robert Vfford lord iustice.
- 1269 Richard de Excester lord iustice.
- 1270 Iames lord Audleie lord iustice.
- 1272 Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iustice.
- Walter lord Genuille lord iustice.
- Robert Vfford againe lord iustice.
- 1281 Fulborne bishop of Waterford lord iustice.
- Iohn Samford the archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice.
- William Vescie lord iustice.
- 1295 William Dodingfels lord iustice.
- Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.
- 1298 Iohn Wogan lord iustice.
- 1314 Theobald Verdon lord iustice.
- 1315 Edmund Butler lord iustice.
- 1317 Roger lord Mortimer lord iustice.
- Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.
- 1319 Roger lord Mortimer second time lord iustice.
- 1320 Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iustice.
- 1321 Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth lord iustice.
- 1323 Iohn lord Darcie lord iustice.
- 1327 Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.
- Anthonie lord Lucie lord iustice.
- 1332 Iohn lord Darcie second time lord iustice.
- 1337 Iohn lord Charleton lord iustice.
- 1338 Thomas bishop of Hereford lord iustice.
- 1339 Iohn lord Darcie ordeined lord iustice by patent during his life, by Edward the third.
- Rafe Viford lord iustice.
- 1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice.

- Iohn Fitzmaurice lord iustice.
- Walter lord Bermingham lord iustice, his deputies were Iohn Archer prior of Kilmainan & Baron Carew, with sir Thomas Rokesbie.
- Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond had the office of lord iustice for terme of his life, of king Edward the third his grant.
- Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iustice. 1355
- Almericke de saint Amand } appointed L. I. 1357
Iohn Butler earle of Ormond } by turnes.
- Maurice Fitzth. earle of Kild. }
- Lionell duke of Clarence lord iustice. 1361
- Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond L.I. 1367
- William lord Windfor the first lieutenant in Ireland. 1369
- Richard Ashton lord iustice. 1372
- Roger Mortimer } Iustices and lieutenants 1381
Philip Courmeie } specially recorded in Ri-
James erle of Orm. } chard the seconds daies.
- Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Dublin created duke of Ireland.
- Roger Mortimer earle of March lieutenant. 1394
- Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlster lieutenant.
- Roger Greie lord iustice.
- Iohn Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.
- Thomas of Lancaster brother to king Henrie 1401
the fourth lord lieutenant, whose deputies at fundrie times were Alexander bishop of Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the prior of Kilmainan.
- Iames Butler earle of Ormond lord iustice. 1403
- Girald earle of Kildare lord iustice.
- Iames Butler earle of Ormond, sonne to the 1407
foresaid Iames, lord iustice.
- Iohn Stanleie againe lord lieutenant. 1413
- Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.
- Iohn lord Talbot of Sheffield lieutenant. 1414
- Iames Butler erle of Ormond the second time 1420
lieutenant.
- Edmund earle of March, Iames earle of Ormond his deputie.
- Iohn Sutton lord Dudleie, sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie.
- Sir Thomas Stanleie, sir Christopher Plunket his deputie.
- Lion lord Welles, the earle of Ormond his deputie.
- Iames erle of Ormond by himselfe.
- Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, the archbishop of Dublin in his absence lord iustice.
- Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king

Lieutenants
to king Henrie the first.

L. deputies and iustices of Ireland.

81

The yeare of
our Lord.

king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the sixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at sundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzestace knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iustice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by sundrie times these:

1470 Thomas earle of Desmond, } Deputies
John Tiptoft erle of Worcester, } to the duke
Thomas earle of Kildare, } of Cla-
Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine. } rence.
Sir Rouland Eustace lord deputie.
Richard duke of Yorke, yoonger sonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.
Edward sonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.
Isasper duke of Bedford and earle of Penbroke,

lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbishop of Dublin.

Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie.

Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie Girald earle of Kildare.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolke, lieutenant.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.

The baron of Deluin lord deputie.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington againe lord deputie.

Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie.

Sir William Brereton knight, lord iustice.

Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie.

The yeare of
our Lord.

1494

1501

1520

1523

1529

1534

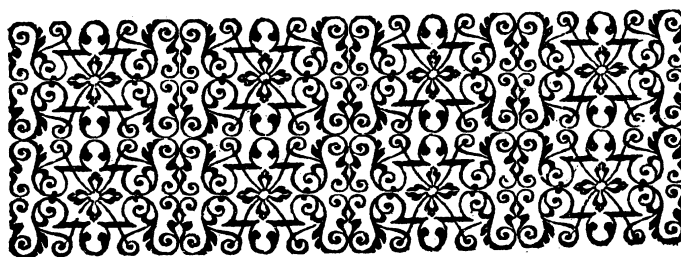
1540

1541

The names of all the lords deputies and iustices in Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight 1546, who died in Januarie.

1546 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated 24 Martij, Anno primo Edw. 6.
1546, 1547 Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie, 22 Aprilis, Anno eodem.
1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.
1549 Sir William Brabeston lord iustice.
1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. 4 Augusti.
1551 Sir James Crofts lord deputie, 29 Aprilis.
1553 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 1 Sept. 4.
1555 Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, 27 April.
1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie } Lords iustices.
Doctore Coren }
1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice alone, 18 Ianuarij.
1557 Thomas erle of Suffex L. lieutenant, 19 Martij.
1558 Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice.

Thomas earle of Suffex lord deputie, 6 Majj. 1559
Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice. 1564
Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565
Doctore Weston lord chancellor } 1567
Sir William Fitzwilliams }
Sid Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1568
Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice. 1570
Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, 11, 1571
Decemb. Anno 14 Elisab.
Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. 5 Augusti 3. 1572
Sir William Drurie lord iustice, 14 Septemb. 1579
by patent, 18 Majj. 1580
Sir William Pelham lord iustice. 1580
The lord Arthur Graie.
Adam archbishop of Dublin } Lord iustices. 1582
Sir Henrie Wallop }
Sir John Perot lord deputie. 1584





TO THE RIGHT WOR- thie and honorable gentleman sir

Walter Raleigh knight, seneschall of the
duchies of Cornewall and Excester, and lord warden of the
stannaries in Deuon and Cornewall : Iohn Hooker
wisheth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the
increafe of honour.



Mong all the infinit good blessings, right honorable,
which the Lord God hath bestowed vpon vs, I thinke none more
expedient and necessarie, than the vse and knowledge of histories and
chronicles: which are the most assured registers of the innumerable
benefits and commodities, which haue and dailie doe grow to the
church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations.
The vse of them began and was receiued euen from the first begin-
ning, and immediatlie vpon the dispersing of the sonnes of Adam
through out the world: for they were no sooner diuided into seuerall
nations, but they did (as Cicero saith) make choise of some one
man among themselves, who surpassed the rest in wisdome, know-
ledge and vnderstanding, *Ad quem confugiebant*. These kind of men
for the most part in those daies were preests and philosophers, and
for their great knowledge, wisdome and credit, had the charge to
commend to their posteritie such notable and good acts as were wor-
thie the memorie. And as all other nations had such men, so the re-
mote Ilands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now containing England, Scotland and Wales, had
their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wise men & of great credit,
did deliuer all their saings in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And these for the better alluring of the
people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vse to sing with an instrument such les-
sons and instructions as they were wont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuer-
sation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of prowesse and martiall affaires, or of the gests of their ances-
tors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and wortheie the knowledge, by which meanes they
made men the more apt, readie, and willing to apply themselves to vertue and to a commendable course of life,
both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magistrate how he was to be obeyed, & the common soci-
etie how it was to be conserued; and finally how the whole course of mans life was to be ordered and directed.
These and manie other like commodities when Cicero had considered, did grow by these means, which is the
verie substance of an historie: he described the same to be the witness of time, the light of truth, the life of
memorie, and the mistresse of life: willing and aduising euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their
recourse to the same, and to be well exercised in the knowledge thereof, because the things past are set downe
therin, and by them a man may learne what to doo in the life to come. For as the wise man saith, There is nothing
new vnder the sunne: for the thing which is now hath beene, and by the things past we are taught the things
to come. And so saith Augustine: *Historia magis vel certe non minus prenunciandis futuris, quam enuncian-
dis praeiis inuenitur intenta*: Histories doo teach and aduertise vs as well of the things to come, as of the things
past: and the knowledge thereof is so no necessarie that Melancthon would haue no man to be vntaught in hi-
stories, because *Sine qua nulla in re quispiam lucem habet*. And Thucidides the old ancient historiographer of
Grecia would that euerie man should haue about him a booke of histories, as a thing most necessarie for him in
all matters whatsoever: and this did he draw and learne (as it should seeme) from Moses, who when he had
faithfullie and diligentlie written and set downe the whole course of the world, the wonderfull works of God,
and all the most necessarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or causes of ci-
uill policies, or of common societie: then he and Iosua assembling all the people together, did deliuer vnto them
the whole Pentateuch of Moses to be dailie read & taught, with a commandement that they should neuer haue
that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourse to them, as well for their life, as also
for their direction in all their causes. Which thing they did most diligentlie obserue and keepe, and not onelie in
matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the most true oracles, they would make their recourse for
their full resolutions. As the enimies of Iehuda, when they saw the prosperous successe of the building of the
temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the same, made sute to king Artaxerxes
that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Iewes, licencing them to build the tem-
ple, alledging manie great and sundrie matters against them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles
to be searched, whether it were true that had beene informed against them. Likewise when Hamon had gree-
uousslie complained vnto king Ahasuerus against Mardocheus and the Iewes, charging them with sundrie hai-
nous offenses wortheie death, the king commanded the chronicles to be searched. Also when Paule and Syllas
first preached the gospell at Thessalonica and Berea, a doctrine then accounted strange and new, they searched
and examined the books *Num hac ita se haberent*. For as they found things there recorded, so gaue they credit,
and by the same they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onelie
A.ij. they

The first vse of
histories.

The first chro-
nographers.

The first chro-
nographers in
England and
Ireland.

Poets were
the first chro-
nographers
in Britaine.

The definition
of an historie.
Cicero de oratore.

Ecclesiast. i. 3.

August. de ciuit.
Dei.
Chronica Ca-
rionis.
Thucidides.

Deutero. 5.
Iosue. i.

i. Esdras. 4.
Nehemias.

Ester. 6.

Acta. 17.

The epistle dedicatorie.

they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales: but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touching their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselves to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

Alexander.

Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Trojan wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises yfed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed, Julius

Julius Cæsar.

Cæsar also in his wars searched the ancient bookes and histories of the citie of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and doings. Manie like princes

Mat. Parisensis
in prefat.

hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things doone in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares, was wont to reteine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things doone in euerie their seuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge. For this I dare boldlie saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no

Ireland yeeldeth small matter for an historie.

state, nor commonwealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than doo the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of blood, murder, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greuous & irkesome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath bene some cause why I was alienated and vtterlie discouraged to intermeddle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the mahers and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not bene touched; I found no matter of an historie worthie to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie resolved not at all to haue intermeddled therewith. Neuerthelesse, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sicknesse, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwealth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the great and wonderous workes of God, both of his seuerie iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles; yet I find none more apparant and effectuall, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their soueraignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the sword, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none haue escaped vnpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragicall discourse of Ireland, and to the most vnnaturall wars of the Desmond against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerlie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age bene seene nor knowne; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet breiefelie and in effect is as followeth.

The iustice of
God against
rebels.

Grafton,
Holinshed,
Polydore, in
Hen. 2.
Edw. 2.

The earle of Desmond, named Gerald Fitzgiralde, was descended of a yonger house of the Giraldines of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Gerald of Windsor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arriuall into England, trauelled into Wales, and there married the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Roelius prince of South Wales, and by hir among others had issue Moris Fitzgiralde, ancestor to these the foresaid Giraldines; and he being assistant to Dermon mac Morogh king of Leinster in Ireland, was one of the chiefe and most principall seruitors in the conquest, or rather one of the conquerors of that land vnder king Henrie the second. The issue and offspring of this Moris as they were honourable in blood, so they were no lesse honorable in all their actions: they being verie famous for their good gifts of the mind, in wisdom and policie in their ciuill gouernment, and renowned for their valiantnesse and prowesse in martiall affaires, in both which they had well tried themselves, and therefore manie times they had the cheefe gouernment of the whole realme, being sometime lord iustices, sometime lord lieutenants, and sometime lord deputies of the whole land: and for their truth and fidelitie were aduanced to honor. For Thomas Fitzgiralde being the elder house, was created earle of Kildare in the ninth yeare of king Edward the second, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftene. And in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and seuen, Moris Fitzthomas a yonger brother of that house was created earle of Desmond. And from thence as before, they continued verie honourable, dutifull & faithfull subiects, for the course of sundrie hundreds of yeares: vntill that this brainedicke and breakedanse Gerald of Desmond, and his brethren, alies, and complices, forgetting the honour of his house, and forsaking their faith, dutie and alegiance, did breake into treasons, and shewed themselves open enemies, traitors and rebels, yfing all maner of hostilities and outrages, to the impeach of hir most sacred maiestie, and the destruction of the commonwealth: the price whereof in the end he paid with his and their own bloods, to the vtter destruction of themselves and that whole familie, there being verie few Giraldines in the prouince of Mounster left to bemoane or bewaile their deaths. For first the earle himselfe, the cheefe of his familie, after his long repast in his traitorous follies, was driuen in the end to all extremities and penuries, and at the last taken in an old cotage, and his head was cut off and sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge, and his lands and inheritance confiscated and discontinued from his house and name for euer. Sir James one of his yonger brethren, in taking of a preie, was taken and made a preie; he was hanged as a cheefe, quartered as a traitor, and his head and quarters dispersed and set vpon the gates and wals of the citie of Corke. Sir Iohn of Desmond, another of his yonger brethren, and next to himselfe the cheefe ringleader of this rebellion, was taken, his head cut off and set vpon the castell of Dublin, and his bodie hanged by the heeles at Corke. His onelie sonne and heire being wholie disinherited, is prisoner in the Tower of London. His ladie and wife destituted of all honour and liuings, leadeth a dolefull & a miserable life. His capteins, soldiers, and men of warre, put all for the most part to the sword. The popes two prelates and nuncios, the one slaine in the field, and the other died most miserablie in the woods. The Italians and strangers few or none left alieue to returne to aduertise of their successe vnto their holie father. The common people such as escaped the sword, all for the most part are perished with famine, or fled the countrie. The land it selfe being verie fertile, is waxed baren, yeelding nor corne nor fruits; the pastures without cattell, and the aire without fowles, and the whole prouince for the most part desolate and vnhabited, sauing townes and cities: and finallic, nothing there to be seene but miserie and desolation.

Sir James of
Desmond taken
& hanged,
Sir Iohn of
Desmond killed
& hanged.
The earles
sonne a prisoner
in the Tower
of London.
The countesse
of Desmond
leueth a wofull
life.
D. Allen slaine
D. Sanders
died miserablie.
The land left
altogether
baren.

The epistle dedicatorie.

A notable and a rare example of Gods iust iudgement and seuer punishment, vpon all such as doo resist and rebell against the higher powers and his annointed: which is so greuous an offense in his sight; that next to the capitall offenses against the first table, this is accounted the greatest and in the highest degree. For as it is written, Who resisteth against the higher power, resisteth against Gods ordinances, and he shall receiue iudgement. And the Lord shall root him from out of the face of the earth that shall blasphemise his gods, and curse the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all subiection, humbleness, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold blessings prospereth them; as hir maiesties good subiects dwelling within the English pale, and inhabiting within hir cities and townes can witnesse. They sow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of sheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their pastures are full of cattell, and they inioice them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in safetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie resteth in their houses. Two notable examples (I saie) and woorthie to be throughlie obserued; the one of Gods iust iudgement against the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull subiect. Which examples the later they are, the more should they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted resolution, to yeeld to the superiours all dutie and obedience: and by the examples of the rebels, to shun as a pestilence all disobedience and rebellion; least in dooing the like, we doo receiue the like iust iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be sufficient perswasions and instructions to the posteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eschew that which is euill. For albeit good counsell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can so much preuaile nor be of such vertue and effect, as the examples of our ancestors, and the actions of our forefathers when they be laid before vs: *Magis enim exemplis potest persuaderi, quam argumentis extorqueri.* And therefore in times past, the surest course which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill gouernment or in martiall affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And for as much as such is the value and vertue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offensive vnto you, that I doo a little digresse and speake somewhat of your selfe and of your ancestors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause haue you to looke into the same: that what in some of your later forefathers was conspited, maie not in you be conspited, but rouzed and raised vnto his former and pristinat state. And for as much as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to laie the same downe before you.

Rom. 13.

The prosperitie and quietnes in the English pale.

Pauic. de infia reip.

There were sundrie of your ancestors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Deuon, as to other houses of great honour & nobilitie, & in sundrie succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your ancestor in the directest line, was named sir Iohn de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Deuon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heire to sir Roger Damerei, or de Amerei, whome our English chronicles doo name lord de Amereie, who was a noble man and of great linage, and descended of the earls de Amereie in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did serue in the court, and by the good pleasure of God and the good liking of the king he married the ladie Elisabeth, the third sister and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Glocester, who was slaine in the battell of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the second. This earle died fans issue, he beeing the sonne and the said ladie Elisabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, by his wife the ladie Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the first. This Gilbert descended of Robert earle of Glocester, sonne to king Henrie the first, and of his wife the ladie Mawd, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Aftrouill in Normandie, coosen to the Conqueror, knight of the priue chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your ancestor sir Iohn de Raleigh married the daughter of de Amerei, Damerei of Clare, Clare of Edward the first, and which Clare by his father descended of king Henrie the first. And in like maner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whose vertues are highlie recorded sparsim in the chronicles of England; some greatlie commended for their wisdomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counsell, some likewise much praised for their prowesse & valiantnesse in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

The descent of the lord warden.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the sunne, and time hath deuoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old cuntrye saie; Be the daie neuer so long, yet at length it will ring to euensong: so this honorable race, though for so manie descents, and for the course of so manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in processe of time the honour became to be of worship (neuertheless alied alwaies and matched in houses of great honour and nobilitie) and so euer since possessed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthie ancestors seemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguished and to be vterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was past anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the yongest sonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioseph, one of the yongest sonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approued faithfull seruice of your late ancestors and kindred deceased, and inclined hir princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne sufficiencie and abilitie to restore you againe, being the last branch remaining of so manie noble and famous houses descended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelie (as the wise man saith) *Vt noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse*, And that you should be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *Semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem est afferendum*: for we are not borne to our selues alone, but the prince, the cuntrye, the parents, friends, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an interest in vs, and to euerie of them we must be beneficiall: otherwise we doo degenerate from that communitie and societie, which by such offices by vs is to be conferred, & doo become most vnprofitable: *Nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam utilitatem reipublice ac communi societati possit afferre*, and euerie such man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to haue a place in the hieue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale than whiles he dooth some good therein, because through idleness they doo not onelie no good, but as Cato saith, they doo euill: *Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*. Idleness therefore the mother of all wickednesse, and idlers the sonnes of so bad a mother, are vterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelie to be fostered, nourished and cherished, who as they are borne to the cuntrye, so if they doo good and be beneficiall to the same.

All things haue an end.

Cicero de offic.

Cicero.

Cato. Idlers ought not to haue place in the commonwealth.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the course of your life hitherto dooth manifest it. For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you trauelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfreie Gilbert, trauelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in

The epistle dedicatorie.

fundrie respects would haue infused, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherunto you leuelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not giue ouer, vntill you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in *Virginia*, the first English colonie that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell inmanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they sought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a commonwelth, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did scordh and rott them to death, as by their owne histories dooth appeare. These (I saie) doo brag and vaunt, that they onelie haue drawne strange nations and vknowne people to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the enriching of their countrie, and thereby doo claime the honor to be due to themselves onelie and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in fundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloodshed; and to frame them from a sauage life to a ciuill gouernment, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transference vnto the superfluous multitude of frutelesse and idle people (heere at home daile increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld infinit commodities? And how well you doo deserue euerie waie in following so honourable a course, not we our selues onelie can witnesse, but strange nations also doo honour you for the same: as dooth appeare by the epistle of *Bassimerus* of France, to the historie of *Florida*: and by *Julius Caesar* a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled *Cullombeados*. It is well knowne, that it had beene no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue beene aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vsed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue doone; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and countrie before all priuat gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue beene rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increase your talent, and blesse your doings, and euerie good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more aduerfaries he shall haue to deprave and hinder the same: yet I am perswaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthie an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, bicause you haue indured so manie croses, and haue through so much enuiings and misfortunes perseuered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blesse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankfull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercie towards you. Giue me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be bold with you, not onelie to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and souereigne: who besides hir great fauour towards you manie waies, she hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the Itannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, bicause vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes dooth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doo not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferently. Be you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a patterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath hir foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis*. And therefore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedigree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *Ignobilis mihi videris*; In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, *Hic enim vere nobilis est celsendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur*. Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & sundrie waies. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to blesse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in maritall causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath beene obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelie taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doo aduertise you, that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeavour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracusa, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vnlesse he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vsed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and dutie.

Palingenius.
 Demosthenes.

Fusils, instru-
 ments of la-
 bours.

Agathocles.

White colour.

Gules.

The white colour or siluer mettall teach vnto you vertue, sinceritie & godlinesse. For as siluer is a most excellent mettall, and next vnto gold excellling all others, and with which for the excellencie thereof, the Lord God would haue his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foule, dooth lose his grace: euen so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godlie conuersation, to lead a life in all vprightnesse, without reproch and disgrace: and that you should be seruiceable to God and your countrie in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defense of your countrie, and for the safetie thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficiall to all men, hurtfull and iniurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloued and honoured, and their names for euer registred in immortal fame and memorie. And so shall it be with you, if you doo the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall blesse you, & you shall prosper & flourish as did Ioseph; you shall be honored, as was Daniell; and you shall be in fauor before God & man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speake good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, & your talent shall be augmented & increased, & all things shall go well with you. But to returne where we left. When I had waded as far as I could in the discourse of this historie, according to

such

The epistle dedicatorie.

such instructions as partlie by my selfe, but more by other mens helps, I had collected and gathered; and thought to haue continued the same from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto these presents: it came vnto my mind, and I thought it verie expedient, to make a new review of that, which by others had bene done in the interuall betweene *Cambrensis* and my doings, wherein I found great paines had bene taken, and that the authors had well deserued great praises and commendations. And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto *Giraldus*, and not one of them would yeeld that curtesie either to publish his historie, or vising the same to acknowledge it. For some misliking both method and phrase, framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more loftie stile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themselues the honour and fruits of another mans doings. In which, their discourtesie was the more, because they iniured so noble and woorthie a personage. For *Giraldus* was a noble man by birth, he being the sonne vnto Mauricius, the sonne vnto Giraldus de Windfor, and to his wife the ladie Nesta, daughter to the great Roefius prince of South Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and procured verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewise humane: and by profession he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church. He was chapleine to king Henrie the second, and to king Iohn his sonne, and both of them he attended in their iorneis into Ireland, and at the request and commandement of the king the father, he wrot the historie of this land according as what he saw and knew to be true. The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels, and the better learned he was: euen so much the more is their fault, that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it, nor thinke themselues beholding vnto him. For as Plinie saith, *Ingenii pudoris est, sateri per quos profecerimus*; It is the part of a good nature not to be ashamed to acknowledge and confesse by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath bene an old vsage in all ages, and among all the ancient writers, both Gracians & Latinists, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and enlarge their owne therewith: as Plato did of Socrates and Pythagoras, Aristotle out of Plato, Cicero of them both; and so likewise others: and these men would not onelic confesse the same, which was accounted to be some part of recompense, but also they accounted their owne doings to be so much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of such wise, graue, and well learned men. The like reason might suffice to persuaade such in this later age, as which be so curious that they will not haue anie father, doctour, or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in sermons, readings, predings, or writings; and yet they will not sticke to vse & recite verbatim, whole sentences, yea & whole pages out of other mens writings, and attribute the same to themselues, as of their owne inuention. A great fault and a point of ingratitude, not allowed among the gentiles: much lesse should it be so among christians, especially among them of the highest profession, *Non profiteri per quos profecerint*.

The ingrate-
fulnesse vnto
Cambrensis.

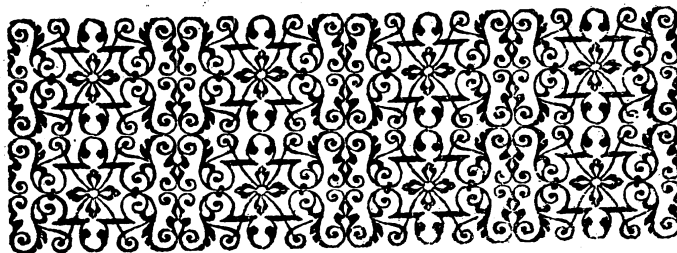
The genealo-
gie of *Giraldus*.

But leauing euerie man to himselfe, for as much as all histories are to be done with all sinceritie & truth, which in this cannot be so well doone, vnlesse the first writer and author of this historie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publish and set forth *Giraldus* his owne workes as they are, which, leauing all other translations, I haue as faithfullie translated as the historie requireth, and in as fit an English phrase as is most meete and convenient for the reader. And because the same so long hence written, hath sundrie obscure things, which doe require some further opening, for the better vnderstanding of the reader; I haue subiected and added to euerie chapter (so requiring) such notes and obseruations, as he shall be therewith the better instructed and satisfied. This thing thus by me doone, together with so much as I my selfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents: which although it maie seeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulnesse as the course of so manie yeares might afford; or that some things maie be misreported and set downe, otherwise than the truth is, or that some things maie be mistaken, &c: let this be imputed vnto them, through whose default the same is so befallen; for manie things were promised and little performed; and some, who had and haue an interest in the matter, haue refused and would doe nothing. But for my selfe, according to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I haue after the method and nature of an historie, most sincerelie and faithfullie set downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing. And for as much as your selfe was a partie and a doer in some part of the Desmond's wars, in which you were a painfull and a faithfull seruitour, and therefore can giue some report and testimony to this discourse, and also for the loue and honour which I doe owe and beare vnto you, I thought it my part and dutie to offer and present, and presentlie in most humble maner I doe offer and present the same vnto your good fauour and protection. And albeit the thing it selfe be verie slender, and too farre an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling; yet let your courtesie couer that, and accept my good will, which as time and occasion hereafter shall serue, I shall & will be most willing (as your lordships most deuout and assured) to supplie in all the good seruices I maie or shall be able to doe at your commandement. The Lord bleffe you and multiplie your daies, to the honor of God, the good seruice of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increase in all honour. Exon. Octob. 12.

1 5 8 6.

Your L. verie good friend and alie
at commandement,

JOHN HOOKER.



The first preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto his historie of the conquest of Ireland.

FOrsomuch as in our Topographie we haue at large set foorth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein conteined, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, together with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well discovered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnessers thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discovereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things presentlie doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrink vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainelie and euidentlie; and therfore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdain casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set foorth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And forsomuch as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue according to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yoong men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrase of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainelie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposelie indeuored my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & order as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But forsomuch as some men haue maliciouslie and slanderouslie depraue my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to depraue me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiecteth therefore and laieth to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the wolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reprooued his maister. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wildernesse did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauen. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the citie

The first preface.

citie of God, especiallie the xv. and xxi. booke, which are full of strange prodigies and woonders: let him read Isodorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies, concerning woonders, his xij. booke of beasts, & his xvi. booke of pretious stones, and of their vertues; let him also read Valerius Maximus, Trogus Pompeius, Plinius, and Solinus, & in euerie of these he shall find manie things which he may mislike and thinke to be vntruths, & so condemne the residue of all the writings of so noble and woorthie men. But let him be better aduised, & consider well, how that as S. Ierome saith, there are manie things contained in the scriptures which seeme to be incredible, and to carie no truth in them, and yet neuerthelesse are most true. For whie, nature dooth not, nor can preuaile against the Lord of nature: and therefore euerie creature ought not to loth, but to reuerence, & haue in great admiration the works of God: & as S. August. saith, How can that be against nature which is doone by the will of God? Bicause the will of so great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created. A portent then or a monster is not against nature, but against it which proceedeth from nature. And therefore as it is not impossible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he listeth; no more is it impossible to him to alter and change into what forms he listeth the things alreadie created. And yet I would not that euerie thing by me written, should forthwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth: for whie, I my selfe do not so firmlie beleue of them, as of things most certeine and true, sauing of such things which by experience I know to be true, and which also euerie other man may by prooffe so find it to be. For as for all other things, I so account of them, that I neither do nor will stand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The iewellers & such as haue, & be acquainted with the pretious stones come out of India, do not so strangelie think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer saw them afore: & yet they hauing had once experience of them, do the lesse muse & wonder at the strangenes of them. For whie, the dailie vse taketh awaie all strangenes & admiration; and euerie thing be it neuer so strange & maruellous at the first, yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the lesse esteemed: euen as the Indians themselues do litle value or esteeme their commodities, which we do so much maruell & wonder at. S. Augustine therefore vpon the gospell, how the water was turned into wine hath these words: Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth, & of the gouerning of the same; & as great it is to see how the raine water, by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and small seeds great trees and fruits do spring and grow; and yet because we do see it this daie as it were by a naturall course, we do lesse esteeme & consider of them. But yet God aboue the common course hath reserved to himselfe some small things, & which seeme to be of no value, to the end that his power might appeare in greater things, and driue vs the more to consider of them. Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented, & not to enuie against the Lord of nature, who of purpose in the sight of man hath doone manie things against the common course of nature: because it should be apparant, & euerie man should well see, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge, & his diuinitie surpasseth mans vnderstanding. Cassiodorus therefore saith: It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderstand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth such great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and passe the capacitie & vnderstanding of man. For God alwaies of purpose dooth transpose and alter his great things into strange forms, that albeit men may in some respect discerne the same: yet fullie they can not comprehend the same. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & registred in their writings the strange prodigies in their times; whie be we doing the like (vnlesse the whole world be set in wickednesse) maligned and backbitten? For if there be anie new and strange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & spitefull man forthwith, without further allowance condemne & deprauie it, but rather suffer it to remaine as it is. For as the poet saith: If our forefathers had reiected (as we do) all new things, what shuld now be old? Let him therefore cease to blame or carpe at new things, because in course of time they ceasse to be new, and wax to be old. He may therefore take his pleasure, and deprauie the same, & yet no doubt our posteritie will allow thereof. He may do what he can to hurt it, yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to disprooue and blame it, yet will they loue it. He may do what he can to reiect it, yet will they receiue and allow of it.



The second preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto the noble Earle of Poitiers.

HAuing beene eftsoones, and by manie requested, to register and write the historie of such noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either seene my selfe, or haue heard it crediblie reported; I was for my excuse woont to alleage the wickednesse of the time, wherein, by reason of the excessiue riotousnesse which so aboundeth, all things are so farre out of order, and men so carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuerthelesse, considering, and diligentlie aduising with my selfe, how necessarie the knowledge of those things will be to our posteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honest disposition, than to lie wallowing in idlenesse and sloth; I did at length with much adoo yeeld my selfe to those requests, and resolued my selfe to satisfie the same. But yet what can be more presumptuous than to write when time serueth not, & leisure wanteth? Or to desire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leisure to read our selues? Or that we should be subiect to the examination and sifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leisure to examine our selues? Tullius, the founteine and wellspring of all eloquence, being on a time requested to make an oration, is said he did excuse himselfe, because he had not studied nor read the daie before. If so famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did so esteeme the benefit of studieng, what shall others of a farre meaner estate and learning thinke of themselves? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reuiued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increased and nourished as it were with a naturall food and sustenance. For as the full barns are soone spent, if they be not new stored; and the stocke of great wealth and treasure soone wasted & consumed, if it be not repaired; euen so the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and perusing of other mens works dooth soone perish and decaie. We are compact and doo consist of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing respect to both, are to nourish both, the earthie part with things transitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlasting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be shut vp, and as it were imprisoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it appertineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and straie, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will lusteth, & let him be subiect to the miserable condition of the flesh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is inclosed in the shell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be so warded and defended, that being in troubles, it be not troubled; and being solitarie, it be not destituted. God and the king haue ech of them their feuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the secret and incomprehensible part within vs, namelie the soule, God onelie possesseth, and he alone knoweth and searcheth the same. For it is a most noble and excellent thing, passing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehensible, and yet comprehending all things, and most euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous secret celeritie dooth discerne the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderstanding of all arts, sciences & knowledges: he is onlie knowen to him that is vnknown, seene of him that is not seene, & cōprehended of him which is incomprehensible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exercises of this soule should be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or set aside should perish or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the soule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a prison, which though not holding him, yet hindring him? For what the shell is to the kernell, the same is the flesh to the spirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but shortlie which shall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my selfe, and haue now written and drawn out the historie of the conquest of Ireland, and the subduing of the barbarous nation of the same in these our daies, and haue dedicated the same vnto your highnesse: that by recording the gifts thereof, and seeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, so the same also may increase in you: and as you are knowen to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, so you may succeed him also in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto traueled in this rude and rough matter after a grosse manner, but hereafter more fullie, and in better order to be expressed and set forth, as time and yeares shall increase, and as I shall be more at full instructed.



To his most reuerend lord and beloved in Christ, Iohn the noble and worthie king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and of Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou: Giraldus offereth this his simple worke, and wisheth all health both of bodie and of soule, and a prosperous successe in all things according to his hearts desire.



It pleased your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to send me being then attendant vpon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted sundrie notable things, and which were strange and unknowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choise of the chiefeft matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the description of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleased with those my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie well learned) his desire and pleasure was, I should also write out the historie of the last conquest of the same land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor these my paines were considered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But because by negligence, or rather by reason of the great businesse, wherewith I was incumbred: I had almost forgotten the site, nature, and maner of the west parts of the said land, which I had not seene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruse againe my said worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the same vnto your highnesse. Wherein our historie taketh his beginning from the time that Dermot mac Morogh prince of Leinster was driven out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitaine: most humblye craving, and at length obtaining aid and succor, vntill your first coming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of these noble men and capteins, which then passed thither; euen from the first to the last; and what good or euill was doone by them.

In which historie as in a glasse, a man may most apparantlie and euidentlie see and discerne truth; who, and what they were which deserued the most honor in this conquest; whether the first aduenturers out of the diocesse of saint Dauids my cousins and kinsmen; or they of the diocesse of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good successe of the first, hoping to haue the like themselves, went ouer: or else they which passed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furnished at all points with good store of armor, vittell, and other necessaries. Surelie they deserued well, who gaue the first aduenture: and they also are much to be commended, which continued the same: but they deserued best, who went ouer last. For they not onelie did establish and confirme the authoritie and doings of the first and second, but also made a finall end, and brought the whole countrie into subiection. But alas, by reason of their too hastie returning from thence, and of the vnnatural warres and rebellion of the sonnes against their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, o noble king, despiise not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Doo not impart your honor and glorie to the vnworthie and vnthankfull: neither for the coueting of an Iland of siluer to hazard the losse of one of gold: the one far passing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the siluer of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Besides this, there is another thing which might persuaade you to be mindfull, and haue some regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleased God and good fortune to send you manie children, both naturall, and also legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in those two kingdomes, two of your sonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and liuehoods; and especiallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vmurtured, and nothing to the purpose by our men inhabited. But if so be that neither for the increasing of your owne honor, the enriching of your treasure, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue respect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue some consideration of your poore veterans and old seruitors, who haue most faithfullie and trustilie serued both you and your father, and by whose seruice that realme of Ireland was first conquered; and is yet kept and reteined; and yet are supplanted by such yoong nonices and yoonkers as are of late gone thither

The epistle dedicatorie.

thither, to enjoy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens trauels, fortune better fauoring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogancie, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seignorie and dominion to themselves, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the household enimies be alwaies working of wiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were in your bosome: nor to nourish and rake up the fire as it were in your lap, the same being readie to breake out into great flames: for this shall not onelie be counted a great retchlesnesse, but also a great follie in you, and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venomous serpents. And for princes of Islands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the seas it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be perswaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost vtterlie destroyed; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours: then I praise you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash; and giue vs leaue to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to inuade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vp the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme: and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paid out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obtained, and which remaineth in the treasure of Winchester; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith: A lieng toong beseemeth not a king, especially when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

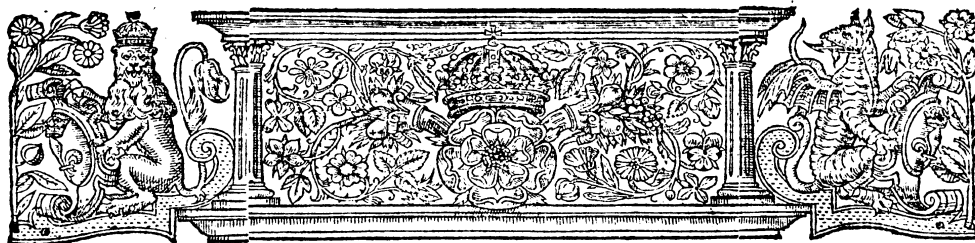
And forsomuch as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent blood by your father and your selfe alredie shed, and which hereafter maie be shed: you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed: that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous succeſſe, and all yours in this world: and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioy and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are befallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the cheefest and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namely Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell: for notwithstanding the happie and fortunat succeſſe of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driuen to beg; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie indued with great liuehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogether waisted and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to provide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to assist and serue him in all weightie causes of counsell and importance, should be releued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreouer, under your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in proceſſe of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance commeth to such as are furthest removed in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeelded vnto the king, to be paid in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And forsomuch as things doone, being put and registred in writing,

and to be read by an interpretor, are not sensible, nor so well vnderstanded of the hearer,

as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language; it were

verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in

the French toong, should translate the same
into French.

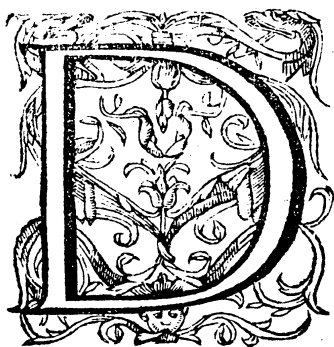


SYLVESTER GIRALDUS Cambrensis, his vaticinall historie of the Conquest of Ireland.

The figures of (1) (2) (3) &c. set before certeine words of the chapters, are to be conferred with the like in the scholies or interpretations following euerie chapter, whereby the authors meaning is opened: this by the waie of a necessarie caueat to the reader in breuitie.

How Dermon Mac Morogh king of Leinster fled out of his countrie vnto Henrie the second king of England for aid and succour.

Chap. I.



Dermon (1) Mac Morogh prince of (2) Leinster & gouernour of the first part or portion of Ireland, did in our time possesse & inioie the east part of the land, which bordereth and lieth to wards England: being disseuered from the same by the maine seas. This man from his verie youth, and first entrie into his kingdome, was a great oppressor of his gentlemen, and a cruell tyrant ouer his nobles: which bred vnto him great hatred and malice. Besides this, there befell to him an other mischance: for Moroghke prince of (3) Meth was gone in a fornie, leauing his wife the daughter of Omolaghlin behind, in a certeine land in Meth: there to remaine and tarie vntill his returne. She (I saie) and this Dermon had bene long inamour'd and in loue the one with the other: and she watching a time how to haue loue and lust satisfied, taketh the aduantage of hir husbands absence, and yeldeth hir selfe to be rauished, because she would be rauished: for by hir owne procurement and intisings, she became and would needs be a preie vnto the preier. Such is the variable & fickle nature of a woman, by whome all mischiefes in the world (for the most part) doe hapen and come, as maye appeare by (4) Marcus Antonius, and by the destruction of (5) Troie. King Moroghke being aduertised hereof, was forthwith maruellouslie troubled & in a great choler, but more grieued for shame of the fact than for sorrow or hurt; and therefore is fullie determined to be auenged: and forthwith assemblith all his people and neighbors, as also procured into his aid and for his helpe Rothorike king of (6) Connagh and then monarch of all Ireland. The people of Leinster considering in what distresse their prince was, and how on euerie side he was be-

set of his enemies, they also call to mind the old sores and griefes, which they of long time had dissembled: & to be auenged & atreched thereof, they make league and become friends with their enemies, and utterlie leaue and forsake their king. Dermon seeing himselfe thus forsaken and left destitute, and that fortune frowned vpon him (for he had oftentimes encountered with his enemies and euer had the worst) determined at length, as to his last refuge to flee ouer the seas, and to seeke for some better chance. By this euent and sequele of this man, as also by manie other like examles it appeareth, that it is better for a prince to rule ouer a people, which of a good will and loue doe obeie him, than ouer such as be froward and stubborn. This (6) Piero well felt and (7) Domitianus well knew (8) and Henrie duke of Saronie and Baire well tried. It is more necessarie and expedient for a prince to be rather beloued than feared. In deed it is good to be feared; so that the feare doe proceed rather from a good will than of compulsion. For whatsoeuer is outwardlie onelie and to the shew loued and receiued, the same of consequence must be feared: but whatsoeuer is feared, that is not forthwith loued. Wherefore feare must be so tempered with loue, that neither a remisse good will doe war into a colonselle, neither feare grounded vpon a rash insolencie be turned and become tyrannie. Loue did enlarge the empire of (9) Augustus, but feare shortened the life of (10) Julius Cesar. Well, Mac Morogh following fortune, and yet in hope that once againe she will turne hir wheele, hauing wind and weather at will, taketh ship, passeth ouer the seas, and went vnto Henrie the second king of England, and most humble and earnestlie prayeth his helpe and succor. Who being then in the remote places in France and Aquitaine, and busied in great and weightie affaires; yet most courteously he receiued him and liberallie rewarded him. And the king hauing at large and orderlie heard the causes of his erile and of his repaire vnto him, he toke his oath of allegiance and swore him to be his true vassall and subiect: and thereupon granted and gaue him his letters patents in maner and forme as followeth. Henrie king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of Artois, vnto all his subiects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other nations and people being his subiects sendeth greeting. Whensoeuer these our letters shall come vnto you, know ye that we haue receiued Dermon prince of Leinster into our protection,

Henrie the 2.
king of Eng-
lands stile
and letter.

W. J.

tion, grace, and fauour : wherefore whosoever withi-
n our iurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our trustie
subiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be as-
sured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

(1) Dermion is in Latine *Dermotus*, and *Moogh*
is in Latine *Murchardus*, and are mere Irish names:
and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at
his birth or christening : *Mac Moogh* is a word
compounded of *Mac* which is a sonne and of *Moogh*
the proper name of a man, and so *Mac Moogh* is the
sonne of *Moogh* : the Latine name is *Murchardides*,
which is to saie *De Murcharde*, or of *Moogh* : accord-
ing to the Welsh phrase in which the word *ap* is vsed
in the same sense. And this is common to the Irish
& Welsh, for they call not anie man by the name of
his familie or nation as is vsed in England : but by
the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this
example : Dermion being *Mooghs* sonne is called
Dermion Mac Moogh. But this name of *Mac Mo-*
ogh is since turned and become the name of a fami-
lie or nation : for by reason that this *Mac Moogh*
was a noble and valiant man aboue all the rest of
his nation in his daies : therefore his sequels and pos-
teritie haue euer since and doe yet keepe that name.
Some are of the mind that *Moogh* and *Maurence*
are one name : but the Latine differences impos-
seth the contrarie, and the one is a mere Irish
name, and the other a Welsh, and borrowed out of
Wales.

(2) Leinster in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the five
parts or portions of Ireland (for into so manie is
the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the east seas,
and extendeth in length from the further point of the
territorie of Dublin, which is at the riuier of the
Boine by *Doogheda* in the north, vnto the riuier of
the *Surie* which flieth by the citie of *Waterford* in
the south. In it are one and thirtie cantreds other-
wise named baronies or hundreds. It was some-
times diuided into five, but now into seauen coun-
ties, that is, Dublin, *Kildare*, *Catherlogh*, *Kilken-*
nie, *Waterford*, *Leax*, now called the *queenes* countie,
and *Wexford* called the *kings* countie. There are
also in it one archbishop, namely *Dublin*, and foure
bishops; that is, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Leighlin*, and
Wexford.

(3) *Meth* in Latine *Media* is one of the five por-
tions of Ireland according to the first diuision. It is
the least portion being but of eightene cantreds, but
yet the best and most fertile, and lieth for the most
part all within the English pale : and euer since the
conquest of king *Henrie* the second, hath bene sub-
iect and obedient to the English lawes and gouerne-
ment : and because it lieth as it were in the nauill or
bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordinglie,
being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but
one bishop and the suffragan, and vnder the primate
or archbishop of *Armadagh*. His see is at *Trim* and
his house at *Arbrazaghin*. There was no prince sole
gouernour of this as was of the other portions : be-
cause it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the mo-
narch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem*
Hibernia, as a surplus towards his diet.

(4) *Sparcus Antonius* was a famous and a no-
ble *Romane*, excelling in wisdom, knowledge and
learning all the *Romane* princes in his daies; as al-
so a vertie noble and a valiant man in the fieldes, ha-
ving attained to great victories and atchieued to sun-
drie conquests. And yet notwithstanding being ma-
ried to *Cleopatra* queene of *Egypt*, he so doted
vpon hir, and was so bewitched in loue of hir : that
leaving all his wonted manners, he consumed his
whole time in hir companie, and in the end was
more infamous for his vicious, disordered, and loose

life, than before commended for his prouesse and
vertue.

(5) *Troia* called also *Iliou*, was an ancient and
a famous citie in *Asia* the lesse, and situated in the
prouince of *Dardania*, builded by *Tros* the sonne of
king *Crithonius*, who called it after his owne
name. It was a citie verie large, strong, and rich, and
in those daies thought impregnable; & yet by means
that *Helena* was rauished, the same was in the end
utterlie subuerted and destroyed : the historie is this.
Pyramus the king of *Troie* had by his wife *Hecuba*
a sonne named *Paris* or *Alexander* : he dreamed
on a time that *Mercurius* should bring vnto him the
three ladies, *Venus*, *Iuno*, & *Minerua*, that he should
giue his iudgement which was the fairest and most
beautifull of them. When *Venus*, to haue the iudge-
ment for hir and in hir behalfe, did promise him that
he should haue for the same the fairest woman in
all *Græce*. Not long after, *Paris* being in his fa-
thers court in *Troie*, there were great speeches made
of *Helena* and of hir passing beautie. She was
wife to *Menelaus* king of *Sparta* in *Græce*. Where-
vpon *Paris* calling to memorie his former dreame,
and also inflamed with a feruent desire to see so faire
a ladie, maketh preparation both of ships and of
men to saile into *Græce*. Howbeit, some write that
he was sent by the king his father in an ambassage
to king *Menelaus* : but whether it was so or not,
certeine it is he went thither, and was receiued with
all courtesie, and had his intertainment in king
Menelaus house. *Paris* hauing viewed and be-
holden queene *Helena*, he was not so much war-
med before vpon the onelie report of hir, as now
inflamed with hir passing forme and beautie; and
taking the aduantage of king *Menelaus* absence,
perforce taketh *Helena*, spoileth the kings house,
and carteth all awaie with him. *Menelaus* at his
returne home, being dismayed at so sudden a change
and chance, and grieved with such an iniurie, send-
eth his messenger first to *Paris*, and then his
ambassadors to king *Pyramus* for restitution and
amends. But when no intreatie could take place
nor requests be heard, the *Grecians* not minding
to beare with such an iniurie, doe all consent to be
auenged thereof : and therefore with all their force
and power doe prepare to giue warres vnto *Troie*,
and make choise of *Agamemnon* the kings brother
to be their capteine. The warres were cruell and
long, and endured for the space of ten yeares, but
in the end *Troie* was taken, spoiled, and also de-
stroyed.

6 *Nero*, whose name at the first was *Claudius*
Domitianus, was in his youthfull yeares well dispo-
sed to good letters, & giuen to honest exercises. And
Claudius the emperour hauing god liking of him,
adopted him to be emperour, and married him vnto
his daughter. After the death of *Claudius*, he be-
ing emperour, did gouerne well enough the first
five yeares : but thensetforth he waxed so vicious,
and became so horrible in all dissolute wanton-
nesse, prodigalitie, monstrous lecherie, couetous-
nesse, and all other most wicked vices : that he se-
emed to be bozne to the destruction of the whole
world. And in the end he was and became so odi-
ous to the whole world, that it was decreed by the
senat, and sentence giuen, that he should be bea-
ten and whipped to death. Which thing he perceiving,
fled out of *Rome*, and finding none that would
kill him, did runne himselfe thorough with his
owne sword, fateng; Most wickedlie haue I liued,
and most shamefullie shall I die.

7 *Domitianus*, the brother of *Titus*, and sonne
of *Vespasian* the emperours, was nothing like vnto
them, but altogether resembled & was of the nature
and

and disposition of Nero: for at the first entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation sundrie good acts; but in the end he became so wicked a man and so cruell a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of all men, and abhoyred of his owne familie, of whom some of them, to rid the common wealth from so wicked a member, did murder and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) This Henrie was the sonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperoz of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperoz next after him. His father died, he being verie young, and left him to the gouernement of the emperesse his mother; who during his minozitie did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himselfe came to the sole gouernment, great dissensions fell betwene him and his nobles, because he contemned, despised, & oppressed them. He gaue himselfe to wantonnesse and pleasure, and little esteemed the execution of iustice; by means whereof he had manie enemies, who sought that they might depose him both of empire and of his life. The pope also and he were for the most part in continuall debates and strifes, and who was the chiefe cause whie he was so overset and hated of his nobles. And being thus overmatched and in the hatred both of the temporall and ecclesiasticall estates, he for verie sorrow languished and pined awaie, and so died.

(9) Augustus was the sonne of Octavianus a senator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Julius Cesar, and was first named Octavianus Julius Cesar. His uncle hauing no son, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his successor in the empire. After the death of the said Julius, the state by reason he was so cruellie murdered, was maruelouslie troubled and in great perils. But this Octavianus hauing attained to sit in Julius Cessars seat, did so prudentlie order and direct his gouernement, that he did not onelie reduce and restore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietnesse; but also increased the same with the conquests of sundrie nations. Such also were his excellent vertues in wisdom, magnanimitie, courtesie, affabilitie, & liberalltie, and such others; that all people were not onelie rauished in loue with him, but also came and resorted of all nations vnto Rome, to visit, see, and heare him. And hauing stablished the empire in quietnesse, enlarged it with manie nations, & increased vnto himselfe the vniuersall loue of all people, the senat gaue him not onelie the name of Augustus, but gaue vnto him also the titles of the highest and greatest honozs, and was called *summus pontifex perpetuus dictator & pater patrie*, and yelded vnto him the whole power and empire of the sole monarch of the world, now reposing that in him alone, which rested before in the senat and people of Rome. These be the fruites when a prudent magistrat and a wise gouernour ruleth in lone and gouerneth in wisdom.

(10) Julius Cesar was the sonne of Lucius Iulius a noble Romane, and came and descended of the ancient house of the Iulies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought fourth, and excellent in all respects: most valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deserved well of his common wealth, for he enriched the same with the conquests which he made ouer sundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate desire to reigne alone, and to be the sole monarch of the world, drownd all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the senators enuied him: and in the end a conspiracie was made for the murdering of him,

and by the senators executed. For he on a certaine daie, vpon occasion being come into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, although he wanted not sufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and so murdered.

The returne of Dermion Mac Morogh
from king Henrie through England, and of
his abode at Bristol and other
places in Wales.

Chap. 2.

Dermion Mac Morogh, hauing received great comfort and courtesie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had bene verie honourable and liberallie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himselfe more with the hope of good successe to come, than with liberalltie received. And by his daile toming he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Bristol, where because ships and botes did daile repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie desirous to heare of the state of his people and countrie, did for a time sojorne and make his abode: and whilst he was there he would oftentimes cause the kings letters to be openlie red, and did then offer great intertainment, and promised liberall wages to all such as would helpe or serue him; but it serued not. At length Gilbert the sonne of Gilbert, earle of Chepstone (2) came to see him and to talke with him: and they so long had conferred together, that it was agreed and concluded betwene them, that the erle in the next spring then following, should aid and helpe him: and in consideration thereof, the said Dermion should giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, together with his whole inheritance, and the succession into his kingdome. These things orderlie concluded, Dermion Mac Morogh being desirous (as all others are) to see his naturall countrie, departed and toke his iourneie towards S. Davids head or stone (3) in south Wales: for from thence is the shortest cut ouer into Ireland, the same being not a daies sailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and discern. At this same time Rice Fitzgriffith was chiefe ruler vnder the king in those parties; and David the second, then bishop of S. Davids, had great pittie and compassion vpon his distresse, miserie, and calamitie.

Dermion thus languishing and lieng for passage, comforted himselfe as well as he might, sometime dawning and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he seemed to breath and smell, sometimes viewing and beholding his countrie, which in a faire daie a man may ken and descrie. At this time Robert Fitzstephans vnder Rice had the gouernement, & was constable of Abertessie the chiefe towne in Caretica (4) and by the treacherie and treason of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Rice, and by him was kept in prison thre yeares, but now deliuered, vpon condition he should take part and ioine with Griffith against the king. But Robert Fitzstephans, considering with himselfe that on his fathers side (who was a Norman) he was the kings naturall subiect, although by his mother the ladie Iseba, daughter to the great Rice Fitzgriffith, he were cosen germane to the said Fitzgriffith, chose rather to aduantage his life, and to take fortune abroad and in forren countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the slander, reproch, and infamie of himselfe, and of his posteritie. At length by the earnest mediation and intercession of David then bishop of S. Davids, and of Maurice

Fitzgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mothers side, he was set free and at libertie : and then it was agreed and concluded betwene them and Mac Morogh, that he the said Mac Morogh should giue and grant vnto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Wexford, with two (6) cantreds of land adioining, & to their heires in fee for ever: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recouer his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so serued. Whereupon being wearie of his cruelled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw home, wards for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long trauelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of S. Davids to make his orisons and prayers, and then the weather being faire, and wind good, he aduentured the seas about the middle of August; and hauing a merrie passage, he shortly landed in his ingratefull (7) countrie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enemies; and coming safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honozable receiued of the cleargie there: who after their ability did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a priuat man all that winter following among them.

(1) Wexford in the old time was named *Udora*, afterwards *Uenta*, and now *Brisfolium*, and standeth vpon the riuer *Uanium* which is nauigable, & flieth into *Seuerne* or the *Seuerne* seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named *Kingrode*, five miles distant from Wexford, in which the ships doe ride. The other is named *Hongrode*, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is three miles from Wexford. It standeth vpon the borders or confines of the prouince of *Glocestershire* and *Summersetshire*: some would haue it to be in the marches and vnder the principallitie, but in the old times it was parcell of the vallete of *Bath*, which was the metropole of *Summersetshire*. It is verie old, ancient and honorable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for desert and other god considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a severall prouince or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others; hauing a maior and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whom the same is directed and gouerned. It is the chiefeft emporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, aduentures, and traffikes with all nations: great belings they haue with the *Camber* people and the *Irish* nation, the one of them fast bordering vpon them, and the other by reason of the neerenesse of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the riuer, daily resorting by water to and from them.

(2) *Chepstone* is a market towne in *Wales*, in that prouince named in old time *Uenta*, being now vnder the principallitie of *Wales*. In times past it was named *Strigulia*, whereof *Richard Strangbow* being earle he took his name, being called *Cornes Strigulensis*.

(3) *S. Davids head* or *stone* is the promontorie in west *Wales*, which lieth and reacheth farthest into the seas towards *Ireland*: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discern in a faire daie the countrie of *Wexford*: for that is the nextest part of *Ireland* vnto that part of *Wales*. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedral church of *Saint Davids*, which is the see of the bishop there: it was and is called *Penenra*, and was in times past an archbishoplike. But as it is written

in the annales of the said church, that in the time of *Richard Carew* and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandement made to yeeld, and submit themselues vnto the metropolitane see of *Canturburie*.

(4) *Aberteife* is an old ancient towne standing vpon the mouth of the riuer of *Teife*, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of *Teife*, but now it is called *Cardigan*. The countrie about it was in times past named *Caretica*, but now *Cardiganthire*, so *Aberteife* is *Cardigan* towne, and *Caretica* *Cardiganthire*.

(5) *Wexford* in Latine named *Guesfordia*, is next after *Dublin* the chiefeft towne in *Leinster*, it lieth full vpon the seas, but the haven is a barred haven and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of *Ireland* into *England*, if you doe touch and take land either at *Saint Davids* or at *Wexford*.

(6) A cantred (as *Giraldus* saith) is a word compounded of the *British* and of the *Irish* twongs, and containeth so much ground as therein are one hundred villages: which in *England* is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, doe saie that it contained thirtie villages, & euerie village contained eight plough lands. Other saie that a cantred containeth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for three hundred kine, and none to annoie another; and euerie plough land containeth six score acres of land *Irish*, and euerie *Irish* acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where *Dermon* landed is named *Glassecaerge*, it is a craeke or a bate lieng vpon the open seas, and in the countie of *Wexford*, thence there was builded a monasterie which was and is dissolued.

(8) *Fernes* is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of *Wexford*, it lieth nere in the middle of the prouince of *Leinster*, and was sometimes a church well adozned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaye, the bishop & chapter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now onely a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

The going ouer and landing of *Robert Fitzstephans* and of his companie in *Ireland*, and of the winning of the towne of *Wexford*,

Cap. 3.

In the meane time *Robert Fitzstephans*, not vnmindfull nor carelesse of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of seruice of his owne kinnsfolks & certeine armed men, and about three hundred of archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and pikd men in *Wales*, they all ship and imbarke themselues in three fundzie barkes, and sailing towards *Ireland*, they land about the calends of *Maye* at the (1) *Banne*. Then was the old prophesie of *Merlin* fulfilled, which was, that a (2) knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of *Ireland*. If you will vnderstand the mysterie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a *Norman* and an *Englismen*, his mother the noble ladie *Messa* was a *Camber* or a *Britaine*, in his companie also was *Peruete* of *Mont Maurice*, a man infortunat, vnrarmed,

armed, and without all furniture: but he travelling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whome he was uncle, was rather a (3) spye than a souldier. On the next daie following Maurice of Bzenelgast a (4) lustie and a hardie man, and boine about Mylford in west Wales, he with ten gentlemen of service, and a good number of archers imbarke themselves in two ships, and arrive also at the Banne. These men thus landed at the Banne, and not standing well assured of their safetie, by reason their coming was blown abroad through the whole countrie, they with all hast sent messengers to Dermon, aduertising him of their coming. Whereupon diuerse of that countrie, who dwelling vpon the sea coasts, and who when fortune frowned had and did shrinke away from Dermon, now perceiving that the fauour red him againe, returned and satowed vpon him; according to the saying of the poet in these words:

As fortune so the faith of man doth stand or fall.

Mac Morogh, as soon as he heard of their landing and coming, sent his base son Donold, a valiant gentleman vnto them with five hundred men: and verie shortly after he himselfe also followed with great soie and gladnesse. And then when they had renewed their former covenants and leagues, and had sworn each one to the other, to obserue the same and to keepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie dispositions, yet now being good friends and all of one mind, they ioine their forces together, and with one consent do march towards the towne of 30 Merford, which is about twelue miles distant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard thereof, they being a fierce and unrulie people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and give battell. But when they saw their aduersaries armie to be better set in order than in times past, and that the horsemen were well armed with armour and shield shining bright: then vpon new chances & changes taking new counsels, they 40 set on fire and burned their suburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitzstephans minding and preparing to give the assault, filleth the ditch with armed men, and setteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things done, he with great shototes and force giueth the assault. The townesmen within being readie to stand at defense, cast over the wals great peeces of timber & stones, and by that meanes hurting many, made the rest to give over and retire. Among whom a lustie yong gentleman named Robert Warrie, being hot and of a lustie courage, and nothing afraid of death, so he might atchieue vnto honour, giueth the first aduventure to scale the wals: but he was stricken with a great stone vpon the headpiece, wherewith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and escaped verie hardlie, for with much ado did his fellowes draw & pull him out of the place. About fiftene yeares after, all his great teeth with the force and violence of this stroke fell out; and that which is verie strange, new teeth grew vp in their places. Vpon this repulse they all retired and withdrew themselves from the wals, & assembled themselves vpon the sea strands, where forthwith they set on fire all such ships and vessels as they could there find. Among whom was one merchant ship lately come out of England laden with wines and come, which there lay then at anchor, and a compaignie of these lustie youths having gotten botes for the purpose, would haue taken hir: which the mariners perceiving, suddenlie cut their cables and hoisted vp these sailes, & the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, they recovered the seas. These youths still following them, had almost lost all and

marred the market: for if others their fellows had not made good shift and rowed a good pace after them they would scarce haue recovered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie constant in inconstancie, seemed to haue forsaken Morogh and Fitzstephans, and to haue left them destitute of all hope and comfort: neuertheless, on the next morow hauing heard diuine service through the whole campe, they determine with better aduise and circumspection to give a new assault, & with lustie courages drew to the wals. The townesmen within seeing this, began to distrust themselves, & to consider how most vnnaturallie and vniustlie they had rebelled against their prince & soueraine: wherupon being better aduised, they send messengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earnest intercession and mediation of two bishops, and certeine good and peaceable men which were within the towne, peace was granted; and foure of the best & chiefeest men within the towne were deliuered and given for pledges and hostages, for the true keeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Mac Morogh, to gratifie his men in these his first successes, and to acquit the first aduenturers, did (according to his former promise and covenant) give vnto Robert Fitzstephans and Maurice Fitzgerald the towne of Merford, and the territories thereunto adjoining and appertaining, and vnto Heruic of Pont Morice he gaue in fee two cantreds, lieng on the sea side betwixen Merford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little creeke lieng in the countie of Merford, nere to Ffithra a fisher towne, which is belonging to the bishop of that diocesse, the open seas being on the east and not farre from the haue mouth of Waterford on the south: and as it should seeme, Fitzstephans and his compaignie mistooke the place or were driuen in there, the same being verie vnapt for a harborow: but the same being the place of the first receipt of Englishmen, there were certeine monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arrived.

(2) A knight biparted. The prophesie was not onelie verified in respect of the parents of Robert Fitzstephans, the one being a Norman Baron, and the other a Camber: but also in respect of his armes and ensigne which were biparted being of two sundrie changes, namlie partie per pale gules, and ermine a saltier counterchanged. For commonlie all prophesies haue their allusions vnto armes, and by them they are discovered, though at the first not so appearing before the euent thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common speches is termed knights, a name of worship and honour: but the word it selfe importeth and meaneth men expert and skillfull to serue in the wars, whether it be on foot or horsebacke. In times past when men ruled by the sword, then such as were valiant and of good experience grew in to credit and estimation; and the people did make choise of such to gouerne, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobiles*, which in English is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might best excell in feats of prowesse and chualrie: some desiring to excell in the service on foot: and because they used chiefe the target and shield, they took their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practised chiefe the service on horsebacke, and they (according to the manner of their service) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in prece of time called *Armigeri*, in English esquires: and this is taken for a degree somewhat about the estate of a one.

lie gentleman. And for so much as service in the fields did carie about with it the greatest honoꝛ and credit, and pꝛinces willing & desirous to incourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that kind of service, they deuised a third degree of honoꝛ named knighthood. And this, as it excelleth the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honoꝛed, was to be adorned with such ornaments as doo speciallie apperteyne to the furniture of such service, as namelie a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spurres, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of service was turned to the name of woꝛship: yea this degree did grow and way to be of such credit, honoꝛ and estimation, that kings and pꝛinces were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or pꝛomote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & woꝛship of a knight, and weleng also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therfore they should be compted & taken for knights of woꝛship and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skillfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the woꝛd *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and doo English the woꝛd *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of service.

(4) A spie, not to watch the doings of his countreimen, whereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countreie and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should pꝛouide and order his doings against his comming ouer into the land.

(5) Maurice of Bendalga was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and boꝛne and bred in west Wales, in or about the pꝛouince of Penbroke. He is not named nor mentioned in some booke of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, doo thinke I should haue done wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of Wexford, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Ossorie, and of the submission of the king thereof.

Chap. 4.

These things thus done and ended as they would themselves, they increase their armie with the townsmen of Wexford, and being then about thre thousand men, they march towards (1) Ossorie, whereof Donald was then the pꝛince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortall enemy which Mac Morogh had. For on a time he hauing the said Dermons eldest son in his iward and handfast, was in gealouise of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: whereupon he did not onlie shut him vp in a closter pꝛison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed injuries, putteth out both of his (2) eyes. First then Dermon and his companie enter into Ossorie, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midst of the countreie, because the whole countreie else was full of woods, frelts, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and encountered with the Ossorians, they found no cowardis nor dastards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countreie, and manfullie resisted their enemies. For they trusted so much to

their wanted good fortune and successe in such like affaires, that they thronke not a whit from them, but bzane them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaine countreie.

Robert Fitzstephans being in the plaine and open fields with his horsemen, and seeing that the Ossorians being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most fiercelie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as strayed and were scattered abroad, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrought, the footmen with their Galloglasses axes did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before Dermon Mac Morogh thre hundred of their enemies heads, which they laid & put at his feet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for soþ hold vp both his hands, and with a loud voice thanked God most highlie. Among these there was the head of one, whom especiallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horrible and cruellie bit awaie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a rode through the whole countreie, & marched almost to the uttermost parts, and still as they passed they murdered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countreie. And thereupon the pꝛince of Ossorie by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obtained (although in verie deed it was but a coloured and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be faithfull and true to Mac Morogh, as vnto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruices, as in all other, Robert of Barrie, and Spellerius had the pꝛicke and praise, and shewed themselves of all others the most valiant. Both these young gentlemen were nephues to Fitzstephans (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For Spellerius being ambitious and desirous of honoꝛ, referred all his doings to that end; and whatsoeuer he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making moze account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in deed. The other being of a certaine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neiþer a greedy seeker of laud and praise, nor an ambitious crauer of fame and honoꝛ; but being alwaies among the best, did rather seeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indred with such a maidenlie shamesfastnesse, and no bragger nor boaster, would neiþer glozifie his doings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so doo of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honoꝛ, the moze the same followed him: for glozie and honoꝛ follow alwaies vertue, as the shadow the bodie, thunning them who doo most seeke for hir, & following them who doo lest regard hir. And manie men are the moze liked of manie, because they seeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honoꝛ most commonlie, the lesse it is esteemed, the moze soner it is had & gotten. It fortuned on a time that the armie thus being in Ossorie, they did on a night incampe themselves about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer wont, laie togither, and suddenlie there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which seemed to breake in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroing all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bills togither, and therewithall such a noise and a thowt, as though hea-

uen and earth would haue come togither.

These kind of phantasmes and illusions doe oftentimes happen in Ireland, especiallie when there be arie hostings. With this noise the more part of the armie was so afraid and dismayd, that for the most part they all fled, some into the woods, and some into the bogs, euerie one seeking a place where to hide and succour himselfe. But these two onelie tarieng behind, raught to their weapons, and forthwith full boldlie ran to fitzstephans tents, and called againe togither all such as were thus scattered, and incouraged them to take their weapons, and to stand to defense. Robert of Barrie in all his hurlie burlie, standing alone by himselfe musing, except a man or two of his owne men about him, did aboue all others not without anie great admiration of manie, and to the great græfe of such as enuied him, best acquit himselfe. For among other god gifts which were in him, this was speciallie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no sudden mishap or misadventure whatsoeuer, could at anie time make him afraid or discomfited, and to die alwaie. For howsoeuer things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a readines with his weapons to the fight. And such a one as is alwaies readie to abide whatsoeuer shall happen, and to preuent what mischeifs maie insue, is by all mens iudgements counted the best and valiantest man. This man was he, who in this Irish warres was the first who either was stricken or hurt. As concerning the foresaid phantasme, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the grasse and weeds which the night before stood there vpright and of a great height, did now in the morning lie doونه flat vpon the ground, as though the same had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it most certaine that none had bene there at all.

(1) There be two Ossories, the one named the vpper Ossorie, which is of the ancient inheritance of the Macguillathikes, and who are the barons therof; and this lieth in the diocesse of Leighling: the other lieth on the north of Dymond, and is vnder the iurisdiction of the earle of Dymond, who is also the earle thereof, being named earle of Dymond and Ossorie. It is a diocesse of it selfe, and the bishop thereof is named the bishop of Ossorie, whose see and house is at Bilkennie. It is parcell of the prouince of Leinster and vnder the obessance then of Dermont Mac Mough.

(2) This was a courteous kind of punishing, for commonlie such is the reuenging nature of the meere Irishman, that albeit he can or do laie neuer so manie plagues and punishments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer satisfied, vnlesse he haue also his life, yea and manie not therewith contented, but will utter their wicked nature euen vpon the dead carcase, as doth appeare in this chapter of the same Mac Mough, who finding one of his enemies heads, was not satisfied, vntill in most cruell maner he did with his teeth bite alwaie his nose and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland thre sorts or degrees of soldiers: the first is the horseman, who commonlie is a gentleman borne, and he is armed with such armor as the seruice of that countrie requireth: the second degree is the kernagh, & he also is a gentleman or a freeholder borne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a horse with his furniture; and therefore he is a light souldier on foot; his armor is both light and slender, being a skoll, a left gantlet or target, a sword and skeine, and thre or foure darts: the third degree is the Galloglasie, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For Galloglas is to saie, an English peo-

man or seruant; his armor is a skoll, a iacke, an habergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, otherwise named a Galloglasie or halbert, & this man is counted the best souldier on foot, and the strength of the battell. These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and kernes, and who doe spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the felds.

10 The conspiracie of Rothorike monarch of Ireland, and of the residue of the princes against Mac Mough and Fitzstephans.

Chap. 5.

In the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpside downe, and they which before seemed to stand aloft, are now afraid of falling: and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For as soon as it was noised through the whole land of the good successe of Dermont, and of the comming in of strangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: Rothorike prince of (1) Conagh, and (2) monarch of the whole land, considering how of small things great do grow; and considering that by the comming in of strangers, the whole land was in some perill; sendeth abroad his messengers, and summoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being assembled, and the matter at full debated, they do with one voice and consent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto Mac Mough. And forthwith euerie man hauing made readie both men and armor to his vttermost power, do ioine all their forces and strengths togither, and with maine and strength do innade the countrie of Dkenile in Leinster.

Dermont Mac Mough in this distresse was somewhat disquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partly because some of his (but glossing) friends distrusting the sequele, did shrink from him, & hid themselves: some of them most traitorouslie, contrarie to their oath and promise, were fled to his enemies: and so in this his distresse he had verie few friends, saving onlie Robert Fitzstephans and the Englishmen with him. He therefore with such companie as he had, went vnto a certaine place not farre from Fernes, which was compassed and incircled round about with great thicke woods, high sticke hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place so strong of it selfe; as it was in a maner inaccessible, and not to be entred into. And as soon as they were entred into the same, they forthwith by the aduise of Fitzstephans (3) did fell downe trees, plashed the wood, cast great trenches and ditches round about, and made it so strait, narrow, crooked, and strong, that there was no passage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and industrie it was made much more strong.

(1) Conagh, in Latine Conacia, is one of the first portions of the land, according to the ancient diuision. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conquest they were vnder the government of the sept of the O Connors, the eldest man of which sept by the Irish law was ouer the prince: but at the conquest it was giuen to certaine noble men of England; & by certaine descents it came to sir Walter de Burgo, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of Wulster. From these Burghs descend the Borghs now being in Conagh, they being of a base line, and first were put onlie in trust to keepe that countrie to the vse of the lords, who then dwelled and remained in England, this countrie lieth betwene Ulster in the north, Mounster in the

*Rethorike O Connor made
vnto his foldiors.*

Ethiopiike & Commoꝝ, seeing that by
these his deuises and practises he could do
no good at all, and thinking that for so much
as he could not auaille with words, he with
force and armes, as his last remedie and helpe, pre-
pareth his armor, and maketh for the battell: and as-
sembling his people together, maketh vnto them
these speeches. Ye right noble and valiant defenders
of your countrie and libertie; let vs consider with
what people, and for what causes we are now to fight
and wage the battell. That enimie of his owne
countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and an
open enimie vnto all men, and who sometimes was
an exiled man: see how he being inuironed with the
force of strangers, is now returned, & intendeth the
utter destruction of vs all, and of this his nation. Ye
enuieng the safetie of his countrie and countrimen,
hath procured and brought in a strange nation vpon
vs, that by the helpe of a hateful people he might sa-
tisfie and more effectuallye accomplish his malice,
which otherwise by no means he could haue brought
to passe. He then being an enimie, hath brought in
that enimie which hath bene ever hatefull both vnto
him, and vnto vs; and who are most greedie to haue
the soueraintie & dominion ouer vs all, professing
and openlie affirming, that by a certaine fatal desti-
nie they are to be rulers ouer this land: yea, & so far
hath he shed out his venome, and almost euerie man
is so inuenedomed therewith, that now no fauor, nor
mercie is to be helped. O cruell beast, yea more cru-
ell than euer was beaust! for to satisfie his insatiable
malice, and to be auenged with the bloodshedding of
his owne people, he spareth neither himselfe, nor his
countrie, nor vs. This is he who is a most cruell ty-
rant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the
force and helpe of strangers wasteth all force and cru-
eltye against all men. He deserteth well therefore
to be hated of all, which seeketh to be an enimie vnto
all. Loke therefore (ye worthy citizens) well to
your selues; I saie loke and consider well how by
these meanes, I meane by still disoord, all realmes
& nations haue for the most part bene ouerthrowen
& banquished: (1) Julius Cesar minding to invade
Britaine had the repulse twise, & was diuied out by
the Britons. But when Adogeus fell at variance
with the king; he then to be reuenged, sent againe
for Julius, who therupon returned and conquered the
land. (2) The same Julius also conquered all the west
parts of the world, but when he waied & became am-
bitious, & would be a sole monarch, & haue the whole
gouernement in himselfe, then discord was raised, &
debate was rise, & by that meanes all Italie was fil-
led with murders and slaughters. (3) The Britons
being at discord with their king, procured Gormun-
dus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Isles, that
he with the Saxons should pursue and make wars
vpon their king, who so did & did in the end to their
owne confusion and destruction. Likewise not long
after: (4) Alamber is the French king, being an e-
nimie to his owne people, iured at discord with them,
he procured the said Gormundus to aid and helpe him
to subdue his people, who so did: but thereof he had
but but successe, wherfore let vs with one mind like
to these Frenchmen stand stoutlie to the defense of
our countrie, and couragiously giue the onset vpon
our enemies. And while these strangers be but few
in number, let vs killie (Oie out vpon them: 5) but
if while this but in sparks is some covered; but

Cap. 6.

Sermon Mac Morogh was a tall
man of stature, and of a large and great
bodie, a balliant and a bold warriour in his
nation: and by reason of his continuall ha-
loting and crying his voice was hoarse: he rather
chose and desired to be feared than to be loued: a
great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer
of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was
rough and greivous, and hateful vnto strangers; he
would be against all men, and all men against him.
Rothorike minding to attempt anie waie what soe-
uer, rather than to aduenture and wage the battell,
sendeth first his messengers with great presents vnto
St. Fitzstephens, to perswade and intreat him: that
so much as he made no challenge nor title to the
land, that he would quietlie, and in peace returne
home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed
nothing. Then he went vnto Mac Sporogh himselfe, &
perswaded him to take part with Rothorike; and to
ioint both their forces and armies in one, and then
with might and maine to giue the onset vpon the
strangers, and so to cutt offe to destroye them. And
in this doing he thought vpon Rothorike, and
to his good friend, and all his kindest friends
rest and quietnesse: manye years before
sons of the they all agreed vpon
cerning their countrey
and nation; but all
toe to impur-

when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is good therefore to meet with things at the beginning, and to prevent sickness at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance having taken dæpe root, are hardlie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immortall fame: let vs valiantlie, and with a good courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a ferro: vnto manie; and that by this example all other forren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt.

(1) Julius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & toke shipping, being in an bitter despaire & not minding to returne anie more. Whereupon Cassibelan then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for soe he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vsed all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accusfomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two yong gentlemen, the one being nephue to the king, and the other consine to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings nephue was slaine. The king much grieued therewith sent for the earle, whose name was Androgeus: and bicause he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The earle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre vnable to incounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Julius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Julius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and diuision the relme, which otherwise was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Julius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would needs be the sole monarch and emperoz ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans anie one should be ioined with him: and ambitiouslie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequele thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murdered and slaine.

(3) At this time Caracicus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so vitious a man in all respects, that he became hateful both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyrannie, nor boking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Whereupon Gurmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Sarons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could to be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Sarons droue the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Sarons hauing thus their wils droue also all the Britons out, who from thenceforth hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselves in Wales, Cornwall, and elswhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselves in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroyed or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Alembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufred saith) was nephue to the king: and

the land being then in great troubles, this Alembert made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compasse the same, procured Gurmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Whereupon Gurmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Alembert ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And hereupon Rothorike taketh an occasion to incourage his people to stand to their tackle, and valiantlie to withstand Mac Morogh, who as Alembert had procured in Gurmundus; so had he stocked in Englishmen to overrun his countrie.

The oration and speeches of Mac Morogh to his souldiors and people.

Cap. 8.

Mac Morogh beheld his men, & perceiving them to be somewhat dismayed and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfot them, and thus saith vnto them. Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath hither to ioined vs in one fellowship: therefore let vs now plucke vp our hearts and like men stand to our defence. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Rothorike, the author of all wickednesse & mischief, who desirous to haue the sole souereignetie and dominion doth now determine (which God forbids) either to driue vs cleane out of our countrie, or utterly to destroye vs: and marke you now how he lifteth vp his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he measureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being valiant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggish and vnarmed. If he make challenge and pretend title to Leinster, bicause the same sometimes hath bene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and challenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue bene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he seeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to vsurpe and destroye as a tyrant, to driue vs out of our countrie, to succed into euerie mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the rois, and to be master ouer all.

Manie there are which do brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are afraid to incounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither doth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and valiantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. Men do not alwaies attaine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations do grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forsomuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a good courage: we stand vpon a good ground, and our seat is naturallie verie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streitnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therein, the more comberous and troublesome it will be: and

he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and therewithall adorneed with a certeine kind of womanlie shamesfastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and encouraged therewith, beginneth to thinke vpon old sores, and to call to remembrance the great iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past done both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, bendeth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certeine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Wexford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companie of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. As soon as they were entred with in the borders and confines of the territorie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adioining. The citizens of Dublin seeing and considering the same, began to qualle, and their hearts fainted, and doe seke and intreat for peace; and hauing obtained the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme keeping of the same. In this meane time there fell a great enimitie and quarell betwene Kothorike of Connagh and Donald prince of Limerke. And as soon as Kothorike was with all his force entered into the countrie of Limerke, Dermot Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermots sonne in law, by whose means he gat the vicorie, and Kothorike with shame was driven to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his stone home: and left the chefferie which he demanded. In these and all other like seruises, Robert Barrie and Apellertus carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was seene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon his backe, as a horse; of whom I haue already spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Wexford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is inuironed on two sides with the riuer which floweth to Wexford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauigable: the other two sides are vpon the maine land, which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost equall with the castell. It was at the first made but of rods and turfes, according to the maner in those daies; but since builded with stone, and was the strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but being a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and yet it was thought too good and strong for a subiect, it was pulled downe, defaced and rased, and so dooth still remaine.

Dermot Mac Morogh sendeth for the earle Richard, who forthwith maketh great preparation for his comming.

Chap. 12.

Mac Morogh, being by meanes of his good successe well quieted and satisfied, be- thinketh himselfe now of greater matters, and deuiseeth how and by what means he might recover his old and ancient rights; as also purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein

he used a secret conference with Fitzstephans and Fitzgerald, vnto whom he uttereth and discovereth all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue his answer that his deuise was verie easilie to be compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid of Englishmen. Wherevpon he made most earnest requests vnto them, both for the procuring of the kinsmen and countreymen, as also for the furthering to effect his purpose and deuise. And that he might the better perswade them herevnto, he offereth to either one of them his daughter and heire in marriage with the inheritance of his kingdome: but they both being already married, refused the offer. And at length after much talke they thus concluded, that he should with all speed send his messengers with his letters vnto the earle Richard, of whom we spake before, and vnto whom he the said Mac Morogh at his being at or about Wexford, had promised his daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth.

20 Dermot Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Richard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the earle sendeth greeting. If you do well consider and marke the time as we do which are in distresse, then we do not complaine without cause nor out of time: for we haue already seene the (1) storkes and swallows, as also the summer birds are come, and with the westerlie winds are gone againe; we haue long looked and wished for your comming, and albeit the winds haue bene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no longer, but hasten your selfe hither with speed, that it may thereby appeare not want of god will, nor forgetfulness of promise, but the iniurie of time hath bene hitherto the cause of your long staie. All Leinster is already whole yelded vnto vs: and if you will speedlie come away with some strong companie and force, we doubt not but that the other foure portions will be recovered and adioined to this the first portion. Your comming therefore the more speedie it is, the more gratefull, the more hastie, the more sofull; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then our mislike of your long lingering shall be recompensed by your soone comming, for friendship & good will is recovered and nourished by mutuall offices, and by benefitts it groweth to a more assurednesse.

When earle Richard had read these letters, he taketh aduise with his friends, and taking some comfort and stomach of the good successe of Fitzstephans, whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubtfull, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and power to follow this seruise and hostings. This earle was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descended of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more famous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in blood, than endowed with wit; and greater in hope of succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought long yet he could wend himselfe ouer into Ireland, and therefore to compass the same to god effect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second, and most humble prayeth and beseecheth him that he will either restore him to such possessions, as by inheritance did apperteyne vnto him; or else to grant him the libertie to trie and seeke fortune in some other foreyn countrie and nation.

Mac Morogh's letter to earle Richard.

(1) The stork and the swallow are named *Aues semeles*, or the halfe peares birds: for they come at the spring, and depart againe awaie at the autumn or fall of the lease, for in the winter they are not seene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe peare for the earles comming: whose promise was, that in the spring of the peare past he would haue come.

Of the arriual of Reimond le grosse into Ireland, and of the fight which he had against the Waterford men at Dundorogh.

Chap. 13.

The king hauing heard the earles requests, bethought himsef a while thereof: but in the end he allowed not of the one, nor granted the other, but fed him still with good speeches, and nourished him with faire words, commending his noble mind, that he would aduenture so honorable an enterprize. And in words the king seemed to giue him leaue to follow his deuise, but to saie the truth, it was rather in game than in earnest, for the king minded nothing lesse. But the earle taking the advantage of the kings words, and accepting the same for a sufficient leaue and licence, returned home. And the same being the winter season & verie unfit to trauell into forren nations in martiall affaires, both now make preparation of all things fit to serue when time should require. And as soone as the winter was past, he sendeth ouer before him into Ireland, a gentleman of his owne household and familie named Reimond le grosse: who had with him ten gentlemen of seruice, and thre score and ten archers well appointed, and taking shipping about the halends of Waic, then landed at the rocke of (1) Dundonolfe, which lieth south from Waterford, and about foure miles east from Waterford: and there they cast a trench, and builded a litle castell or hold, with turrets and wattell. This Reimond was nephew to Robert Fitzstephans and to Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne vnto their elder brother named William, and was verie valiant, of great courage, and well expert in the warres and in all martiall affaires. The citizens of Waterford, and Molaghlín Maelín, being aduertised of this their arriual, and nothing liking the neighborhood of such strangers, take counsell together what were best to be done: and finding it most necessarie and needfull to withstand at the beginning, they do conclude and determine to giue the onset vpon them; and being about thre thousand men, they take botes, and rowe downe the riuer of the Suir (which flereteth fast by the wals of Waterford on the east, and diuideth Leinster from Mounster) and so came to the place where Reimond and his companie were, where they landed and set their men in order for the assaults, and marched boldlie to the ditch of Reimonds fortresse or castell: but then it appeared how valiantnes can neuer be hid, lustie courage be daunted, nor yet prouesse or worthines be blemished. For Reimond and his companie, although they were but few in number, and too weake to incounter with so great a companie as their aduersaries were: yet being of courageous minds & lustie stomachs, went out to meet with their enemies; but when they saw that their small number was not sufficient nor able in the plaines to abide and indure the force of so great a multitude, they retired to their fort. The enemies thinking then to discomfit and cleane to ouerthrow them, followed and pursued them so shortlie, that the Englishmen were no longer in at the gates, but the Irishmen were also at their heeles, and some of them within the gate. Which thing when Reimond saw, and considering also with himsef what a distress and perill he and all his were in, suddenly turneth backe his face vpon his enemies; and the first of them which entred, he ranne him thorough with his sword (or as some saie claue his head asunder) and then with a loud voice cried out to his com-

panie to be of a good comfort. Who forthwith as they turned and stood most manfullie to their defense: so their enemies also being dismayed and afraid at the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne awaie: and then they which in this doubtfull chance of fight, were thought should be vanquished and cleane ouerthrowne, suddenly became to be the victors and conquerors. And these sherpelie then pursued their enemies, who were scattered abroad in the plaines and out of arraie; that in a verie short time and space they slue aboute slue hundred persons: and being wearie with killing, they cast a great number of those whome they had taken prisoners headlong from the rocks into the sea, and so drowned them. In this fight and seruice a gentleman named William Ferand did most valiantlie acquit himsef. For albeit he were but of a weake bodie, yet was he of a verie stout stomach & courage: he was diseased and sicke of the leprosie, and therefore desirous rather to die valiantlie, than to liue in miserie: and for that cause would and did aduenture himsef in places where most perill and danger was and seemed to be; thinking it good with a glorious death to preuent the grieue and losshomesse of a grieuous disease.

Thus fell the pride of Waterford, thus decayed their strength and force, and thus began the ruine and ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope and consolation to the Englishmen; so was it the cause of a great desperation and terror to the enemies. It was a strange matter and neuer heard of before in those parties, that so great a slaughter should be made by so small a number: neuertheless by cuill counsell and too much crueltie, the Englishmen abused their good successe and fortune. For hauing gotten the victorie, they saued fewentie of the best citizens, whom they kept prisoners; and for the ransome or redemption of these, they might haue had either the citie of Waterford yielded & surrendered vnto them, or such a masse of monie as they would themselves. But Herueie of Mount Morris (who came ouer with thre gentlemen of seruice, and ioined with his countremen and Reimonds) being both of contrarie minds, strived the one with the other, what were best to be done hereín.

(1) Dundonolfe is a rocke standing in the comtie of Waterford vpon the sea side, lieng east from the citie of Waterford about eight English miles, and is from the towne of Waterford about twelue miles, lieng southwards from the same: it is now a strong castell, and appertaining to the ancient house of the Powers of Kilmaitthen, & called by the name of Dundorogh.

(2) The citie of Waterford or Quaterford, named sometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, standing vpon the south side of the riuer of Suir, which flereteth fast by the walles thereof, and was first builded by one named Sitaratus, one of the thre princes which came out of the east parts to inhabit that land. It was at the first but a small pile, lieng in forme of a long triangle, but since & of late times enlarged by the citizens & inhabitants of the same. It is the chiefest emporium in a manner of all that land, and standeth cheeflie vpon the trade of merchandize, they themselves being not onelie great travellers into forren nations, but also great resort and daile courses of strangers are to it. Concerning the gouernement, order, state and seruice of this citie, and of sundrie other things incident to the same, are at large described in the later historie of this land.

The oration of Reimond for the
deliuerie of the prisoners taken.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboareth by all the waies he could how to compasse the same, & in presence of Herueie maketh these speches, and vseth these persuations to all his companie. Hee my noble and valiant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune seeme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be done with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I doe not thinke it good, nor yet allow that anye fauour or courtesie should be at all shewed to the enimie. But vnderstand you, these are no enimies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be banquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their adventures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for theues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murderers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than crueltie to the increasing of their miserie is to be ministered. Suerlie our ancestours in times past (although in deed it be verie hard to be done) were wont in times of good successe and prosperitie, to temperat their loose minds and vnrulie affections with some one incommoditie or other. Wherefore let mercie and pitie, which in a man is most commendable, worke so in vs, that we who haue overcome others, may also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and discretion are wont to stae hasty motions, and to stop rash deuises. How commendable and honozable is it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glozie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he can reuenge and be weakened?

Julius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his victozies so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the whole world was noised therewith, he had not so manie friends who reioiced for the same, but he had manie more enimies who maligne and enuied at him, not onelie in slanderous words and euill reports; but manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of pitie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer commanded nor willed any to be put to death for the same, sauing onelie one Domitius, whom he had of mere clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for his trecherie acquitted. And thus as his pitie did much increase his honour, so did it nothing hinder his victozies. How beastlie then and impious is that crueltie, wherein victorie is not ioined with pitie: For it is the part of a right noble and a valiant man, to count them enimies which doe wage the battell, contend and fight for the victorie; but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praise worthe to a noble man in mercie to be bountious, than in victorie to be cruell; for the one lieth onelie in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as it had bene a great increase of our victorie, and an augmentation of honour, if our enimies had bene slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so they being now taken and saued, and as it were men returned from rebels to the common societie and fel-

lowship of men; if we should now kill them, it will be to our great shame, dishonour, and reproch for euer. And for so much as by the killing and destroying of them we shall be neuer the nearer to haue the countrie, nor neuer soner to be the lords of the land; and yet the ransoming of them verie good for the maintenance of the souldiers, the good fame of vs, and the aduancement of our honour: we must needs thinke it better to ransom them than to kill them. For as it is requisite and meet, that a souldier in the field fighting in armes, should then thirst for the blood of his enimies, trie the force of his sword, and valiantlie stand to his tackle for victorie: so when the fight is ended, the wars are ceased, & the armes laid downe, and all fierceness of hostilitie set apart; then in a noble man must humanitie take place, pitie must be shewed, and courtesie must be extended.

The oration or speech which
Herueie made.

Chap. 15.

When Reimond had ended his speech, & the whole companie being in a muttering, and as it were men well pleased and verie well allowing his mind and opinion: then Herueie stood vp and spake to them all in this manner. Reimond hath verie exquisitely discoursed with vs of pitie and mercie, and in set speches uttering his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to belene, that a strange land were to be conquered soner by mercie and fond pitie than by sword and fire. But I praise you, can there be a worse waie than so to thinke? Did Julius Cesar or Alexander of Macedonie by such means or in such order conquer the whole world? Did the nations from out of all places run to submit themselves vnder their yoke and empire, in respect of their pitie & mercie, & not rather compelled so to doe for feare & perforce? For people, whiles they are yet proud and rebellious, they are (all pitie and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and means to be subdued: but when they are once brought into subiection and bondage, and redie to serue and obeye, then they are with all courtesie to be intreated and dealt withall: so that the state of the government may be in safetie and out of danger. Herein and in this point must pitie be vfed, but in the other seueritie or rather crueltie is more necessarie: here clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour without fauour is to be exhibited and vfed. Reimond persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a people already subdued and subiected; or as though the enimies were so few and of so small a number, as against whom no valiant seruice nor chualtrie can be exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs: whereby our force may be increased, and our power augmented. But alas! Doe not we see how that the whole nation and people of Ireland are whole bent, and not without cause altogether conspired against vs?

Suerlie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto himselfe; for why, his coming hither was not to despite of pitie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer the nation and to subdue the people. What an example of impious pitie were it then, to neglect our owne safetie, and to haue remorse and compassion vpon others distressed? Moreover, we haue here in the fields, and in armour more enimies than friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enimies being round about vs in euerie place: and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we must be also in the like distresse and danger among
C. j. our

our selues. Round about vs our enemies are infinit, and within our selues some there be which practise our destruction. And if it should happen that our captiues and prisoners should escape and breake loose out of their bonds, which are but verie weak and slender, no doubt they will forthwith take our owne armours and weapons against vs. Well well, the mouse is in the capbord, the fire is in the lap, and the serpent is in the bosome; the enimie is at hand ready to oppresse his aduersarie, and the guest is in place with small courtesie to requit his host. And I praise you doth not Keimond execute that in his facts and doings, which he denieth in his words: Are not his speeches contrarie to his deeds? Let him answer me to this. If our enemies when they come in god arrate and well appointed to giue the onfet, and to wage the battell against vs, if they should happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pitie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ransom? Tush what need manie words when the deeds are apparant: Our victorie is to be so bled, that the destruction of these few may be a terroz to manie; whereby all others and this wild and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and incounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choise of one; for either we must valiantlie and couragiously stand to perforce what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pitie set aside, boldlie and frontlie to ouerthrow and vanquish this rebellious and stubborne people: or (if we shall after the mind and opinion of Keimond altogether be pitifull and full of mercie) we must hoise vp our sailles and returne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miserable and wretched people. Heruetes opinion was best liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, whereupon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rockes, and after their limbs were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas, and so drowned.

The coming ouer of Richard Strangbow earle of Chepstow into Ireland, and of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

Chap. 16.

In this meane time Richard the earle, hauing provided and made all things in readinesse fit for so great an enterprise, took his iournie, and came through Wales to S. Dauides: and still as he went he took vp all the best chosen and piked men that he could get. And hauing all things in place and in a readinesse met and necessarie for such a voyage, he went to Milford haueu, and hauing a good wind took shipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the vigill of saint Bartholomeu, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of good seruice, and a thousand others. Then was fulfilled Celidons prophesie, which was; that A little firebrand shall go before a great fire; and as the sparkels inkindle the small wood, so shall the same set the great wood a fire. Like wise was fulfilled the saying of Merlin; A great forerunner of a greater follower shall come, and he shall tread downe the heads of Desmond and Keimond, and the waies before opened & made ready he shall enlarge. Keimond being aduertised of the earles arriuall, went the next morrow vnto him with great top, hauing with him in his companie fortie gentlemen of seruice. And on the morrow vpon saint Bartholomeus daie, being tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in god arrate they marched to the walls of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue

the assault: the citizens & such others as had escaped at Dundoogh manfully defending themselves, and giuing them two repulses. Keimond who by the consent and assent of the whole armie was chosen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the host, hauing espied a little house of timber standing halfe vpon posts without the walls, called his men together, and encouraged them to giue a new assault at that place. And hauing helmed downe the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell downe together with a peece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the streets without pitie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obtained a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Keimonds tower they took two murderers prisoners, whom they barmed and killed; also they took there Keimond, and Machlathilen the eulan prince of the Decies: but these were saued by meanes of the coming and suite of Mac Dooogh, who was also come thither with Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephans. And when they had set the citie and all other their things in good order, Mac Dooogh gaue his daughter Eua, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be married to the earle according to the first pact and couenant; and then the marriage solemnized and all things set in order, they displayed their baners & marched towards Dublin.

(1) In the verie place of the assault is now builded a strong fort and blockehouse, which is verie well furnished and appointed with ordinance and shot. It is in the verie east angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the south side the walles doth it appeere how the same was burned by the Englishmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Keimonds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verte nere adioining to a late monastrie or friers there: it is a verie slender thing, and not worthie of any report; sauing that the author doth alledge it as a fort in those daies bled for a defense.

The besieging and taking of the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 17.

Wermon being aduertised, and hauing perfect aduertisement that they of Dublin had procured & stocked all or the most part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had laied all the waies, passages and freights about the citie, whereby no man could passe that waie, he left all those waies; and passing through the mounteines of Glundoloch, he brought his whole armie safe to (1) Dublin. And such was his mortall hatred towards the Dublinians, that he could not forget the injuries don to himselfe, and the shamefull reproch done to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there sitting at the doze of a certain ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murder him; but for a further satisfieng of their malice, they cast him and buried him with a dog: and therefore aboue all others he most mortally hated them. The citizens much mistrusting themselves, they send messengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the mediation and meanes of Laurence then the archbishop of Dublin, a parlee and a treatie was obtained: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the younger sort were busie in weapons. For Keimond and Miles of Cogan, two lustie young gentlemen, but more desirous to fight vnder spars in the fields than

Prophecies of Celidon and Merlin fulfilled.

Two strange
miracles.

to sit in counsell vnder Iupiter; and more willing to purchase honoz in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of lustie yong gentlemen suddenly ran to the walles, & giuing the assalt, brake in, entred the citie, and obtained the victorie, making no small slaughter of their enemies: but yet the greater number of them, with Hasculphus their captein, escaped awaie with such riches & iewels as they had, and recovered themselves vnto certeine ships which late there, & so sailed to the north Ilands. At this time there hapened two strange miracles in the same citie, the one was of a crosse or a rood which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not nor would be remoued; the other was of a peece of monie, which was offered to the same rood twise, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may see moze thereof in our topographie. When the earle had spent a few daies in the citie, about setting and settling the same in good order, he left the same to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogan: but he himselfe by the perswasion of Mac Morogh (who sought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Morike king of Meth) invaded the borders of Meth, and wasted, spoiled, and destroyed the same. All Meth being in the end wasted by the sword and fire; Morike king of Connagh thought with himself what might hereof befall vnto him, because his neighbors house being set on fire, his was next to the like perill: he sent his messengers vnto Dermot Mac Morogh with this message. Contrarie to the order of the peace, thou hast procured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of strangers, and as long as thou dost staie and keepe thy selfe within thy owne countrie of Leinster, we beare therewith, and were contented. But forsomuch as now not caring for thy oth, nor regarding the safetie of thy hostages, thou hast so fondlie & lewdlie passed thy bounds: I am to require thee, that thou doe retire and withdraw these excurres of strangers; or else without faile I will cut off thy sonnes head, & send it thee. Mac Morogh when he heard this message, full stoutlie answered, and said he would not giue ouer that which he had begun, nor desist from his enterprise, vntill he subdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as also he had recovered the monarchie of all Ireland. Morike being aduertised of this answer, was somewhat warmed and offended therewith, & for this in his rage commanded Mac Moroghs sonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(1) Dublin is the oldest and ancientest citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amelaus, the eldest of three brethren named Mimen or Easterlings: which came first out of Morwaie, or (as some write) out of Mormandie, and did inhabit the land. It was first named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; for it standeth somewhat low and in a marshy ground: and because when the same was first builded, the laborers were wont and did go vpon hurdels, it took the name thereof. It was also called Doolin, which is to saie blacke water, for of that name is a certeine brooke, flowing not farre out of the towne, but now is called Dublin or Duvelin; it standeth vpon the river named Aneliphus or the Liffey, and it is a port towne, being the cheefest citie and emporium of all that land. It is walled with stone round about, & at the east part thereof is a verie old castle, builded first by Henrie Londers archbishop of Dublin, about the yeere 1212, which is now the quenes castell, & wherein the lord deputie of that land most commonly lieth, as also wherein the courts for the common law at the vsual terms are kept. The citie it selfe stands most on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of good wealth. The inhabitants are meere Englishmen, but

of Ireland birth. The government thereof is vnder a maior and two shiriffes. And as concerning the order, gouernement, state, policies, and good seruices of the same, I shall moze at large declare in my particular historie of this land.

The councill or synod kept at Armagh.

Chap. 18.

These things thus ended & complicated, there was a synod or councill of all the clergie called and assembled at Armagh: there to intreat and examine what should be the causes and reasons, why & wherefore the realme was thus plagued by the resort and repaire of strangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerte mans opinion was, that it was Gods full plague for the sinnes of the people, and especiallie because they vsed to buie Englishmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie or reason) did make bondslaues of them: and God now to auenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath set these Englishmen & strangers to reduce them now into the like slaueerie and bondage. For the Englishmen, when their realme was at rest and peace, and their land in quiet estate, and they not in anie distresse, want, or penurie, their children and kinsmen were sold and made bondslaues in Ireland. And therefore it was most like, that God for the sin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Irish people. It was therefore decreed by the said councill, and concluded by that synod, that all the Englishmen within that land, wheresoeuer they were, in bondage or captiuitie, should be manumitted, set free and at libertie.

The proclamation of king Henrie the second against the earle, and of the sending of Reimond to the king.

Chap. 19.

When tidings was caried abroad of the good successe which the Englishmen had in Ireland, & the newes the further it went, the moze it increased; and the king being aduertised that the earle had not onlie recovered Leinster, but had also conquered sundrie other territories, wherevnto he had no title by the right of his wife, did set forth his proclamation, forbidding and inhibiting that from thenceforth no ship from out of any place, vnder his dominion, should passe or traffike into Ireland: and that all maner of his subiects which were within that realme, should returne from thence into England before Easter then next following, vpon paines of forfeiture of all their lands, as also to be banished men for euer. The earle when he saw himselfe in this distres, being in perill to lose his friends, and in hazard to want his necessaries, taketh aduise and counsell what were best to be done. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond should be sent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. My right honourable lord, I came into this land with your leaue and fauour (as I remember) for the aiding and helping of your seruant Dermot Mac Morogh. And what sooner I haue gotten and purchased, either by him or by anie others, as I confesse and acknowledge the same from and by meanes of your gracious goodnesse: so shall the same still rest and remaine at your deuotion and commandement.

C. H.

The

The departure of Reimond to the
king, and the death of Dermot
Mac Morogh.

Chap. 20.

Reimond (according to the order taken, and commandment given to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & having deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourable allowing his successe, differred the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie was murdered or slaine; and the yeare following about the kalends of Maie, Dermot Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yeres died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much ado about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyzed for the defending of the liberties of holic church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a froward and obstinat traitor against his master & soueraign king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of John Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholie in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus
and the Easterlings or Normaien
men at Dublin.

Chap. 21.

At this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then driuen to flee to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had bene in Norwaie, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and hauing obtained the same he came with threescore ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recover the same. And without anie delay he landed and busshipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a capteine named John Wood or John Wad, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish manner, being harnessed with good brigandines, iacks, and shirts of male; their shields, backlers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armour, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These men being set in battell arate, and in good order, did march on wards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th' assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then warden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giue th' aduenture and onset vpon his enemies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & enforcing vpon him, he was dri-

uen to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of the more being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Calloglasse axe. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, vnderstanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issueth out at the south posterne or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enemies, maketh a great shout, and therewith sharpelie giue th' onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so dismated, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the euent vncertaine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie John Wood, whom with others John of Kidenford toke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was sharpelie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but faued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe alieue into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there he was kept till he should compound for his ransom. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for this euill fortune and overthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, saying: We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow. Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the long standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie doth he ease his greife which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courtfullie granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or haven of Dublin is a barred haven, and no great ships doe come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they doe lie in a certaine rode without the barre, which is about foure or five miles from the citie, and the same is called Kingwood; and from thence to Holie hed in Wales is counted the shortest cut betwene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and
Gotred king of Man do be-
siege the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 22.

After this, the Irishmen perceiuing that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and bittels did waite, decaye, and consume for want of their wanted supplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselves, and doe agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured thereto by Laurence then archbishop there; who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell hetherin: and joining with Rothorike king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man; and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, vnto their persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin; they on the water; and the other at land: who were easilie to be perswaded therunto, and forthwith yielded to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing daillie good successe they feared least they in time

time would giue the onset on them, and make a conquest ouer their possessions. And therfore they forthwith made themselves readie, and prepared their ships accordingly. And as soone as the next good wind serued, they came in thirtie ships of warre, verie well appointed, and arriued into the haven of Anelliffe, or port of Dublin: whose coming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whiter whose helps are best liked when men in their affaires haue those to come with them which be of feare to be in the like perills and dangers. But the earle and his companie, who had bene shut by now two moneths within the citie, and whose vittells failed, and were almost consumed, by reason that vpon the kings commandment a restraint was made (and therefore none could be brought vnto them out of England) were in a great dunpe and perplexitie, and in a manner were at their wits end, and wist not what to do. And in this their case see the course and nature of fortune, who when she frowneth, sendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth mischæse vpon mischæse, and trouble vpon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermion came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought news that the men of Wexford & of Kencile to the number of thre thousand persons had beseged Robert Fitzstephans and his few men in his castell of the Kerecke, and vnlesse they did helpe and rescue him within thre daies it would be too late; for they should and would else be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his cosine Reimond, who was latelie returned from the court; and these were not onelie now troubled in respect of their owne cause, but for the distresses of others, and speciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie toke and was grieved with the distressed state of his brother Robert Fitzstephans, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enemies, should be in so weake a hold not able to keepe out such a companie: and so rising vpon himself this speech to the earle, and to such as were about him, as followeth.

The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 23.

Worthie men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countie to be idle, nor to lue deliuouslie: but to trie fortune, and to seeke aduentures. We stood sometimes vpon the top of the wheele, and the game was on our side; but now the wheele is turned, & we cast downe: and yet no doubt she will turne againe, and we shall be on the top. For such is the mutabilitie of fortune, & such is the vncertaine state & course of this world, that prosperitie and aduersitie do interchangeablie, and by course the one follow the other. After daie cometh the night; and when the night is passed, the daie returneth againe. The sun riseth, and when he hath spred his beames all the daie time, then he cometh to his fall: and as soone as the night is past, he is againe come and returned to his rising againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now shut vp on euerie side by our enemies. We be destitute of vittells, and can haue no reliefe neither by land nor yet by sea: our friends cannot helpe vs, and our enemies readie to deuoure vs. Likewise Fitzstephans, whose valiantnesse and noble enterprisse hath made waie vnto vs into this Island, he now is also shut vp in a weake hold and feeble place, too weake and slender to hold and keepe out so great a force. While then doe we tarry? And wherfore doe we so linger? Is there anie hope of reliefe from home? No no, the matter

is otherwisse, and we in worse case. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Irishmen, euen so we now are reputed: for Irishmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countie, and so are we odious both to the one and to the other. Wherfore forsomuch as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delate the matter, nor like sluggishards lie still: but whiles we are yet lustie, and our vittells not all spent, let vs giue the onset vpon our enemies: for though we be but few in number in respect of them, yet if we will be of valiant minds and lustie courages, as we were wont to be, we may happilie haue the victorie and conquest of these naked wretches and vnarmed people. These speeches he vsed as the sicke man is wont to do, who in hope of reconerie of his health, dooth manie times beare out a good countenance, and dissemble his inward greafe and heauinesse. When he had fullie ended his talke and spoken his mind, Reimond, who was also in the like anguish and heauinesse spake thus.

The oration of Reimond.

Chap. 24.

Famous, and worthie, & noble men, whose fame for valiantnesse and chualrie is carried and spread beyond and through the ocean seas: we are now to looke well vnto our selues, and to haue good regard to our honor and credit. You haue heard how grauelie my vncle Maurice hath declared, how pittillie he hath abused, and how prudentlie he hath counselled vs what we shall do in this our distresse and present necessitie. Wherfore we are well to consider thereof, & to determine and resolute our selues what we will do. The time is short, the perills imminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delates are now to be vsed. It is no time now to sit in long counsels, nor to spend much time in speeches; but in present perills we must vse present remedies. We see the enemies both at sea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to escape; but we must either giue the aduenture vpon them like men, or die here like beasts: for our vittells faile vs, and our prouision wareth scant & short, and we know not how to renew the same. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what small helpe we shall haue from the king, I haue already at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie dispraiseth not our aduities, but yet he fauoreth not our successes: he discommendeth not our valiantnesse, but yet enuieeth at our glorie: in words he repositeth well of our seruices, but he yet secretlie hindereth the same: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To trust therefore vnto them, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reliefe where none is meant; it were but a miere follie, and a lost labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne shame, reproch, & confusion. Wherfore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or supplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reliefe: let vs as becometh noble, lustie, and valiant men, trie the course of fortune, and proue the force of the enemie. Let it appere vnto them as it is known vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we descended. Camber (as it is well known) the first particular king of Cambria our native countie was our ancestor; and he the sonne of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of all England, whose ancestor was Troas the founder of the most famous citie of Troie, and he descended from Dardanus the sonne of Iupiter, from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the surname

of ancient nobilitie, but also a certaine naturall inclination of valiant minds, & couragious stomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesse and chivalrie, and wherein all our ancestors haue bene verie skillfull and expert. And shall we now like sluggards degenerate from so noble a race, and like a sort of cowards be afraid of these naked and unarmed rascalls, in whom is no baloe of knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall such a rabble of sauages pinne vs by within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times past all the princes of Grece kept warres for ten yeares & od moneths continually against our ancestors in the famous cite of Troie, and could not preuaile against them, untill they vsed treasons and practised treacheries, which bred vnto them a more infamous victorie than a glorious triumph? Shall the honor of our ancestors be withered by our sluggishesse, and the glorie of their prowesse be buried in our cowardnesse? Shall we be afraid of a few, and unarmed, when they withstood infinit multitudes of the most worthiest and valiantest personages then in all the world? Let it neuer be said, that the blood of the Troians shall be stained in our pusillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

And what though our enemies be neuer so manie, and we in respect of them but a handfull; shall we therefore be afrayed; as though victorie stood in multitude, and conquest in great numbers? No no, kings be not so saued nor princes do so conquer: for a few men well disposed and a small number well incouraged, are sufficient to encounter with a greater number, being wretches and sluggards. For fortune though she be purtraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to stand vpon a rolling stone, as being alwaies flaking and moueable: yet for the most part she helpeth such as be of bold minds and of valiant stomachs. If time did serue as matter is full and plentious, I could hereof recite manie yea infinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scythian queene, did not she with a few hundreds encounter with the great monarch Cyrus, hauing manie thousands, and toke him and slue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he overcome Darius the great monarch of the Persians, and take him, his wife, and daughters prisoners, & made a conquest of all Persia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with six hundred men breake into the campes of the mightie Xerxes, and there slaie six thousand of them? Let vs come a little nether euen to our selues, who haue had in our owne persons, and in this land the like successes, namelie you my right honourable earle at Waterford, and my vncle Fitzstephans at Wexford; and I my selfe at Dundoogh: small were our companies, and little was our force in respect of theirs, and yet we few thorough our valiantnesse overcame and conquered them being manie.

What shall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, sith time shall sooner faile than matter want: and shall we then giue ouer and be white livered? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our selues also, with perpetuall shame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we do issue out vpon them, as secretly and as suddenly as we maie, and boldly giue the onset vpon them. And forsomuch as Rotherike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the rest do depend, it shall be best to begin with him, and then if we can giue the overthrow vnto him, all the residue will flie, and we shall obtaine a glorious victorie: but if we shall fall into their hands and be killed, yet shall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our posteritie. When Keimond had ended his

speeches and finished his oration, euerie one so well liked thereof, as with one consent they gaue ouer, and yielded to his resolution and opinion.

(1) Cyrus the sonne of Cambises the first monarch of Persia, after that he had subdued all Asia, he minding to do the like in Scythia did invade the same: Thomiris being then queene thereof. And on a certaine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleasant soile, suddenly as though he had bene afrayed of his enemies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and vittels. Which when the queene heard, she sent hir onelie sonne a yong gentleman with the third part of hir host and armie to follow and pursue Cyrus: who when he came to the forsaken tents, and finding there such abundance & plentie of wine and vittels, wherevnto the Scythians had not before bene accustomed, they fell so hungerlie to their vittels, and dranke so liberallie of the wines, that they were overladen and overcome with surfetting. Which when Cyrus heard of, he suddenly and secretly in the night came vpon them, and finding them all asleep, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not so much grieved with sorrow for the death of hir sonne, as inflamed with the desire to be reuenged. And she likewise faiming hir selfe to flie, Cyrus by pursuing of hir was brought into certaine narrow streets, where she taking the aduantage of him, toke him, killed him, and slue all his companie, to the number of two thousand: insomuch that there was not one left to returne with message to declare the same?

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedemonia, who being aduertised that the mightie monarch Xerxes minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun against all Grece, & that he had made preparation therefore six yeares together, doth also prepare himselfe to withstand the same. And notwithstanding that Xerxes had in his armie three hundred thousand of his owne subiects, and two hundred thousand of strangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerxes within the streets of Thermopolis, and he hauing but foure thousand soldiers gaue the onset vpon the monarch, and fought the battels three daies together with him, and at length gaue him the overthrow.

How Rotherike of Connagh, and all his whole armie was discomfited.

Chap. 25.

Immediatlie vpon the foresaid persuasions, euerie man with all speed had made him selfe readie and got on his armor, thinking it too long yer they did bicker with the enemy: and being all assembled and in good arraie, they divided them into three wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the first was Keimond with twentie gentlemen and his few soldiers. In the second Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few soldiers. And in the third was the earle and Maurice Fitzgerald with forty gentlemen and all their soldiers. And in euerie ward were some of all the citizens, saving such as were appointed for the gard and safetie of the cite. Thus all things being set in an order, they suddenly in the morning about nine of the clocke issued out, but not without some contention and controuersie: for they strided among themselves, who should haue the fore ward, and giue the onset vpon the enemies, who were in number about thirtie thousand: neuertheless they in the end agreed and appointed in order how all things should be done: and forthwith issued out and gaue the onset vpon

Steiden de quan
sum imper.
lib. 1.

upon their enemies, who then were out of arae and order, being unware of their coming. Keimond among the first being the first was foremost, & gaue the first aduenture, and striking two of his enemies through with his lance or staffe slue them both. Petellus also and Gerald and Alexander the two sonnes of Maurice, although they were in the rereward; yet they were so hot vpon the spurre, and followed in such lustie maner, that they were as forward as the foremost, and right ballantlie did ouerthrow and kill manie of the enemies.

The like balliant minds were in all the whole residue, who now strued & serued all for the best game: and so lustilie they acquitted themselves, that the enemies being affraid, were faine to take their heeles and to run awaie. But they still followed and pursued them euen untill night, still murdering & spoiling them. Rothorike the king himselte trusted so much in the great troops and multitudes of his people; that he thought nothing lesse, than that so small a number as were within, would issue out and giue the onset vpon so manie as were without. And therefore taking his pleasure and paffance, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were discomfited & the most part fled or sleng awaie, he neither tarried for his chamberleine to apparell him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the hast and poss hast he could, he turneth a faire paire of heeles and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie sharpelie pursued, yet (though hardlie) he escaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recouered themselves into the citie againe: not onelie with the honoz of the field, but also with great booties and prizes of vittels, armor, and other trash. Immediatlie also were dispersed the other camps, namelie the archbishops, Pachlaghlin, Pacheleton, Gillemeholocke and Dhencelos, who had all the force of Leinster, saving a few of Kencile and Wexford: and these were incamped on the south side. Likewise Doroike of Deth, Dkarrell of Wriell, Pachaghlina and Dcadise which were incamped on the north side raised their camps and shifted for themselves. On the morrow, all things being set in good order, and good watch appointed for the safe keeping and custodie of the citie, they march towards Wexford, and take the higher waie by Ddzone.

The guilefull and treacherous taking of Robert Fitzstephans at the K. wrecke.

Cap. 26.

After this good successe, fortune who cannot continue firme in one staie, doth now change hir course, and interlineth aduersitie with prosperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent vpon the earth. For the Wexford men and they of Kencile, forgetting their promise, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and assured vnto Robert Fitzstephans, do now assemble themselves to the number of three thousand, and do march toward the K. wrecke, there to besiege the same, where Robert Fitzstephans was then: who mistrusting & fearing nothing, had but few gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enemies giue the assault, & not preuailing at the first, do renew the same againe and againe: but when they saw that all their labours were lost, because that Fitzstephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themselves, and especiallie one William Dott, who in this seruice did verie well and worthilie acquit himselfe; they now do seeke to praetise their old subtil-

ties and guiles. They leauing therefore to vse force and violence, do now vnder colour of peace come toward the K. wrecke and bring with them the bishop of Kilbare, the bishop of Wexford, & certeine other religious persons, who brought with them a masse booke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine reliques: and after a few speches of persuation had with Fitzstephans, they to compasse their matter, toke their copozall othes, and swoze vpon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Maurice, Keimond, and all the Englishmen were taken and killed; that Rothorike of Connagh, with all the whole power and armie of Connagh & Leinster, was coming towards Wexford for the apprehension of him: but for his sake, and for the good will which they bare vnto him, because they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come vnto him to conueie him awaie in safetie, and all his ouer into Wales, before the coming of that great multitude, which were his extreame and mortall enemies. Fitzstephans giuing credit to this their swearing and auowzles, did forthwith yeld himselfe, his people, & all that he had vnto them and their custodie: but they forthwith most traitorously, of them that thus yelded into their hands some they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison. But as soone as newes was brought that Dublin was false, and that the earle was marching towards them; these traitors set the towne on fire, and they themselves with bag and baggage and with their prisoners gat them into the Island Begozie, which they call the holie Island, and which lieth in the middle of the haueu there.

The description of Robert Fitzstephans.

Chap. 27.

A noble man, the onelie patterne of vertue, and the example of true industrie and labours: who hauing tried the variableness of fortune, had tasted more aduersitie than prosperitie! A worthie man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compasse of fortunes wheele, and had endured whatsoeuer good fortune or euill could giue! A Fitzstephans, the verie second an other (1) Partus, for if you do consider his prosperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduersitie, no man was or could be more miserable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in stature he was somewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleasant, but yet sometimes somewhat aboue modestie giuen to wine and women. The earle (as is aforesaid) marched with his armie towards Wexford, fast by Ddzone, which was a place full of streits, passes, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be passed through: but yet the whole power, force, and strength of all Leinster came thither, and met him and gaue him the battell, betwene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enemies slaine. But the earle with the losse of one onelie yongman recouered himselfe in safetie to the plaines, and there amongst others, Petellus shewed himselfe to be a right balliant man.

(1) This Partus was named Caius Partus, his father was borne in Arpinum, & from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a poore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieved by Petellus a noble Roman, in whose house, and vnder whom, both the father and the sonne were seruants: but being

giuen altogether to martiall affaires, he became a verie valiant man, and did as good service to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Affrica he conquered, and in his first triumph Jugurtha and his two sonnes were bound in chaines, and caried captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambrians, Germans, and Tigurians wanting habitations, and thinking to settle themselves in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the same purpose; but being denied by the Romans, they made most cruell warres vpon them, and slue of them at one time fourescore thousand soldiers, and threescore thousand of others, wherewith the state of Rome and of all Italie was so broken, and overthrowne, that the Romans much bewailed themselves, & did thinke verelie that they should be utterlie destroyed. In this distresse Marius took the matter in hand, and meeting first with the Germans, gaue them the battell, slue their king Teutobochas, and two hundred thousand men, beside fourescore thousand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambrians, and slue their king Belcus, and an hundred and fortie thousand with him, as also took fortie thousand prisoners. For which victorie he triumphed the second time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Again in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Marius, all Italie was then in armes, and the Romans in euerie place had the worse side (for all Italie began to forsake them) and in this distresse Marius hauing gotten but a small power in respect of the enemies, giue the onset vpon the Marians, and at two times he slue fourescore thousand of them: which so quailed the Italians, and encouraged the Romans, that the Romans recovered themselves and had the mastery. As in the warres so otherwise was Marius verie fortunate: for being but of a base stocke, yet he married Julia, a noble woman of the familie of the Julies, and aunt vnto Julius Cesar: he passed thorough the most part of the offices in Rome: he was first *Legatus a senatu*, then *Præfectus equitum*: after that *Tribunus plebis*, *Prætor*, *Aedilis*, and seven times was he consull. And as fortune seemed to fauour and countenance him aboue all other in Rome; so did she also checke him with great reproches, & burdened him with great miseries. For his pride was so excessive, and his ambition so intollerable, that the best and most part of the Romans deadlie hated and envied him: and therefore when he laboured to be *Aedilis*, *Prætor*, & *Tribune*, he was reiected; he was accused for ambition, and proclaimed a traitor and an enemy to the common-wealth: he was enforced to forsake Rome and sie into Affrike. Also being at the seas, the mariners cast him on land among his enemies, and draue him to shift for himselfe. When he was pursued by his enemies, he was faine to hide himselfe in a bog, and couered himselfe with dirt & mire because he would not be knowne. Neuertheless he was taken and deliuered to a slaue to be killed. Many other formes of aduersitie and miserie did he abide and indure, and therefore it was said of him, that in miserie no man was more miserable, and in felicitie none more fortunate and happy than he.

The description of the earle *Strangbow.*

Chap. 28.

The earle was somewhat ruddie and of sanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eyes greie, his face feminine, his voice small, and his necke little, but somewhat of a high stature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: that he could not compasse and byting to passe in

deed, he would win by god words and gentle speeches. In time of peace he was more readie to yield and obeye, than to rule and beare swaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a souldio: companion than a captaine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he caried with him the state and countenance of a valiant captaine. Of himselfe he would not aduenture anie thing, but being aduised and set on, he refused no attempts: for of himselfe he would not rashlie aduenture, or presumptuously take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a most assured token and signe to the whole companie, either to stand valiantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chanches of warre he was still one and the same man, being neither dismayd with aduersitie, nor puffed up with prosperitie.

The earle leauing Wexford vpon the

20 *newes that Fitzstephans was in hold, went to Waterford, and from thence sailed into England, & was reconciled to the king.*

Chap. 29.

When the earle was marching towards 30 *Wexford*, and was come to the borders thereof, certine messengers met him, and shewed to him the mischance happened vnto Robert Fitzstephans, and of the setting on fire the towne of Wexford: adding mozeouer, that the traitors were fullie determined if they trauelled anie further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of Fitzstephans and his companie, and send them vnto him. Wherevpon with heauie cheare & sorrowfull hearts they change their minds, and turne towards Waterford. Where when they were come, they found Herue now latelie returned from the king with a message and letters from him vnto the earle, persuading and requiring him to come ouer into England vnto him. Wherevpon the earle prepared and made himselfe readie, and as soon as wind and weather serued he took shipping, and caried Herue along with him. And being landed he rode towards the king, and met him at a towne called *Petham* nere vnto *Glocester*, where he was in readines with a great armie to saile ouer into Ireland. Where after sundrie & manie altercations passed betwene them, at length by means of Herue the kings displeasure was appeased, and it was agreed that the earle should sweare allegiance to the king, and yeld and surrender vnto him the citie of Dublin, with the cantreds therunto adioining, as also all such towens and forts as were bordering vpon the sea side. And as for the residue he should haue and retire to him and his heirs, holding the same of the king & of his heirs. These things thus concluded, the king with his armie marched along by *Seuerne* side, & the sea coasts of (1) *Westwailes*, vnto the towne (2) of *Wenbroke*, where he taried untill he had assembled all his armie in (3) *Wilsford* haue there to be shipped.

(1) *Westwailes* in Latine is named *Demetia*, and is that which is now called *Denbroshe*. It reacheth from the seas on the north vnto the seas on the south. In the west part thereof is the bishops see of *Denew* named *saint Davids*: and on the east side it bordereth vpon *Southwailes* named *Debenbart*. In this part were the *Flemmings* placed first.

(2) *Wenbroke* is the chiefest towne of all *Demetia*, and lieth on the east side of *Wilsford* haue, wherein was sometimes a verie strong castell builded (as some write) by a noble man named *Arnulph Montgomer*.

(3) *Wilsford*

(3) *Spilford* is a famous and a goodlie harborowgh lieng in *Demetia*, or *West Wales*. The *Welshmen* name it the mouth of two swordes. It hath two branches or armes, the one flowing hard to *Hauerford* west, and the other thorough the countrie named *Koffia*.

Ororike prince of Meth besieging Dublin, is driven off by Miles Cogan, and hath the woork fide.

Chap. 30.

In the meane time *Orozike*, the one eied king of *Meth*, watching the absence of the earle as also of *Reimond*, the one being in England, and the other at *Waterford*, he mustred a great number of soldiors, and vpon a sudden about the kalends of September, laicth siege to the citie of *Dublin*: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valiant and verie men indeed. And as the flame can not be suppressed, but that it will breake out: euen so vertue and valiantnesse can not be shut vp, but that it will (when time and occasion serueth) shew it selfe. For *Miles Cogan* and all his companie vpon a sudden issue out vpon the enemies, and vntwares taking them napping, made a great slaughter of them: among whom there was the sonne of *Orozike*, a lustie yong gentleman, and he slaine also. And at this time the king of England, lieng at *Penbroke* in *Wales*, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: because they had suffered the earle *Richard* to take his passage among them from thence into *Ireland*. And remouing such as had anie charge or keeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, & his displeasure quailed, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whilist the king laie there, he had great pleasure in hawkking, and as he was walking abroad with a gosshawke of *Porwaie* vpon his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting vpon a rocke; and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his gosshawke hauing also espied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon seeing his selfe thus beset, taketh also wing: and albeit his flight was but slow at the first; yet at length the maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the advantage of the gosshawke his aduersarie, commeth downe with all his might, and striking him the claue his backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the kings foot: wherat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in loue with the falcon, did pearellis at the breeding and disclosing time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie hawk.

The comping of king Henrie into Ireland.

Chap. 31.

These things thus done, and all prepared in a readinesse fit for such a noble enterprise, and for which the king had staied a long time in *Wales*, he went to *Saint Davids church*, where when he had made his praier and done his deuotion, the wind and the weather well seruing, he took shipping and arrived vnto *Waterford* in the kalends of *December*, being saint *Lukes* daie: hauing in his retinue five hundred gentlemen of seruice, and of botomen and hoysmen a great

number. This was in the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortieth of his age, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred seauentie & two, *Alexander* the third then pope, *Frederike* then emperor, and *Lewes* then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophesie of *Merlin*, that A fire globe shall come out of the east, and shall denoe and consume all *Ireland* round about: and like wise the prophesie of *Saint Polin*, that Out of the east shall come a mightie burling wind, & rush thorough to the west, and shall run thorough and ouerthrow the force and strength of *Ireland*.

Prophecies of Merlin and Polin fulfilled.

The citizens of Wexford present vnto the king *Robert Fitzstephans*, and sundrie princes of Ireland come and submit themselves to the king.

Chap. 32.

The king being thus landed at *Waterford*, and there resting himselfe, the citizens of *Waterford*, vnder colour and pretence of great humblenesse and dutie, and in hope of some thanks, they brought *Robert Fitzstephans* bound as a captiue and a prisoner, and presented him to the king as one who deserued small fauor or courtesie, that he had without his consent & leaue entered into *Ireland*, & giuen thereby an occasion to others to offend and to doe euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie deepe and sharplie for his rash and haste aduentures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conquest of *Ireland* without his assent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other prisoner, and to be safelie kept in *Kenold tower*. Then *Dermon Mac Arth* prince of (1) *Corke* came to the king of his owne free will, submitted himselfe, became tributarie, and toke his oath to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king remoued his armie and marched toward (2) *Lisemore*, and after that he had tarried about two daies, he went to (3) *Cashill*, and thither came vnto him at the riuer of (4) *Sure*, *Donold* prince of (5) *Limerike*: where when he had obtained peace, he became tributarie and swore fealtie. The king then set (of his men) rulers and keepers ouer the cities of *Corke* and *Limerike*.

Then also came in *Donold* prince of *Offorie*, and *Macleighlin* & *Felin* prince of the *Deeries*, and all the best & chiefest men in all *Mounster*, & did submit themselves, became tributaries and swore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallie rewarded, he sent them home againe: and he himselfe returned backe againe to *Waterford* through (6) *Wibach*. When he came to *Waterford*, *Fitzstephans* was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and considered with himselfe the valiantnesse of the man, the good seruice he had done, & the perils & dangers he had bene in: he began to be moued with some pitie and compassion vpon him, and at the intercession & by the mediation of certeine noblemen, he heartilie forgaued him, and released him from out of bonds, and restored him wholie to his former state and libertie, sauing that he reserued to himselfe the towne of *Waterford*, with the territories and lands thereunto adioining: & not long after some of those traitors, who thus had betrayed him, were themselves taken and put to death.

(1) *Corke*, in Latine named *Cortagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of *Mounster*, and builded (as it should appeare) by the *Casterlings* or *Porwaies*. It standeth now in a marish or a bog, and vnto

to it floweth an arme of the seas, in the which are manie goodlie receptacles or harboroughs for ships, & much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities of fishings therein, as also for the trade of merchandise, by the which the citie is chieflie mainteined: for the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great travellers themselves; but also great store of strange merchants doe daillie resort & traffike with them. It is walled round about, and well fortified for a sufficient defense against the Irishie. In it is the bishops see of that diocesse, being called by the name of the bishop of Cozke. The citie is governed by a maior and two bailiffes, who vsing the gouernement according to the lawes of England; doe keepe and mainteine the same in verie good order. They are verie much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they doe continuallie, as men lieng in a garison, keepe watch and ward both daie and night. The prince of that countrie did most commonlie keepe & staie himselfe in all troubles within that citie, vntill the time the same was conquered by the Englishmen, who euer since haue inhabited in the same.

(2) Lisemore in times past was as faire a towne as it is ancient, and standeth vpon a goodlie river, which floweth vnto Poughall, and so into the maine seas. It was sometimes a bishoprike, but of late vntited to the bishoprike of Waterford, and so it lieth in the countie and diocesse of Waterford, but the soile it selfe was within the countie of Cozke.

(3) Cashill is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and standeth vpon the river Sure. In it is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, bearing the name therof, who is one of the foure archbishoprikes of that land, and vnder him are the bishops of Waterford, Cozke, and seuen others.

(4) The Sure is a goodlie and a notable river, and one of the chieffest in that land. It hath his head or spring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghblome, for the pleasantnesse thereof. Manie good townes are seated and builded vpon the same, & it is nauigable more than the one halfe. It fleteth from the spring or head fast by the towne of Tholeis, whereof the earle of Dymond is baron: from thence to the holie crosse and so to Clomnell, & from thence to Carig Mac Griffith, where is an ancient house of the earles, sometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Dymond; and from thence fletting by Tibzack, it commeth to Waterford; and fletting by the wals thereof, it runneth into the seas.

(5) Limerike is one of the first cities builded by the Horwales or Casserlings, named sometimes Dsoumen: the founder whereof was the yongest of thre brethren whose name was Puorus. It standeth vpon the famous and noble river of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the same being as it were an Island. The seat of it is such, as none can be more faire or more statelie. It lieth in the maine land within the prouince of Mounster, called the north Mounster, and is from the maine seas about fortie miles, and yet at the wals euen the greatest ship at the seas maie be discharged and unladen, and pcerlie so there are: for the citie it selfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and bailiffes after and according to the English lawes and orders. It was in times past vnder a particular prince of it self, but euer since the conquest it hath bene inhabited by the Englishmen, who doe so still continue therein.

(6) Tibzack is an old towne, which in times past was rich and verie well inhabited; it lieth vpon the north side of the Sure, and about two miles from Carig Mac Griffith. In it is a great stone standing, which is the bound betwene the countie of Kilkenny and Dymond.

Rothorike O'Connor the monarch and
all the princes in Vlster submit and yeeld
themselues vnto the king, as he passeth
towards Dublin.

Chap. 33.

These things thus doon at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his household, and marched himselfe to Dublin through the countie of Dsourie: and staing somewhat by the waie in his tournie, there came and resorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as namelie Macelan Dphelan prince of Dsourie, Mache Talebot, Dthwelie Gillemeholoch, Dchadese, D Carell of Triell & Dzorike of Meth: all which yeilded & submitted themselves to the king in their owne persons, & became his bassals, & sware fealtie. But Rothorike the monarch came no nerer than to the river side of the (1) Shenin, which diuideth Connagh from Meth, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzaldeline by the kings commandement met him, who desiring peace submitted himselfe, sware allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland sauing Vlster brought in subiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper person did yeeld and submit himselfe, sauing onelie Rothorike, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his submission all the residue of the whole land became the kings subiects, and submitted themselves. For indeed there was no one nor other within that land, who was of anie name or countenance, but that he did present himselfe before the kings maiestie, and yeilded vnto him subiection and due obedience.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophesie of S. Polin; Before him all the princes shall fall downe, and vnder a dissembled submission shall obtaine fauor and grace. Likewise the prophesie of Mherlin; All the birds of that Island shall flie to his light, and the greater birds shall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings shall be burned. Also the old prophesie of Mherlin Ambrose; Fine portions shall be brought into one, & the first shall breake and ouerthrow the walles of Ireland. That which Ambrose nameth heere the first, Celidonius nameth the first, as appeareth in his booke of prophesies. Now when the feast of Christmasse did approach and draw nere, manie and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to see the kings court: and when they saw the great abundance of bittels, and the noble seruices, as also the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accustomed therevnto, they much wondered and maruelled thereat: but in the end they being by the kings commandement set downe, did also there eat and drinke among them. At this time there were certeine soldiors, being bolomen, feasted at Finglas, and they helued and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had bene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men: and all these soldiors suddenlie fell sicke of the pestilence and died all: as is more at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Shenin is the chieffest and most famous river in that land, and doth in a manner inclose and inclose all Connagh, & diuideth it from the prouinces of Mounster and Meth: his head and spring is in the hill named Mherne, which bordereth vpon D Connor Slegos countrie, not farre from the river of

Prophesies of
Mherlin and
Polin fully
filled.

of the Banne in Ulster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse riuers run into the same; the chiefeſt whereof is that which riseth and cometh out of the lough or lake Foile. In it are manie loughs or lakes of great quantitie or big-
 nesse, which are maruelouslie replenished and stozed with abundance of fish: the chiefeſt of which are the lough Rie, and the lough Derigid. It is navigable a-
 bout three score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one brydge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie knight, then lord de-
 putie of the realme.

The councell or synod kept at *Cashill.*

Chap. 34.

The realme heeing now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honoꝝ and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cashill, where inquirie and examinati-
 on was made of the wicked and lose life of the peo-
 ple of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lisemore, who being then the popes legat was pre-
 sident of that councell. And then & there were made and decreed sundrie god and godlie constitutions, which are pet extant; as namelie, for contrading of marriage, for payment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane keeping of the churches; and that the vni-
 uersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of Eng-
 land. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and do here follow.

Constitutions made at the coun- *cell of Cashill.*

Chap. 35.

In the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christiansus bishop of Lisemore, and legat of the aposto-
 like see, Donat archbishop of Cashill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholikus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, deanes, & manie other prelates of the church of Ireland, by the commande-
 ment of the king did assemble themselves and kept a synod at Cashill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councell were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Rafe abbat of Bulbeuais, Rafe archdeacon of (1) Landaffe, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other good clearks. Sundrie
 god statutes and wholesome laws were there deu-
 sed, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselſe, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all god
 faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbear and shun to marrie with their nere
 kinsfolke and cousins, & marrie with such as lawfu-
 lie they should doe. Secondarilie, that children shall be catechised without the church doze, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thir-
 dlie, that euerie christian bodie do faithfullie and trulie paie yerelie the tiths of his cattels, come, and all other his increase and profits to the church or

Ecclesiastical
 constitutions
 for Ireland.

parish where he is a parishioner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ire-
 land, shall be free from all secular exactions and im-
 positions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, nor noble men, nor their children, nor familie, shall ex-
 tort or take anie coine and liuerie, cosheries, nor cus-
 dies, nor anie other like custome from thenseforth, in
 or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And
 likewise that they nor no other person do henseforth
 exact out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and de-
 testable customes of coine and liuerie, which they
 were wont to extort vpon such towncs and villages
 of the churches, as were nere and next bordering vpon
 them. Fiftlie, that when carike or composition is made among the laie people for anie murder, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to a-
 nie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing there-
 vnto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murder, so
 shall they be free from payment of monie, for anie
 such carike or release for the same. Sixtlie, that all
 and euerie good christian being sicke & weake, shall
 before the priest and his neighbors make his last will
 and testament; and his debts and seruants wages
 being paid, all his mouables to be diuided (if he haue
 anie children) into three parts: whereof one part to
 be to the children, another to his wiſe, and the thir-
 d part to be for the performance of his will. And if so
 be that he haue no children, then the gods to be di-
 uided into two parts, whereof the one moitie to his
 wiſe, and the other to the performance of his will
 and testament. And if he haue no wiſe, but onelie
 children, then the gods to be likewise diuided into
 two parts, whereof the one to himselſe, and the other
 to his children. Seuenthlie, that euerie christian be-
 ing dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be re-
 uerendlie brought to the church, and to be buried as
 apperteineth. Finallie, that all the diuine seruice in
 the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued
 in the like order and maner as it is in the church of
 England. For it is met and right, that as by Gods
 prouidence and appointment Ireland is now be-
 come subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the
 same should take from thense the order, rule, and ma-
 ner how to reforme themselves, and to liue in better
 order. For whatsoeuer god thing is befallen to the
 church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religi-
 on, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same
 to the king of England, and are to be thankfull
 vnto him for the same: for before his coming into
 the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wicked-
 nesses in times past flowed and reigned amongst
 them: all which now by his authoritie and godnesse
 are abolished. The primate of Armagh, by reason of
 his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the
 synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue
 his full consent to the same. This holie man (as the
 common saying was) had a white cow, and being fed
 onelie by his milke, the was alwaies carried with
 him wheresoeuer he went and trauelled from home.

The tempestuous and stormie *winter.*

Chap. 36.

The seas, which a long time had bene calme, began now to swell, and to be full
 of continuall storms and tempests, which
 were so raging, and so great, that in all that
 winter there acted scarce anie one ship or barke
 from anie place into that land: neither was there a-
 nie news heard from out of anie countrie during
 that winter. Wherevpon men began to be afraid, and
 thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish
 them,

them, and be reuenged for their wicked & sinfull life, and therefore had sent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reason of the extreme and continuall tempests, the sea sides and shores, which had manie yeares bene couered with great sand ridges, were now washed and carried awaie with the seas, and then there appeared the former soft and firme earth, and therein a great number of trees standing which did in times past grow there: and by reason they had bene so long couered, & as it were buried vnder the sands, they stood as trunked and polled trees, and were as blacke as is the Ebeutie. A maruelous alteration, that the place sometimes couered with seas, and a waie for ships to passe, is now become a soile of ground and drie land. But some suppose that this was so at the first, and that those trees were there growing before or shortly after the flood of Noah. The king remained at Wexford, still longing to heare news from beyond the seas: and thus lieng solitarie he practised by all the means and sleights he could, how he might Locke and procure vnto him Keimond, Miles Cogan, William Parkerell, & other of the best gentlemen; that he being assured of them to be firme of his side, he might be the stronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conspiracie made against the king
by his sonnes, and the ambassage of the le-
gat from the pope vnto him.

Chap. 37.

After violent the wind being easterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ships, as well from out of England, as also from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Normandie from pope Alexander the third two cardinals in an ambassage, the one of them being named Albertus, and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iust and good men, and therefore were chosen of trust and of purpose for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but also all the whole dominions subiect vnto the king, if he himselfe had not the soner come and met with them. Besides this, there was worse newes told him, and a worse mishap befell vnto him (for commonlie god lucke commeth alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldest sonne whom he loued so deerie, and whom he had crowned king, as also his two yonger sonnes, with the consent and helpe of sunbrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the seas, had confederated themselves, and conspired against the king in his absence. Which newes and secret conspiracie when he heard and vnderstood, he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and for verie anguish and graue of mind did sweat. First it grieved him that he should be suspected and infamed of the crime whereof he was guiltlesse. Also he feared of the great troubles which would grow and insue hereby to his kingdom, & all other his dominions. Prea, and it grieved him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next summer then following to settle Ireland in some good state, and to fortifie the same with holds and castels, he should now be compelled and driven to leaue the same vndone. Therefore sending some before him into England, as well to aduertise his coming homewards, as also of the safetie he had taken for Ireland, he thought himselfe, as also tooke good aduise and counsell, what was best to be done in these his weightie causes,

The king returneth homewards
through Westwales, and of the speaking
stone at saint Dauids.

Chap. 38.

The king being minded and determined to returne into England, set his realme of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacie (vnto whom he had giuen in fee the countie of Meeth) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitz-Stephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and constables of Dublin. Also he left Humfrey de Bohune, Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Cundenille, with twentie gentlemen, to keepe and gouerne Waterford. Also he left William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Buse, to be gouernors and rulers of Wexford: they hauing also twentie gentlemen of seruice appointed vnto them. And on the mondaie in the Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sunne rising, he tooke shipping without the barre of Wexford; and the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good passage, and arriued about the noone tide of the same daie vnto the baie of saint Dauids: where he being set on land, he went on foot with a staffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of saint Dauids; whom the cleargie in procession met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and solemnlie in procession, there came vnto him a Welsh or a Camber woman; and falling downe at his feet, she made a great complaint against the bishop of that place: which being by an interpreter declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderstood it well, yet he gaue hir no answer.

She thinking that hir sute was not regarded, did weping hir fists, and cried out with a loud voice; Keuenge vs this day O Lechlanar, Keuenge vs I say, our kindred, and our nation, from this man. And being willed by the people of that countie, who vnderstood hir speech, to hold hir peace, as also did thrust hir out of the companie; she cried the more, trusting and alluding to a certeine blind prophesie of Merlin, which was; that The king of England the conqueror of Ireland, should be wounded in Ireland by a man with a red hand, and in his returning homewards through Southwales should die vpon Lechlanar. This Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great stone which lay ouer a brycke, which stacteth or runneth on the north side of the churchyard, and was a brydge ouer the same: and by reason of the often and continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie smooth and slipperie. In length it was of ten foot, in breadth six foot, and in thickeesse one foot. And this word Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welsh tongue, is to saie, The speaking stone. For it was an old blind saeng among the people in that countie, that on a time there was a dead corps caried ouer that stone to be buried, and the said stone spake, and forthwith brake and claued asunder in the middle, and which cliffe remaineth vnto this daie. And therevpon the people of that countie, of a verie vaine and barbarous superstition, haue not since, nor yet will carie anie more dead bodie ouer the same.

The king being come to this stone, and hearing of this prophesie, paused and staid a litle while; and then vpon a sudden, verie hastily he went ouer it: which done, he looked backe vpon the stone, and spake somewhat sharpelie, saeng: Who is he that will beleue that lieng Merlin anie more? A man of that place standing thereby, and seeing what had happened, he to excuse Merlin, said with a loud voice; Thou art

A prophesie
of Merlin.

A speaking
stone.

art not he that shall conquer Ireland, neither doth Merlin meane it of thee. The king then went into the cathedrall church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint David: and hauing made his prayers, and heard diuine service, he went to supper, and rode after to Banerford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thence.

(1) The winter hereof (of verie purpose) in the yeare 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an archie byrge, vnder which flecteth the brooke aforesaid, which brooke doth not diuide the churchyard from the church, but the churchyard & church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie faire and good hospitalitie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen downe, and altogether ruinous, so the hospitalitie is also there with decayed. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certaintie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue bene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the pope, and his reconciliation, as also the agreement betweene him and the French king.

Chap. 39.

The king then tooke his iourne from Banerford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waite as before he came thither; and forthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediately understanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble maner before them. Where & before whom after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betwene them, he purged himselfe by his oth, that he was gilty of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheless he was contented to do the penance imposed him. For although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murdering of him, yet he denied not but that the same was done for his (1) sake. The ambassadoys & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king trauelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Letwes the French king, betwene whom then was discorde and debate. But after sundrie speeches past betwene them, at length by the meanes and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Philip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint James) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceiued about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was clerelie released. And by these means, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quashed, and so continued vntill the yeare following.

(1) They which do write and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, do affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadoys to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact. And notwithstanding that he toke a corporall oth, that he neither did it nor caused it to be done, nor yet gaue anie consent, or was priuie thereof, nor yet was gilty in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well fauour the bishop as he had done in times past: yet could not his ambassadoys be admit-

ted to the presence and sight of the pope, vntill he had purged himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement: which was that he should do certeine penance, as also to performe certeine iniunctions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should keepe and susteine two hundred souldiers for one whole yeare, to defend the holie land against the Turke. That he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them list to appeale to the see of Rome. That none should be accounted themselves to be lawfull king of England, vntill such time as he were confirmed by the Roman bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and detained from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delate or let, and to inioyn and haue againe all such goods and lands whatsoeuer they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it doth appeare how much they do varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospell) their onelic inducement was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannie.

Iniunctions by the pope to the king of England.

The vision which appeared vnto the king at his being at Cardiffe.

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Chap. 40.

It before we do proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his coming from Ireland. In his iourneie he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturday in the Easter weeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being fundaie, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Low fundaie, he went somewhat earlie to the chappell of saint Werlan, and there heard diuine service, but he staid there in his secret prayers behind all his companie, somewhat longer than he was wont to do: at length he came out, and leaping to his horse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pitched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yellowish, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about fiftie yeares; his apparell was white, being close & downe to the ground, he was girded about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saying; God saue thee O king, and then said thus vnto him: Christ and his mother Marie, John baptist, and Peter the apostle do salute thee: and do striclie charge and commaund thee, that thou do forbid, that henceforth throughout all thy kingdome and dominions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the fundaies: and that vpon those daies no manner or person do anie bodilie worke, but onelie to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to dress the meat. If thou wilt thus do, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper, and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life. The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horse by the bydle, and whose name was Philip Pertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: Aske him whether he dreame or not. Which when he had so done, the man looking vpon the king said: Whether I dreame or not, marke well and remember what date this is: for if thou do not this, and speedilie amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the yeare come about haue such euill news of those things which thou

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louest

louest best, and thou shalt be so much inquieted therewith, that thou shalt not find anie ease or end untill thy dying daie. With this word the king put spur to the horse and rode alwaie towards the towne gate, which was at hand; but thinking upon the words, he reigned his horse and said; Call me yonder fellow againe. Whereupon the foresaid gentleman as also one William, which two were onelie then attending upon him, first called and then sought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, sought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the streets, but could not find him. The king being verie sad and sozie that he had not thoughtlie talked with the man, went abroad himselfe to seeke him, but finding him not, called for his horses and rode from thence by Kempinbidge to Newberie. And as this man had before threatned and said, it so came to passe before the yeare was ended: for his eldest sonne Henricke, and his two yonger sonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Geoffrey erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forsooke and shooke from him, and went to Lewes the French king. Whereof grew and ensued unto him such vexation and inquietnesse, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him untill his dying daie. And suerlie it was thought the same by Gods iust iudgement so befell unto him: for as he had bene and was a disobedient sonne to his spirituall father, so his carnall sonnes should be disobedient and rebellious against their carnall father. Manie such forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and goodnesse sent unto him before his death, to the end he should repent and be conuerted, and not be condemned: which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not forwardlie and obstinatlie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to do) receiue and embrace the same! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the instruction and institution of a christian prince.

The treason and killing of Ororike prince of Meth.

Chap. 41.

In the meane time Ireland was in good rest and peace, vnder such as vnto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one cled Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained unto Hugh de Lacie of certeine injuries done vnto him, prating redresse: whereupon the date and a place of (1) parlee was betwene them appointed for the same. The night next before the date of this parlee, a yong gentleman named Griffith, the nephew of Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne to their eldest brother named William, dreamed in his sleepe that he saw a great heard of wild hogs to rush and run vpon Hugh de Lacie and his vnckle Maurice; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the rest, had with his tusks rent and killed them: if he had not with all his force and strength rescued them, and killed the boze. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlee, which was a certeine hill called Morikes hill: but before they came to the verie hill it selfe, they sent messengers the one to the other, requiring assurance and safetie: and hauing swoyne on each part to keepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a small companie on either side. For it was agreed vpon on both parties, & by coue-

nant excepted, that on each part they should bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all vnarmed; the swords on one side and the spars on the other side, and for all the residue of the people and companie to stand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the said parlee with his vnckle Maurice, was verie pensife and much troubled, concerning the vision which he saw in his sleepe; and doubting of the worst, made choise of seven of the best gentlemen of his kindred, whom he knew to be valiant, and in whom he had a speciall trust and confidence. These he draweth to the one side of the hill, but as nere to the place of parlee as he could, where euerie of them hauing his sword, spar and shield, leapt and mounted vpon their horses, and ranging the fields they made sundrie carriers and lustie tournaments, vnder the pretense and colour of pleasantnes and pastime; but in verie deed to be in a readinesse if need should so require.

Hugh de Lacie and Morike this meane while were talking and discoursing of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Morike meane anie such thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might best poyse out his venem, fained himselfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened vnto his men, with whom he had concluded and agreed before, that with all hast they should come abwaie vnto him; and they forthwith in all hast so did, and he also then with a pale, grim, and murderous countenance, hauing his ar or spar vpon his shoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his cousin Griffith and aduertised of his dreame, gaue god eie and watched the matter verie narrowly; and therefore all the parlee time, he had his sword readie drawn about him; and espieng the traitor to be fullie bent and about to strike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out vnto him, willing him to looke vnto himselfe, and to be at defense with himselfe; wherewith the traitor most violentlie strake vnto him, thinking verelie to haue murdered and dispatched him. But the interpreter of the parlee stepping in betwene, saued Hugh de Lacie; but he himselfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

Then Maurice Fitzgerald with a lowd voice cried out to his companie, who with all hast came abwaie; and then began a hot and a sharpe bickering of the English swords against the Irish spars. In which skirmishing Hugh de Lacie was twise felled to the ground, and had suerlie bene killed, if Maurice had not valiantlie rescued him. Likewise the Irishmen who were manie in number, they hauing espied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all hast out of the ballies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane dispatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his companions, still watching for that which indeed did happen, were at the first call of Maurice in a readinesse, and being on horsebacke they came abwaie with all speed: which thing when the traitor saw, he gan to distrust, and thought to thist himselfe abwaie and so to escape. But as he was leaping to his horse, Griffith was come, and with his staffe or lance strake downe and ran through both horse and man: who being thus stricken downe and killed, as also the other of his men, who brought him his horse and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and sent it ouer into England to the king. The residue of the Irishmen fled forthwith and ranne abwaie, but being hardlie pursued even to the verie woods, there was a great discomfiture and slaughter made of them. Was the sonne of Fitzstephans, being a lustie and a valiant yong

Griffiths
dreame.

young gentleman; did well acquite himselfe, and deserved great commendation for his good service.

(1) The manner of the Irish is ever, and yet is, that when so ever there is any controuersie amongst them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and assemble themselves for conference; which commonlie is upon some hill distant and farre from any house, and this assemblie is called among them a parlee or a parlement. And albeit the pretense hereof is of some quietnesse and redresse: yet experience teacheth that there is not a worse thing to be used among them. For lightlie and most commonlie there are most treacheries and treasons, most murders and robberies, and all wickednesse imagined, devised, and afterwards put in practise among them: and for the most part there is no parlee among them, whereof insueth not some mischefe.

(2) This hill lieth in the province of Meath, about twentie miles from Dublin, and is now called the Caragh: some thinke this to be the middle part or nauill of that province; it is a verie pleasant and a fertile soile, and also for the most part champion.

Sundrie examples concerning visions.

Chap. 42.

WHEN so much as there be sundrie opinions and iudgments concerning visions, it shall not be much amisse, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples, & true reports of the same. Valerius Maximus in his first booke and seauenth chapter writeth, that two men of Arcadia, journeying together in companie through a towne named Pegata, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himselfe with his friends, the other at a common Inn. He who late in his friends house being in bed and asleepe, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requested him to helpe him, because his host did oppresse him; wherewith he awoke, but verie shortly he fell asleepe againe, and dreamed that his said companion came againe vnto him being verie sore wounded, and prayed him that although he would not at the first time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his host had taken his head and corps, and put it into a cart to be caried to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, arose and sought for his fellow, and finding his dreame to be true, caused the host to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. Aterius Rufus a gentleman of Rome likewise, being on a time at Siracusa, he dreamed that he was killed by a maister of fense, which came so to passe: for on the morrow after he was present at the plaie or game of swordplayes or maisters of defense, whereas a (1) netcaster was brought in to fight with a swordplaye. Whereupon Aterius bitering his dreame to him that sat next by him, would have gone and departed awaie; but being perswaded to the contrary, did staie to his owne destruction. For the netcaster hauing ouerthrowne the swordplaye, and thinking to haue pearced him through with his sword, missed him and strooke Aterius, who sat in place next there vnto, and so was he slaine. Also Simonides the poet, being on a time set on land vpon the sea shore, he saw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the said dead man did aduise and

admonish him, that he should not take ship the date following: but his felowes minding not to lose any time, and the weather seeming then to be faire, they went all aboard, and hoisted vp their sailes; which Simonides refused to do, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather waxed to be fowle, and the seas to be high, and in the end both the ship and men to be all lost: but Simonides crediting his dreame, was saued. Porcouer Calphurnia, the wife vnto Julius Cesar, the night before her husband was slaine, dreamed that she saw him greatly wounded to lie in her lap: wherewith she being afraid did awake, and told Julius her dreame, requesting him that he would forbear to repaire to the senat house that date: but he giuing small credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind, and was slaine by the senators. But to leaue these examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come nere home to our selues. A brother of mine named Walter Barrie, a lustie young gentleman, making himselfe ready on a time to serue in a certaine hosting against his entire; the night before he should take his iournie, he dreamed that my mother who was dead on long before, did come vnto him, and aduise & warne him, that if he loued his life he should in any wise refraine and forbear that iournie. She in deed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in her life time as intirely as her owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indeed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he also gaue him the like aduise and counsell, but he of his presumptuous mind, not regarding the same, followed his owne mind, and the same date was killed by his entire.

(2) As dreames sometimes are good forewarnings to men to eschew evils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be so received, as prognostications infallible. For sometimes the same fall out to the contrarie, as both appeere by Augustus the emperor; who hauing warres against Brutus and Cassius, and he by reason of his sicknesse carried in a litter, his physician Arterius dreamed that the goddesse Spinerna did appeare vnto him, willing him to aduise and counsell the emperor, that he should not by reason of his sicknesse come into the field, nor be present in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithstanding entered into the field, being carried in his litter, and toke marvellous great pains. And albeit Brutus taking the emperors tents, seemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that banquished, and the emperor had the conquest. Likewise in west Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certaine rich man dwelling on the north side of a certaine mountaine, he dreamed three nights together, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head stone, which couered and laie vpon a certaine well or founteine, named saint Bernaces well, and that he should go and fetch it. This man at length, somewhat beleuing the dreame, and minding to trie the same, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no sooner in, but that it was bitten, strong, and enuened with an adder. Wherefore a man may see hereby what credit is to be giuen to dreames, and I for my part do so credit of them as I do of rumors. But concerning such visions as God doth send by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we must otherwise thinke of them; because the effect of them is most vndoubted, certaine, and assured.

(1) The Romans had diuerse games, plaies, and exercises amongst themselves, and had for the same certaine amphitheaters and theaters made of purple,

Prognosticall
dreames.

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pose,

pose, where in the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plaies or games some were of cruell beasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plaies were called *Ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plaies or fighting: for as in combates in England, so they being unharnessed, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, endeavouring each one to kill the other, which were spectacles of crueltie to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mirmillones*, which were such as chalenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we do name masters of defenses, because they used onelie or cheslie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did vse a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were wont to take and intrap their enemies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a challenger, did by chance misse him and kill Aterius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much given to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were given thereby, as doth appeare in the holie scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Joseph the son of Jacob, king Pharaos, king Nabuchodonosor, Pardocheus, Daniell, Judas Machabeus, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to vse: they are not to be dwtone for presidents and examples to be dailie or in these daies used; but rather we must haue a respect and a regard to Gods speciall commandment, who by the mouths of his prophets hath vtterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to giue credit vnto his words. Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames haue deceiued manie a man, and they haue failed them who haue put their trust in them: for whie, they are full of deceipts and guiles, and inuented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasling of some filthy lucre and gaine. Phauozinus therefore inueighing against the Chaldeans, who were a people which were wont to relie much vpon dreames, willethe and aduise that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie good thing, and in the end do deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in vaine for the same. If they tell thee of some misfortune, and yet dwlie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, because thou shalt be still in feare lest it may happen. And likewise if they shew thee of euill haps, and the same do so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and vnquieted, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of good things, and it be long yer the same do happen, thou shalt be much vnquieted to looke so long for it; and alwaies in feare lest thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise do thou seeke anie such persons, nor giue anie credit vnto them.

The description of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 43.

His Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worthip, but somewhat shamefast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent,

being semelie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in deed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his doings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauiour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of words and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speech, and more wile, done than eloquence. And when so euer anie matter was to be debated, as he would take god leasure, and be aduised before he would speake: so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and valiant, and yet not hasty to run headlong in anie aduenture. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduenture, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. He was sober, modest, and chaste, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

The first dissention betweene the king and his sonnes.

Chap. 44.

In the moneth of Aprill then next following, the yong king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppress the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Brittain suddenly stole awaie into France, vnto Helmes the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that having his aid he might ouer-run his olone father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his farther helpe he had procured vnto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openlie, but manie more, who secretlie did some with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vnquieted for and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow vpon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceived inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the meanes he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at home he committed the charge and gouernment of all Ireland vnto the earle Richard; but ioined Keimond in commission with him, because the earle without him would not do anie thing, nor take the charge vpon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also vnto him the towne of Waterford with the castell of Cuskullo.

Of the victories of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 45.

The king hauing indured more than cxiij. years two whole years together aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much toachings, & painfull trauels, yet at length most valiantlie he preuailed against his enemies; & surelie it was more of Gods goodnes, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs done by the sons against

against the father. But forso much as a mans owne household are commonlie the worst enemies; and of all enemies, the household & familiar enemy is most dangerous: there was no one thing, which more troubled and grieved the king, than the gentlemen of his private chamber, and in whose hands in a manner laie his life or death, would euery night secretly and with treacherous minds run and resort to his sonnes, and in the morning when they should do him seruice, they were not to be found. And albeit these warres in the beginning were verie doubtful, and the king himselfe in great despaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the first seemed to be angry with him, and in his anger to powze upon him his wrath and indignation: yet now upon his amendment and conversion, he was become mercifull unto him, and well pleased. And at the castell of Sandwich, whereof Reinulfe Glanbeill was then gouernor, who was a wise man, and alwaies most faithfull and trustie to the king, there was a generall peace proclaimed, and all England in rest and quietnesse.

In this warre the king had taken prisoners the king of Scots, the earles of Chester and of Leicester, besides so manie gentlemen and good seruants both English and French, that he had scarce any prisoners for so manie prisoners, nor so manie fetters for so manie captiues. But forso much as in baine doth a man triumph of the conquests upon others, who cannot also triumph of the conquering of himselfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie stormes, great inquietnesse, and much trouble; and at length hauing overcome both them and his enemies, he might the sooner haue been weakened and aueraged of them: yet setting apart those affections euen in the middle of his triumphs upon others, he also triumphed over himselfe; vsing such kinds of courtesies & clemencies as before had not bene heard. For suppressing his malice and reuenging mind, he gaue honor to his aduersaries, & life to his enemies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great stormes overcome, he granted peace to all men, and forgaued each man his offense and trespass. And in the end also his sonnes repenting their follies, came and submitted themselves, with all humblenesse yielding themselves to his will and pleasure.

The description of king Henrie *the second.*

Chap. 46.

IT were not now amisse, but verie requisite that we should (for a perpetuall remembrance of the king) describe and set forth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which shall be desirous hereafter to learne and read his most noble acts in chivalrie, may also as it were before their eyes conceiue his verie nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being so noble an ornament to this time and our historie; we might not well, neither doth this historie permit vs to omit and passe him ouer in silence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainlie declare and tell the truth: for in all histories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the same wanteth both authoritie and credit: for art must follow nature. And the painter therefore, whose profession and art is to make his portraiture as liuelie as may be, if he swarue from the same, then both he and his worke lacke and want their commendation. And albeit no man be

borne without his fault, yet is he most to be borne withall who is least spoiled: & him must we account and thinke to be wise, who knowledgeth the same: for while, in all worlde matters there is no certaintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things spoken in commendation either of a mans good disposition, or of his worthie doings, do delight and like well the hearer: euen so let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be also recited and written. And yet the philosophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence so the higher powers in all manner of offices and duties, as that we should not pronounce nor moue them with any sharpe speeches or disordered languages. For (as Terence saith) faire words and soothing speeches breed friendship, but plain telling of truth makes enemies. Wherefore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasion be neuer so iust, as who can softly with auenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentureth himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or few words can weake the same. It were suerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confesse passeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euery thing, and yet not offend them in any thing. But to the purpose.

Henrie the second, king of England, was of a verie good colour, but somewhat red: his head great and round, his eyes were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or speech was shaking, quivering, or trembling; his necke short, his breast broad and big, strong armed, his bodie was grosse, and his bellie somewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by any grosse feeding or surfeiting. For his diet was very temperate, and to saie the truth, thought to be more spare than comelie, or for the state of a prince: and yet to abate his grossenesse, and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were punish his bodie with continuall exercise, and did as it were keepe a continuall warre with himselfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the most part continuall to him, he had little or no rest at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himselfe any peace at all, nor take any rest: for then did he giue himselfe wholly vnto hunting, and to follow the same he would verie erlie euery morning be on horsebacke, and then into the woods, sometimes into the forests, and sometimes into the hilles and fields, and so would he spend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie seldome sit either before or after supper: for though he were neuer so wearie, yet still would he be walking and going. And forso much as it is verie profitable for euery man in his life time, that he do not take too much of any one thing; for the medicine it selfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not absolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies vsed: euen so it befell and happened to this prince; for partly by his excessive trauels, and partly by diuerse busines in his bodie, his legs and feet were swollen and sore. And though he had no disease at all, yet age it selfe was a breaking sufficient vnto him. He was of a reasonable stature, which happened to none of his sons; for his two eldest sons were somewhat higher, & his two younger sons were somewhat lower and lesse than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angry, then would he be verie pleasant and eloquent: he was also (which was a thing verie rare in those daies) verie well learned: he was also verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and besides so pitifull, that when he had overcome his enemy, yet would he be overcome with pittie towards him.

In warres he was most valiant, and in peace he was as proudent and circumspect. And in the wars mistrusting and doubting of the end and euent thereof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuise rather than wage the battell. If he lost anie of his men in the fight, he would maruellouslie lament his death, and seeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being alieue, more bewailing the dead than fauoring the liuing. In times of distresse no man more courteous, and when all things were safe no man more hard or cruell. Against the stubborne & vnraile no man more sharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and household, but liberall to strangers, bountifull abroad, but sparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loued, he would not lightlie be out with him, or forsake him: he had great pleasure and delight in halloking and hunting. Would God he had bene as well bent and disposed vnto good deuotion!

It was said that after the displeasure growne betwene the king and his sonnes, by the meanes and thorough the intising of the queene their mother, he neuer accounted to keepe his word and promise, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certeine naturall disposition he was light and inconstant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow streit or pinch, he would not sticke rather to couer his word, than to denie his deed. And for this cause he in all his doings was verie proudent and circumspect, and a verie byright and a seuerer minister of iustice, although he did therein graue and make his friends to smart. His answers for the most part were peruerse and froward. Justice which is God himselfe is frelie and without rewards to be ministered. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are set to sale, and do bring great gaines as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehazi the seruant to Elizeus, whose greedy takings turned himselfe to vtter ruine and destruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull keeper thereof himselfe: a liberall almes giuer, and a speciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppressed his nobilitie. The hungrie he refreshed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he disdaind. He sharped much vpon the holie church, and of a certeine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge; he did interminge and conioine the prophane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himselfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by hir advanced to the scepter of his kingdome, and yet he either dissembled or vtterlie forgot the same: for he was slacke alwaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine service, and at the time thereof he would be busied and occupied rather in counsels and in conference about the affaires of his commonwealth, than in deuotion and praier. The huielhoods belonging to anie spirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation confiscat to his owne treasure, and assume that to himselfe which was due vnto Christ. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he lath & pounce all that euer he had in store or treasure; and liberallie bestow that vpon a roisser or a soldier, which ought to haue bene giuen vnto the priest. He had a verie prudent & forecasting wit, and thereby foreseeing what things might or were like to insue, he would accordingly order & dispose either for the performance, or for the preuenting thereof: notwithstanding manie times the e-

uent happened to the contrarie, and he disappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would foretell thereof to his friends and familiars.

He was a maruellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and yong yeares: but they being growne to some age and ripenesse, he was as a father in law, and could scarcelye brooke anie of them. And notwithstanding they were verie handsome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them prosper too fast, or whether they had euill deserved of him, he hated them; & it was full much against his will, that they should be his successors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And such is the prosperitie of man, that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and assured: for why, such was the secret malice of fortune against this king, that where he should haue receiued much comfort, there had he most sorrow: where quietnesse & safetie, there vnquietnesse and perill: where peace, there enmitie: where courtesie, there ingratitude: where rest, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the punishment of the fathers sinnes: certeine it is, there was no good agreement, neither betwene the father & the sonnes, nor yet among the sonnes themselves.

But at length, when all his enmities and the disturbers of the common peace were suppressed; and his brethren, his sonnes, and all others his aduersaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long first) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewise reconciled himselfe vnto God, and by amendement of his life had in the end also procured his fauour and mercie! Besides this, which I had almost forgotten, he was of such a (4) memoize, that if he had once seene and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet whatsoeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had so readie a memoize of histories which he had read, as a knowledge and a manner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had bene chosen of God, and bene obsequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his laws, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much bytelle, and yet not much besides the matter, I haue thought good to deuise, that hauing in few words made my entrie; orther writers maie haue the better occasion more at large to discourse and intreat of this so worthy an historie. And therefore leauing the same to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whence we digressed.

(1) The words are *Oculus glaucus*: which some do English to be greie eyes, like the colour of the skie, with specks in it: but some do English it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eye, which is commonlie a signe or an argument of a man which will be soone warmed & angrie: & so it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram torus*, which is to saie, grim looking eyes disposed to anger: which eyes were answerable to the complexion and disposition of this king.

(2) This historie is written in the first chapter of the second booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Eliza or Elizeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leprosie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refused the same and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed a waile. But Gehazi the seruant of the prophet, being touched with a greedy and a cov-

icious

uetous mind, and angrie that his master had refused such rich presents, secretly he ran after the Syrian; and overtaking him, did aske of him in his masters name a talent of silver, & certein garments: which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith. But he was no longer come home, but that his countenell was rewarded, and he plagued with the leprosie of Naaman, which cloue vnto him as white as the snow.

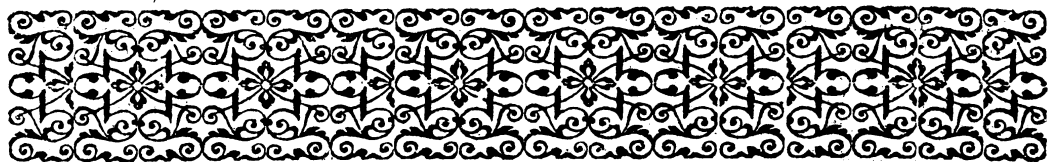
(3) The king married Cleonor the daughter and heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was married to Lewes the eight and king of France, but diuorced from him for nearnesse of blood) and after that he had continued with hir sundrie yeares, and receiued by hir six sonnes and three daughters, he fell in loue with a yong wench named Rosamund, and then ward wearie of his wife. And she to be appeased, did not onelie in continuance of time find the means to find out this Rosamund, who was kept secret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for hir safe keeping at Woodstocke, where when the queen had found hir, Rosamund liued not long after: but also for a further reuenge, she by means of hir sonnes who were noble & valiant gentlemen, caused warres to be stirred and raised against the king to his great inquietnesse: and this is one of the marriages of which this author meaneth. The other was of his son named Henrie, whom he did not onelie make and crowne king in his life time, but also for a confirmation of a peace to be had betwene him and Lewes the eight then French king, he married his said sonne to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said French king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once come to yeeres of age, and thinking it too long per he could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the queene his mother intised, and taking hir part, he fled to the French king his father in law; and by his aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English and French, who joined with him, made warres vpon his said father: which bred vnto him no little trouble and inquietnesse.

(4) There is not a more commendable & more ne-

cessarie vertue in a king, than is the gift of a quick and good memorie; for by it knowledge doth increase and experience is perfected. And therefore saith Cicero, that memorie is the treasure of all good things, and most necessarie to the life of man: wherein the more the gouernor excelleth, the more prouident is his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the remembrance of things past are speciall presidents and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie men haue bene famous, and much commended for their excellencie in this vertue. Mithridates king of Pontus in Asia had vnder his dominion two and thertie nations, and he was of such singular memorie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall languages, but also spake them perfectly: and in iudgements would heare each man to speake in his owne language, and answer them in the same. Cyrus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambises, so excelled in memorie, that hauing an exceeding great multitude of men in his host, he would call euerie man by his proper name and surname. Cincas an ambassador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not in Rome aboue one whole date, before he could salute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of Rome by his particular name. Likewise Iulius Cesar and Adrianus the emperors of Rome were of such excellent memorie, that euerie of them at one instant could both read and write, as also speake and heare. The like also is said of the famous and most excellent learned man Erasmus Roterodamus, who hauing alwaies or for the most part sundrie and diuers clearks writing at one time and instant, of sundrie matters, would walke by and downe among them, and indite to euerie one what he should write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes, that in the old ages they were ever wont to haue about them such men as were of a speciall memorie; to put them in mind of all such things as to them should be meet and requisite, and these were called Nomenclatores. Whether this king had any such attending vpon him or not, it is certein that he him selfe was of an excellent good memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.





SYLVESTER GIRAL-

dus Cambrensis, his second

booke of the vaticinall historie of

the Conquest of Ireland.

The Proheme of the author.



*W*E haue thus farre continued our historie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter seemed to require: but being occupied and busied with the generall and necessarie causes in religion, although we had not sufficient leasure and time to follow and prosecute this our enterprise and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the same ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the historie but breefelie, not in anie high or eloquent stile; but in a common phrase and plaine speeches, giuing rather thereby an occasion to our posteritie for them to set foorth this historie, than to doo it our selues. For indeed our leasure is verie small, and such as it is, it is turned to troubles and vniquietnesse, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into sorrow, and our rest to molestations.

For now flourish not the honest exercises of studies, but the busie policies of warres: now the good studies of the mind are contemned, and the lusts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leasure to serue the Muses, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leasure, but glistering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleasantnesse in this our writing: for place must be giuen of necessitie vnto time. And as the same is now verie troublesome, so can the same bring foorth but troublesome matters. In these troubled times, and wanting conuenient leasure and quietnesse, I haue trauelled with the more paines to absolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a student, but as a traeller; whose nature and condition is, that when he dooth set foorth on his iournie verie slacklie and slowlie, then dooth he make the more hast, and trauell the more speedilie. How soeuer it shall please God to deale with vs in the seruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my historie as also my topographie, leauing the same as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and posteritie for euer.





THE SECOND BOOKE

of the Conquest of Ireland.

The earle is sent backe againe into Ireland, and is made generall of the land, and Reimond is ioined in commission with him.

Chap. i.



Richard, being now returned into Ireland, the people there being aduertised of the great troubles which were beyond the seas, they being a people constant onlie in inconstancie, firme in waueing and faithfull in untruths; these (I say) 20

and all the princes of that land, the earle at his coming found to be revolted and to become rebels. For the recouerie and suppressing of whom, the earle then wholie bestirred himselfe; and at length hauing spent and consumed all his treasure, which he had brought ouer with him, his soldiors who were vnder the guiding of Herueie being then constable, lacked their wages and were vnpaid: and by reason of the emulation betwene Herueie and Reimond, the seruice and exploits to be don against the Irishie was verie slacke and slender; and by that meanes they wanted such prizes and spoiles of neat and cattell as they were wont to haue for their vittels. The souldiors in this distresse, wanting both monie for their wages and vittels for their food, assembled themselves and went vnto the earle, vnto whome with one voice they exclaimed and said; that vnlesse he would make and appoint Reimond to be their capteine againe, they would without all doubt forsake him, and would either retorne home againe, or (that which is worse) would go and serue vnder the enemies. 30

In this distresse was Reimond appointed the capteine, & forthwith hauing mustered his souldiers, he made a rode or iourneie into Ophalia vpon the rebels there, where he toke great prizes, and were well recovered as well in horse as in armor. From thence they marched to Lismore, where when they had spoiled both the towne and countrie, they returned with great booties, taking the waie vnto Waterford by the sea side: and being come to the sea shores, where they found thirteene botes latelie come from Waterford, as also others of other places; all these they laded with their prizes, minding to haue passed by water vnto Waterford. But tarding there for a wind, the men of Cork, who had heard of their doings, and being but sixtene miles from them, doe pre-

pare two and thirtie barks of their owne towne, and doe well man and furnish them, being wholie determined to set vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue him the ouerthrow; which they did: betwene whom was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce onset with stones and spaths, & the other defending themselves with bowes and weapons. In the end the men of Cork were ouercome, and their capteine named Gilbert Mac Turger was there slaine by a lustie yong gentleman named Philip Welsh. And then Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall of that naute, being well increased and laded with great prizes, sailed with great triumph to the citie of Waterford.

But Reimond himselfe was not present at this fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he came in all hast and marched towards them, taking his waie by the sea side, hauing in his companie twentie gentlemen, and threescore horsemen. And by the waie in his iourneie he met with Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, who was coming with a great band of men to helpe and rescue the men of Cork where they fought together: but in the end Mac Artie had the worse side, and was ouerthrowne; and then Reimond hauing preyed and taken about foure thousand head of neat, he marched and came to Waterford. About this time also as they marched homewards, certeine Irishmen in those parties lieng skulking & lurking in the woods, when the prizes and cattell passed by, they issued out, toke and carried awaie certeine of the cattell into the woods, where vpon the crie was vp, and came as farre as Waterford. Wherevpon the souldiers and most part of the garison issued out, among whom Meilerius was the best and most forward. For he being come to the woods, and hauing in his companie then onelie one souldier, put spur to the horse, and aduentured in the woods, following the Irishmen (by the abetting of the souldier who was with him) euen to the furthest & thickest part of the woods: where he was so farre entered, that he was in danger of the enimie: and the souldier being not able to retire was there taken, killed and heued in peeces. Meilerius then seeing himselfe to be inuironed round about with the enemies, and he in the like perill as the other was, because he alone against a thousand was neither able to rescue his man, nor helpe himselfe, but in danger to be taken as was the other, like a valiant gentleman draweth his sword, and with a lustie courage, euen in despite of their teeth maketh waie through them. And such as set vp, on him he spared not, but cut off an arme of this man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a shoulder of another, & he escaped throughout them without anie harme or hurt to his owne bodie, sauing that he brought two darts in his shield, and three in his horse.

Th:

The ouerthrow giuen by the Irish-
men against the souldiers which came
from Dublin; and what the Osto-
men were, of whom mention is made
here and elsewhere.

Chap. 2.

When these things werethus done, & the
souldiers well refreshed by the booties and
preies taken vpon the water and the land,
Reimond being aduertised that his father
William Fitzgerald was dead, he took shipping
and passed ouer into Wales, there to take seisen, and
to enter into the land descended vnto him. And in
his absence Herrie was againe made lieutenant of
the armie: who in the absence of Reimond, thinking
to do some seruice and notable exploit, bzingeth the
earle vnto Cashill; and for their better strength and
further helpe, sent his commandement vnto Dub-
lin, that the souldiers there should come and meet
them: who according came forth: and in the tourneie
they passed thorough Ossioie, where on a certeine
night they lodged themselves. Donald then prince of
Limerike, a man verie wise in his nation, hauing
vnderstanding by his priuie espials of their coming,
suddenlie and vntwares herie earle in the morning
with a great force and companie stalle vpon them,
and one of them foure gentlemen which were cap-
teins, and foure hundred (1) Ostomen in this soe dis-
comfiture.

The earle as sone as he heard hereof, with great
sorrow & heauinesse returned vnto Waterford. By
means of this mishap, the Irishmen in euerie place
toke such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation
with one consent and agreement rose vp against the
Englishmen, and the earle as it were a man besie-
ged, kept himselfe within the wals and cite of Wa-
terford, and from thence he moued not. But Kotho-
rike Mconoz prince of Connagh, comming and pas-
sing ouer the riuer of Shenan, thinking now to reco-
uer all Ipth, inuadeth the same with sword and fire,
and spoileth, burneth, and destroiethe the same, & all the
whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin,
leauing no castell standing or vnderstroied.

(1) These Ostomen were not Irishmen, but
yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some saie they
came first out of Portugal, and were called Ostomen,
that is to saie Easterlings, or Easterne men, be-
cause that countrie lieth East in respect of Eng-
land and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons
and Romans; but whatsoeuer they were, they were
merchants and vsed the trade of merchandize, and in
peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there
being landed they found such fauour with the Irish-
rie, that they licenced them to build haueu townes
wherein they might dwell & vse their traffike. These
men builded the ancientest and most part of the ci-
ties and townes vpon or nere the sea side within that
land; as namelie Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limer-
rike, and others. And albeit they in procelle of time
grew to be mightie and strong, and for their safetie
did build townes and castels: yet they durst not to
dwell among the Irish people, but still continued
and kept themselves within their owne townes
and forts, and thereof they are and were
called since townesmen. And of them

were these, being the inhabitants
of Dublin, which came to meet
the earle, and were
thus slaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ire-
land, and how he married Basilia the sister
vnto the earle.

Chap. 3.

The earle then seeing himselfe to be now
in great distresse, and in a narrow streit,
taketh aduise with his friends and counsel-
loes that were best to be done. At length,
as vnto his last refuge, he sendeth his letters to Rei-
mond being yet in Wales, to this effect. As sone as
you haue read these our letters, make all the hast you
can to come atwaie, and bzing with you all the helpe
and force that you can make: and then according to
your owne will and desire, you shall assuredlie and
immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie
my sister Basilia. Reimond, as sone as he had read
these letters, he was forthwith in hast to be gone, and
thought it long yer he could be gone; not onlie in re-
spect of the faire ladie, whom he had long loved, lo-
ued, and desired; but also that he might helpe and sac-
cour his lord and maister in this distresse and neces-
sitie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordinglie,
and by means of friendship and otherwise, he had
gotten thirtie lustie yong gentlemen of his owne
cousins and kindred, and one hundred horsmen; as
also thre hundred footmen and bowmen of the best
and cholen men in all Wales: all which were in a
readinesse to go with him. And as sone as the ship-
ping for them was readie, and the wind seruing, he
and his cousin Peilerius, with all the said companie
toke the seas, and shortly after arriued in twentie
barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie same time the towneismen of Wa-
terford, being in a verie great rage and furie against
the Englishmen there, were fullie minded and deter-
mined to haue killed them all wheresoeuer they could
find them. But when they saw these barks comming
in with their flags, hanging to their top masts, which
to them were vnkowne, they were astonied at their
so sudden comming, and their deuises were dashed.
Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his
companie; and when all things were quieted and ap-
peased, he & the earle went from thence vnto Wer-
ford, with all their force and strength, leauing behind
one (2) Durcell or Durcell his lieutenant at Water-
ford. But he verie shortly minding to follow after
the earle, toke a boat, and as he passed ouer the riuer
of the Sure, the maister of the boat and his compa-
nie which were towneismen of Waterford, slue this
Durcell, and those few whom he had then attending
vpon him. Which murder when they had thus done,
they returned to the cite, and there without all pittie
or mercie, spared neither man, nor woman, nor child;
but slue as manie as they could find in the streets,
houses, or anie other places. Howbeit the cite it selfe
was safelie kept by such as were then in Reimonds
tower, who daue the traitors out of the cite, as also
in the end compelled them to yeld and submit them-
selues, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie ob-
teined, both with an euill credit and harder condi-
tions.

But Reimond still mindfull of the promise made
vnto him, and he languishing vntill the same were
performed, would not depart from out of Waterford,
vntill messengers were sent to (3) Dublin to fetch
and bzing his louer Basilia to (4) Waterford to be ma-
ried vnto him. Which being done, and he married, they
spent all that daie and night in feastings & pastimes.
And as they were in their most iollitie, newes was
brought vnto them, how that Kothorike prince of
Connagh had destroied, wasted, & spoiled all Ipth,
and was entred into the borders of Dublin. Where-
vpon

upon Reimond on the next morrow; setting apart and giuing ouer all wedding pastimes, mustreth all his souldors, and without anie delaings marcheth towards the enemies. But Rothorike who had before tried his valiantnesse, and experimented his force, hearing of his coming, and not minding to trie or abide the same, retireth backe, and getteth him to his owne home and countrie. Then Reimond recouereth againe all those countries, and forthwith causeth all the forts and castels therin before pulled downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repaired, as also the castels of Trim, and of Dunlencies in speth, of which Hugh Cressell was before the constable, and for want of rescue and helpe compelled to leaue and forsake them. And thus by the means of Reimond, all things being recovered and restored to their former and pristine estate, the whole land for feare of him continued a good time in peace and rest.

(1) There is great varietie in such bookes and examples as I haue, and which I do follow in this point: some writing that Reimond did not land at Waterford, but at Wexford; and the tumult there being appeased, he went from thence vnto Waterford, and brought the earle vnto Wexford. Some write againe (as is aforesaid) that he landed at Waterford, and not at Wexford: but hauing saluted the earle, appeased the tumult, and set all things in order, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer land vnto Wexford. Although there be some variance in the exemplars, yet concerning the substance of the historie it is not materiall.

(2) There is also a varietie in the exemplars of this name; some write Fricellus, and some write Picellus, and some Picellus, or Purcell; it is like to be Purcell, for they of that name were seruitors in this conquest, and for their good seruice they were rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet remaining about or nere the citie, and in the countie of Waterford.

(3) It is certeine that this Basilia abode at Dublin, but whether she were there married or at Wexford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Reimond after that he had met and also saluted the erle, they forthwith hearing the countries in Leinster, and especially about Dublin to be in an vprore, marched thither straitwaie without anie staie. And there Reimond as a lustie soldior in his armor married the ladie Basilia, and they issued with advantage vpon the enimie. But the writer of best credit saith that the marriage was at Wexford.

The secret practise of Herucie against Reimond.

Chap. 4.

WHEN Herucie seeing the honor and credit of Reimond daily to increase more & more, and he much grieved therewith, deuileth all the means he can how to stop and hinder the same: and forsomuch as he could not compasse the same by anie open attempt, he practiseth it secretly, and by secret deuises. Wherefore he is now a suter to marrie the ladie Rosca, daughter to Maurice Fitzgerald, and couline germane to Reimond; that vnder the colour of this new amitie, alliance, and vnbained friendship he might take Reimond in a trip. Well, his secret deuises being to himselfe, and no such thing suspected nor mistrusted as he meant; he by his earnest sute obtaineth this gentlewoman, and marrieth hir. And Reimond also to make friendship on all sides to be the more firme, procured that Aline the earls daughter was married to William eldest

son of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitzgerald himselfe, who was latlie come out of Wales, there was giuen the halfe cantred of Dphelan, which he had before of the kings gift, as also the castell of Guindoloke: and Meilerius because he was the better marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the cantred of land which was nearest towards Dublin, and which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzstephans, was now bestowed vpon the two Herfords.

The obtaining of the priuilege

at Rome.

Chap. 5.

IN this meane time the king, though he were in great troubles, & much vniquieted with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of his realme of Ireland, as also of the orders made and deuised at the councell of Cathill, for the redresse and reformation of the filthie and lose life of the Irishie. And thereupon sent his ambassadores vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from whom he obtained certeine priuileges, and vnder his authoritie; namely, that he should be lord ouer all the realme of Ireland; and by his power and authoritie they to be reduced and brought to the christian faith, after the maner and order of the church of England. This priuilege the king sent ouer into Ireland by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but afterwards abbat of Malmeburie, and William Fitzaldelmie. And then being at Waterford, they caused an assemble and a synod to be had of all the bishops and clergie within that land; and then in the open audience of them, the said grant and priuilege was openlie read and published: as also one other priuilege before giuen and granted by pope Adrian an Englishman borne, at the sute of one John of Saliburie, who was made bishop of Carnocens at Rome. And by this man also he sent vnto the king for a token, and in signe of a possession thereof, one gold ring, which together with the priuilege was laid vp in the kings treasure at Winchester. The tenure of both which priuileges it shall not be amisse here to insert. And concerning the first, these are the words thereof.

Adrian the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his most deere sonne in Christ the noble king of England sendeth greeting, and the apostolike benediction. Your excellencie hath bene verticare, full and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here in earth, and increase the number of his saints and elects in heauen: in that as a good catholike king, you haue and do by all meanes labor and trauell to enlarge and increase Gods church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting vp the weeds of sin and wickednesse: and wherein you haue and do craue for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the apostolike see, wherein the more speedilie and discretely you do proceed, the better successe we hope God will send. For all they which of a feruent zeale, and loue in religion, do begin and enterprize anie such thing, shall no doubt in the end haue a good and prosperous successe. And as for Ireland and all other lands where Christ is knowne, and the christian religion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excellencie well knoweth, they do all appertine and belong to the right of saint Peter, and of the church of Rome. And we are so much the more redie, desirous, & willing to shew the acceptable seed of Gods word, because we know the same in the latter daie will be most seuerelie required at our hands. You haue (our welbeloued in Christ) aduertised and signified

Two priuileges sent from Rome to the king of England.

unto us, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient unto law, and under your subiection, and to root out from among them their foule sins and wickednesse, as also to yelde and paie pærelie out of euerie house a yearelie pension of one penie unto saint Peter: and besides also will defend & keepe the rites of those churches whole and inuiglate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your goodlie disposition & commendable affection, do accept, ratifie, and assent vnto this your petition: and do grant that you for the dilatting of Gods church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, planting of vertue, and the increasing of christian religion, you do enter to possesse that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom whatsoever shall be for the honoz of God, and the safetie of the realme. And further also we do stricte charge and require that all the people of that land do with all humblenesse, dutifullnesse, and honoz receiue and accept you as their liege lord and soveraigne, referring and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inuolubly preserved; as also the yearelie pension of the Peter pence out of euerie house, which we require to be, trulle answered to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your goodlie purpose to effect, indevour to traueil to reforme the people to some better order and trade of life: and that also by your selfe, and by such others as you shall thinke meet, true, and honest, in their life, manners and conuersation, the church of God may be beautified, the true christian religion solued and planted, and all other things to be done, that by anie meanes shall or may be to Gods honoz, and the saluation of mens soules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an everlastig life, as also in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations. The tenure and effect of the second priuilege is thus.

Peter pence.

The second priuilege.

Alexander the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his deerele beloued son the noble king of Englond sendeth greeting, grace, and the apostolike benediction. Forasmuch as things giuen and granted vpon god reasons by our predecessours, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well considering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to vs appertaining, and latelie giuen by Adrian our predecessour; we following his steps do in like manner confirme, ratifie, and allow the same: referring and saving to saint Peter and to the church of Rome the yearelie pension of one penie out of euerie house as well in England as in Ireland. We ouerbid also, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abhominable conuersation; that as in name so in manners and conuersation they may be christians: that as that rude and disordered church by you being reformed, the whole nation also may with the possession of the name be in acts and life followers of the same.

The titles of the kings of England unto Ireland.

Chap. 6.

LEt then the enuious & ignorant cease and giue ouer to quarrell, and anouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderstand that by five manner of waies, that is to saie, by two ancient titles, and three latter they haue to anouch and defend the same, as in our to

pographie is declared. First it is euident and apparent by the histories of England, that Gurguntius the sonne of Belin king of Britaine, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Isles of the Orkades a nauie (1) of a certaine nation of people, named Balderis, now Balones, and these he sent into Ireland, appointing vnto them certaine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likewise the same histories do plainlie witnesse, that king Arthur, the famous king of Britaine, had manie of the Irish kings tributarie to him: & he on a time holding & keeping his court at Westchester, Gillomarus king or monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & presented themselves before him. Also the Irishmen came out of (2) Balon, the chiefe citie in Wilsaie. And forsomuch as men, be they neuer so free, yet they make renounce their right and libertie, and bring themselves into subiection: so it is apparent that the princes of Ireland did freely, and of their owne accord, submit & yelde themselves to king Henrie of England, & sware vnto him faith and loialtie. And albeit such men of a kind of a natural lightnesse and inconstancie, be not ashamed nor afrayed, to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not so release and discharge them. Euerie man is at his owne choise and libertie how to contract and bargain with anie one, but the same once made he can not flie nor swarue from it. And finally the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certaine prerogative and title requireth & claimeth all Islands, because by him and by him and by his meanes they were first reduced and recovered to the christian faith; he I saie hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The historie is this, that Gurguntius the son of king Belin made a biage into Denmarke, there to appease the people, who were then by in rebellion against him: and hauing preuailed and ouercommed them, he in his returning home wards by the Isles of the Orkades; there met him a fleet of a manie of thirtie or (as some saie) thre score sailles of men and women latelie come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Balderis, whereof Balon was the chiefe citie, but now it is a part of the countrie of Gascoigne, whose capteine named (as some write) Bartholomeu, did present himselfe before Gurguntius, and discoursing vnto him the cause of their trauels, besought him to consider of their distresse, and to grant vnto them some dwelling place, and they would become his subiects. Which the king granted, and taking their oth of allegiance sent and caused them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his subiects they remained and continued.

(2) These people were named Iberi, & before that they came to seeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, whereof Balon is the metropole, which is now part of Wilsaie, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was still subiect to the kings of Britaine, now called England.

The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, and of the taking of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 7.

At the meane while, Donald O Binn prince of Limerike waxed verte insolent, and nothing regarding his former promise and oth made to the king, began & did withdraw his fealtie and seruice. Whereupon Keimond mustering

mustered his armie, gathered and picked out the best and lustiest men which he had. And having twentye and six gentlemen, three hundred horsemen, and three hundred bowmen and footmen in readinesse and well appointed, about the kalends of October marched towards Limerike to assaile the same. When they came thither, the ruler of the shenin, which environeth and runneth round about the citie, they found the same to be so deepe and stike, that they could not passe over the same. But the lustie yong gentlemen who were greedy to haue the pzeie, but more desirous to haue the honoz, were in a great agonie and græfe, that they were thus abarred from approaching to assaile the citie. Whereupon one (1) Dauid Welsh so named of his familie and kinred, although otherwise a Camber or a Welshman borne, and nephew vnto Reimond, who was a lustie and valiant yong soldior, and a verie tall man aboue all the rest, was verie hot and impatient, that they so long lingered the time about nothing. Whereupon hauing a greater regard to win fame and honoz, than fearing of a nie perill or death, taking his horse and putting his spurres to his sides aduentureth the water, which being verie stike and full of stones and rocks was the more dangerous: but yet he so wisely marked the course of the streame, and so aduised and guided his horse, that he passed the riuer, and safely recovered the further side: and then he cried out aloud to his companie, that he had found a ford: but for all that there was neuer a one that would follow, saving one Gessreie.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct ouer the whole companie, the said Gessreie, his horse being caried a waite with the violence of the streame, they were both drowned. Which when Speilerius (who was also come thither) did see, he began to fret with himselfe, partly for that his cousine & kinsman of so noble an enterpryse had so bad a successe: partly also disdainning that ante should atchue to honoz but himselfe. Whereupon being mounted upon a lustie strong horse, setteth spur to his side, and being neither dismayed with the stikenesse and danger of the water, nor afrayed with the mishap fallen to the gentleman, who was then drowned, more rashlye than himselfe aduentureth the riuer & recovereth the further side & bankes. The citizens some of them watching and meeting him at the waters side, and some standing upon the towne wals fast by the riuer side, minding and meaning to haue dyinen him backe againe, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled stones a good pace vnto him. But this noble and lustie gentleman, being thus sharpelie and hardlie beset in the middle of perils and dangers, his enemies on the one side hardlie assailing, and the riuer on the other side stopping and closing him vp from all rescue, standeth to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his head with his shield, defendeth and saueth himselfe from his enemies. Whilist they were thus bicketing there was great shotting and noise on both sides of the water. But Reimond being then the generall of the field, and in the reereward, knowing nothing hereof, as soon as he heard of it, came in all hast through the campe vnto the waters side. Where when he saw his nephew on the other side, to be in the middle of his enemies, and like to be utterly cast a waie and destroyed vntlesse he had some speedie helpe and succour, was in a marvellous griefe & agonie, & verie sharpelie crieth and calleth out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welsh was so called, the same being the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the countrie of Wales, wherein he was borne. He was a worthy gentleman, and of his race there are yet remaining manie good and worthy gentlemen, who

are chiefe abiding in the prouince and citie of Waterford: for there were they first planted.

The oration and speech of Reimond
vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of
the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 8.

Ye worthy men, of nature valiant, and whose prowesse we haue well tried, come ye a waie. The waie heretofore not knowne, and the riuer hitherto though not passable, by our aduentures a ford is now found therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in distresse. Let vs not suffer, nor see so worthy a gentleman, thus for our common cause and honoz oppressed, to perill and be cast a waie before our eyes and in our sights for want of our helpe, and by meanes of our sluggishnesse. It is no time now to vse manie words, nor let vs surely seruenth to make manie speeches. The shortnesse of the time, the present necessitie of this noble gentleman, & the state of our owne honozs bygest expectation, & requireth hast. And euen with these words he put spurres to the horse, and aduentureth the riuer: after whome followed the whole companie, enerie one striting who might be foremost. And as God would they passed all safe ouer, saving two soldiors and one gentleman named Gissda, who were drowned. They were no sooner come to land, but that their enemies all fled and ran a waie, whome they pursued, and in the chase slew a number of them, as also entered and toke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both the citie and the victorie, they recovered their small losse with great spoiles & riches, as also reaped great honoz and fame.

Now reader, which of these thye thinkest thou best valiant, and best worthy of honoz? Him who first aduentured the riuer, and taught the way? Or him who seeing the losse of his companion, the perill of the riuer, and the multitude of the enemies, did yet (not fearing death nor perill) aduenture himselfe in the middle of his enemies? Or him who basillie setting all feare apart, did hazard himselfe and all his host to saue the friend, and to aduenture upon the enemies? And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on a tuesday Limerike was first conquered, on a tuesday it was againe recovered, on a tuesday Waterford was taken, on a tuesday Wexford was gotten, and on a tuesday Dublin was wonne. And these things came not thus to passe, as it were by a set match, but euen of a common course of fortune, or by Gods so appointment. And it is not altogether against reason, that martiall affaires should haue good successe vpon Thurs his daie.

A note concerning tuesday daie or the daie of Thurs.

The description of Reimond.

Chap. 9.

Reimond was big bodied and brode set, of stature somewhat more than meane, his haire yellow and curled, his eyes big, greie, and round; his nose somewhat high; his countenance well coloured, pleasant, and merie. And although he were somewhat grosse bellied, yet by reason of a certaine liuelinesse which was in him, he covered that fault: and so that which seemed to be a blemish in his bodie, he covered with the vertue of his mind. He had such a spectall care of his men and soldiors, that he would be a spie ouer his watchmen, and in his trauell that waie he watched manie whole nights, ranging and walking abroad in the camps. And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he

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would neuer or verie seldome laie violent hands vpon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his gouernement, although he had rashlie or vnadvisedlie ouerthrowne himselfe, & strated out of the wate.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being nothing delicat in his face, nor curious of his apparell. He could atwaite with all weathers, both hot and cold; and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient, & could verie well rule his affections. He was moze desirous to do good to such as he gouerned, than to be glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew himselfe moze like to be a seruant than a master. Finally and to conclude, he was a verie liberall, wise, gentle, and a circumspect man. And albeit he were a verie ballant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in all marttall affaires, he passed and excelled in wisdom & prouidence. A man doubtles in both respects much to be praised and commended: hauing in him whatsoever appertained to a ballant soldior, but excelling in all things belonging to a god capteine.

The description of Meilerius.

Chap. 10.

Meilerius was a man of a browne heth and complexion, his eyes blacke, his loke grim, and his countenance solow & sharpe, and of a meane stature; his bodie for the bignesse verie strong, broad breasted, & he was small belied. His armes and other lims moze sinewous than fleshie, a stout and a ballant gentleman he was and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduenture or enterpryse which were either to be done by one alone, or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the field, and the last that would depart from the same. In all seruices he would either haue the garland or die in the place, and so impatient he was in all exploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to haue honoz, that to attaine therevnto, there was no means nor mild thing but that he would suerlie haue the same either in death or in life: for if he could not haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng. And verelie both he and Keimond haue been woorthie of too much praise and commendation, if they had bene lesse ambitious of worldlie honozs, and moze carefull of Christs church, and deuout in christian religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might haue bene preserved and kept safe and sound: and also in consideration of their so manie conquests and bloudie victories, and of the spilling of so much innocent blood, and murdering of so manie christian people, they had bene thankfull to God, and liberalie contributed some god portion for the furtheraunce of his church and religion. But what shall I saie: It is not so strange but much moze to be lamented, that this vnthankfulnesse even from our first comming into this land, untill these presents, this hath bene the generall and common fault of all our men.

The commendation and praise of Robert Fitzstephans, and of his consins.

Chap. 11.

What shall we speake or saie, how well Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue deserued: What of Maurice Fitzgerald? What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a man verie honest and ballant, whose woorthie commendations by the premises are to be knowne: What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephew vnto Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice deserueth to be the chiefe and first: What shall we

saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Meilerius, who if he had not so sone bene dead and cut, he would doubtlesse haue bene nothing behind his brother: What shall we speake of Keimond of Kantune & of Robert Barrie the younger, they both were verie woorthie, tall, handsome, and woorthie men: What also shall be said of Keimond Fitzhugh, who although he were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & prouidence not to be forgotten: These three lastlie spoken of for their ballantnesse and prouesse done in the parties of Desmond, deserue great honoz and commendation, and great is the pittie that through too much hardinesse their daies were so shortened, and their time so cut off: What did also a number of our gentlemen of the same their kindred & counsaie deserue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouthes, and so manie voices of pron; yet could I not vtter and at full declare their woorthinesse and deserts. A kindred, a nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the Troians by a naturall disposition thou art ballant, of the french nation thou art most expert and skillfull of armes and chualrie. A woorthie nation and kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had not maligned at thy woorthinesse. Well then Keimond had taken order for the keeping of the citie, and had well bittelled the same, he left therein a garrison of his owne men, fiftie gentlemen, two hundred horsemen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer whom he appointed Miles of S. Davids his cosine to be lieutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he safely returned into the borders of Leinster. But see the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute vertue. For Heruic of Spount Maurice, notwithstanding by meanes of the late affinitie he were thought to be a god friend, yet could he not forget his old malicious mind and wicked desires: for still he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers and letters to the king of England, and full vntreulie did aduertise the state, euent, and successe of all things, affirming that Keimond contrarie to the kings honoz and his owne allegiance, had determined to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe not onelie the citie of Limerike, but also the whole land of Ireland. And to make this the moze probable, and himselfe of moze credit, he aduertiseth that Keimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the purpose; and had sworn the whole armie to obserue certeine articles by him prescribed, to the great prouidence of the king. Which his aduertisment being interlined with manie god words, the king so credited the same, that he beleued it to be most true: for as it is well seene, a little suspition of an insurie done or offered to be done vnto a prince, doth moze sticke in his mind, than manie benefites and god seruices before done. The king therefore after the winter following, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message to Ireland; namelie Robert Polowe, Osbert of Herloter of Herford, William Wendeger, and Adam of Gernemie: of which, two of them to come awaie and to bring Keimond with them, and the other to tarrie and remaine behind with the earle.

The description of Heruic.

Chap. 12.

We haue of others, so let vs also now make and set forth the description of Heruic. He was of stature a tall and a comelie man, his eyes graie and somewhat big, amiable of face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man, hauing a long and a round necke, his shoulders some,

some at a low, his armes and hands something long, he was broad breasted, but small in waiste, though the same being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was somewhat big and round, his thighes, legs, and feet being well proportionated and answerable to his bodie; of stature he was indifferent. But as in bodie he was well beset & compact, so on the contrarie, his mind, life, and conuersation were corrupt & disordered. For euen from his childhood he was giuen to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthy actions, what soeuer liked him or anie others, who were of the like disposition: and therefore he forbore neither incest nor adulteries, nor anie other such like filthinesse. Besides, he was a pious and an enuious accuser, and a double man, vncertaine, baine, and altogether vnconstant, sauing in inconstancie; a verie subtil man and a deceitfull: vnder his tongue he had both milke and honie, but both of them were mixed with poison. He was sometimes in great prosperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne desire; and suddenlie fortune turning his wheele, he had such a fall, that he did neuer recover the same againe. He was sometimes a verie good soldier, and had good experience in the feats of wars, after the manner used in France; but he was so suddenlie altered & changed, that he became moze skillfull in malice than valiant in prowesse, moze full of deceit than renowned in honor, moze puffed vp in pride than endowed with worth, moze hastie than happie, and moze full of words than abounding in truth.

The succouring of the garrison at Limerike.

Chap. 13.

Reimond hauing receiued the kings determination by the foresaid foure messengers, prepared all things in a readinesse for his passage ouer accordingly, and nothing wanted thereunto but onelie a west wind. But before the same happened, messengers came from the garrison at Limerike, aduertising that Donold prince of Thomond had besieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittels which they had in the towne, aswell that which they found at their comming thither, as also that so euer was else provided, were all spent and consumed; and therefore requested that they might with all speed be rescued and holpen. The earle, who was verie sorie & pensive for these newes, and desiring all the waies he could to helpe them, caused a muster to be taken of all his souldiers; who were so grieued for the going awaie and departure of Reimond, that they utterly denied and refused to go and to serue that waie, vnles Reimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Whereupon they toke aduise with the kings messengers what were best to be done in this distresse. At length it was thought best, that Reimond should take the enterprise in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the request of the earle and the foresaid gentlemen, yielded himselfe to that seruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure score gentlemen of seruice, two hundred horsemen, & three hundred archers, besides Morogh of Kencile, and Donold of Ossie, and certeine other Irishmen, who serued and attended him. And as he was marching and comming toward Cashill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raised his siege and was comming towards him to meet him, and was now come to the passe of Cashill: which passe although naturallie of it selfe it were verie strong, yet by means of new trenching, plashing of trees, and making of hedges, it was made so strong, that no

horsemen could either enter or passe through the same.

The oration of Donold to his soldiers, the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being now almost come to the place where his enemies lay, diuided his host or armie into three parts or companies, and determined to giue the onset or adventure. Whereupon Donold prince of Ossie, who was a mortall enemy to the prince of Thomond, and now verie desirous that some good exploit should be done; and beholding the Englishmen now also set in god arate, for though they were but few in number in respect of the others, yet they were picked men, valiant and contragions: he also to encourage them, to shew themselves like valiant men, vseth and maketh these speeches vnto them. *Ye worthie, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie valiantlie to giue the onset vpon your enemies, which if you do after your old and accustomed manner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for thus with our spurs, and you with your swords, will so sharplie them pursue, as they shall verie hardlie escape our hands, and auoid our force. But if it so fall out, which God forbid, that you be ouerthrowne and haue the worse side: be you assured that we will leaue you and turne to our enemies, and take part with them. Wherefore be of god courages, and looke well to your selues, and consider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you should be driuen to flie, the same will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs we may not trust vnto vs, for we are determined to stick to them who shall haue the victorie, and will pursue and be on the backs of them who shall flie and run awaie; and therefore be no longer assured of vs than whilst ye be conquerors. Pelletius who had the fore ward, hearing these words, being warmed with the same, suddenlie like a hurling and a blustering wind entered into the passe, pulled downe the fastnesse, and brake downe the hedges, and so made waie, with no small slaughter of the enemies, whereby the passe was recovered and the enemies overcome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Easter weeke, being on tuesday. And as the first conquest of Limerike was vpon a tuesday, so was the second also, where for a time they staid, and restored all things by the enemies before spoiled, & set the same in good order. The enemies finding themselves to be too weake, and that it was better to bow than to breake, praied to haue a parlee and a communication with Reimond: & in the end the messengers of Rothorke king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obtaine the same; and a parlee was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Rothorke of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuer of Sherin, as far as the great loch of Dirigid, & there staid. And Donold not far from thence kept himselfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Reimond chose a place not far from Killaloe, which is about seauentene miles from Limerike, and in the middle betwene them both. The parlee betwene these continued a pretie while, but in the end both kings submitted & yielded themselves, gaue hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be true from thensforth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.*

These things thus done and concluded, Reimond returneth in great triumph and iolitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came messengers vnto him from Dermot Mac Artie prince of Desmond, praieing and requesting him to aid and helpe him, being

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being the king of Englands faithfull and leige man against his eldest sonne Cormon Oblechan, who went about to drive and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him good intertainment both for himselfe and for his souldiours for the same. Keimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honor, taketh aduise of his friends and companions; and by all their consents, the souldiers towards Corke was liked. Whereupon Keimond displayed his banner, and marcheth thitherwards, and taketh by the waie great preies and booties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittelling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Dermott the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Keimond Mac Artie, he was restored and recovered, who otherwise had bene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Cormach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vnjustlie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, took his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

The death of the earle

Strangbow.

Chap. 15.

When these things were thus aduising in Desimond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Keimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Keimond forthwith deliuered to a familiar friend of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenure of them was as followeth. To Keimond his most louing lord and husband, his owne Basilia wisheth health as to his selfe. Know ye my deere lord that my great chebetoth, which was wont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if ye haue any care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come awaie with all speed. Keimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the tooth fullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he laie verie sicke at Dublin before his comming awaie from thence. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of June, they at Dublin did what they could to keepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Keimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Keimond himselfe forthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie sorrie and much grieved with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not nor did vtter or disclose it to any bodie, sauing to a few wise and discret men of his familiars and trustie counsellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agreed vpon, that so much as the earle was dead, and that Keimond also was to depart awaie ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of many enemies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thence into Leinster, for the defense and safe keeping of the townes and forts vpon the sea coasts. Where Keimond full much against his will yielded to this their aduise and counsell, being much grieved that hauing taken paines to recover the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to keepe it himselfe, nor yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince

of Thomond, being the kings baron & swoorne subject, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who forthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also took a corporall oath, and was solemnlie swoorne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to keepe the peace.

10 Then Keimond and all his companie departed and went awaie: but they had not so long passed ouer the one end of the bridge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, euen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small griefe of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching what credit was to be giuen thenceforth to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiously did perjure themselves. The king of England not long after, being aduertised hereof, is said to haue thus said: Noble was the enterprise in the giuing of the first aduenture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recovering thereof againe: but it was onelie wisdom, when they left and forsooke it. Keimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the earle, whose corps by his commandement was reserved vntill Keimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the appointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did execute all the funerall seruises and obsequies.

The comming of William Fitzaldelme and others ouer into Ireland.

Chap. 16.

40 These things thus doone, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and changes were to take new aduises, and hauing thoroughlie debated the state of the countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Keimond should tarke behind, and keepe the countrie in good state and order; but they themselves to returne backe to the king. Who accordingly prepared themselves, and at the next westertide wind then following, they took shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repaire vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his household, to be his lieutenant, & ioined John de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan, who had noble serued him in his wars two yeres, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These as soone as they were arriued, and come to land, and Keimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assembly his companie and souldiours, which was a companie well besene, and marcheth towards Wexford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louinglie saluted and embraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yielded and deliuered vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the cities and townes, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so solie and lustie

The lady Basilia writes letter to her husband Keimond.

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lustie a companie about Keimond, and well marking also Apellerius, and others the nephews of Keimond, about the number of thirtie persons, mounted vpon their horses, verie lustie and braue, and well besene in like armor, with their shields about their necks, and their staves in their hands; coursing by & downe after their maner about the fields. He enuied thereat, and turning backe to his men, said secretlie vnto them; I will shortly cut off this pride, and quail this brauerie. Which in the end it partlie so came to passe, for both he and all the rest which followed him in that office, did as it were by a secret conspiracie, enuie and maligne at Keimond, Apellerius, Fitzmaurice, sonnes to Fitzstephans, and all other of their race and kindred. For this was alwaies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and familie.

In all seruices of warres they were then the foremost, and had in best price, and in all martiall affaires they were the best and most valiant men: but when there was no such seruice in hand; and no need of them, then were they contemned, and no account was made of them; but by a secret malice they were abased, reſected and refused. And albeit great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie so honorable and great; that by no meanes, so what they could, was the same to be extirpated or rooted out. For euen at this date, such good successe hath their noble beginnings had, that their offspring hath euer since (1) continued in that land; in much honor, force and power. And to saie the truth, who perſed the force of the enemies in that land? Euen the Geraldines. Who did best keepe & prefer the land in safetie? The Geraldines. Who made the enemies to go backe & be afraid? The Geraldines. Who be they which for their good deserts are most maligned and enuied at? The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had pleased the prince to haue considered of them, according to their deserts and worthinesse; no doubt the whole state of Ireland long yer this had bene quieted and established. But causelesse were they alwaies had in suspicion, & their worthinesse still had in gelousie: and they put in trust, as in whome was neither valiantnesse of seruice, nor assurednesse of trust. But yet ye worthy and noble men, who for to attaine to honor, haue not bene afraid of death; and for to obtaine fame and renowne, haue not esteemed your selues; be not dismayed, though ye be vnconſiderate considered, and without your deserts disdained and maligned at: but go ye onwards, and proceed in your wonted steps of vertue. And if my pen can go according to worthinesse, I shall be happie, and receiue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame: for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life or in the life to come, or in both, shall haue his iust reward and desert. And albeit your valiant seruice and worthinesse, either by the slackenes of the king, or by meanes of other mens secret and enuious practises, haue not bene hitherto considered nor rewarded: yet shall not I faile, with my pen to publish, and in my writings to remember the same. And therefore thinke not now, neither do you giue ouer to labor and trauell from daie to daie to grow and increase in honor, fame and renowne. For the memorie thereof (farre surpassing all the treasures in the world) for a time through malice maie be covered, but neuer suppressed nor extincted: but as fire long hid, shall in the end breake out into great flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall memorie.

A monstrous
man begotten
vpon a cow.

About this time was borne in Wendelocke a monstrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that countrie vpon a cow, a vice then too common in that wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all

the extreame parts of an ore, for from the ankles of the legs and the wrists of the armes, he had the hofes of an ore, his head was all bald, sauing a few small & thin beares here and there: his eyes great, round and blacke, like an ores nose he had none but onelie two holes, speake he could not but onelie belowed like a colw. This monster did daillie resort vnto the house of Spaurice Fitzgerald, about dinner times, and such meate as was giuen him he would take in his hofes, and put to his mouth, and so feed himselfe, &c: but to returne to the matter. William Fitzaldelme, being now in high authority, and having the gouernement and charge of the land in his hands, marcheth along the sea coasts, and vieweth all the towne, forts and castles that wailes: but for the inner countrie, the mountaines and hils vpon the maine land, and bordering vpon the Irishie, he neither cared nor passed for the same: but yet misliked not the welth and riches thereof. For being a verie greedy and a couetous man, and especiallie hungry to haue gold and treasure, thereof was good store in that land, he greedilie scraped and scratched together whatsoeuer was to be gotten.

About this time, Spaurice (2) Fitzgerald in the kalends of September died at Wexford, whose death was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the countrie. For whie, he was a verie graue & a valiant man, & who for his constancie, trust, courtesie & loue left not his like behind. After his death, William Fitzaldelme sent for the sonnes of the said Spaurice, and so dealt with them, that he neuer left them, vntill by one means or other he had crastilie gotten from them the castell of Guendoke. Whowbeit afterwards he gave them fernes in exchange: which albeit it were in the middle of their enemies, yet like lustie and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a strong castell, which they kept & inhabited maugre all their enemies. Walter Almane, so called in name, and not for that he was ether in nature or stature an Almane, being nephew to William Fitzaldelme, was made seneschall of Wexford; who nothing degenerated from the maners & conditions of his uncle, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his actions & doings, being couetous, proud, malicious and enuious. And suerlie it is commonlie sene, that there is none lightlie worse, than when a buggertie rascal from nothing, and from a base estate, is advanced to wealth, credit and estimation. For such a one alwaies doubting and mistrusting all things, suppresseth all things, & thinking all things to be lawfull for him to do, vseth all extremities at his will and pleasure. There cannot be (I saie) a worse beast, than when a cruell rascal and proud begger is raised to estate, and made a ruler ouer his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with Spordgh prince of Kencile, and by him being corrupted with great bribes, did what he could to procure the vtter destruction of Keimond, and all his foreſaid cosins and kinsmen. And to begin the execution of their practises, the foresaid William first toke away from Keimond all his lands about Dublin, and about Wexford. And whereas he receiued letters of commandement from the king, to restore vnto Fitzstephans a cantred of land which he had in Ophelan, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and assigned vnto them other places which were further off and remoted; and the same the more perillous, because they were in the middle of the enemies.

(1) It is verie true, that these Geraldines euen er since haue continued in this land of Ireland, and did daillie grow and increase to much honour: there being at this instant two houses advanced to
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the titles of earledoms, and sundry to the estates of barons. And so long as they continued in the steps of their ancestors, they were not so honourable as terrible to the Irish nation: but when they leaning English government, liked the loose life of that vicious nation, then they brought in coine and livery, and a number of manie other Irish and diuelish impositions, which hath bene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the overthrow of all their houses and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lieth in a monastrie of Grete friers without the walles of the towne of Wexford, which house is now dissolved, and the monument of his burfall almost destroyed: there wanting some good and worshipful man to restore the same againe. The deserved well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in so backward a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of so worshipful a knight will not restore so worshipful a monument.

The description of William Fitzaldelme.

Chap. 17.

This Fitzaldelme was a grosse and corpulent man, as well in stature as in proportion, but of a reasonable height; he was verie liberal and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courtesie, and would give to anie man much honour and reverence, yet was the same altogether with smiles and guiles: for under honie he gave venom, and his sugred words were mingled with poison. And as a venemous serpent covered with greene leanes, he with an outward shew of courtesie covered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward shew he was liberal and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancor and malice. In countenance pleasant, but in a stinking breath was his stinking vapor: outwardlie as meeke as a lambe, but within as wolfe as a fox: carieng under sweet honie most bitter venom. His words as smooth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadly strokes: whome he honoured and revered this date, he would either spoile or destroy the next date. A cruell enemy against the weak and feeble, and a flatterer unto the rebell and mightie: gentle to the wild and savage, and courteous to the crinie; but extreme to the good subject, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not fearfull to the one, nor trustie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogether craftie and deceitfull. He was also much given unto wine and to women. He was a greedy covetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogether bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the sonne of Aldelme father to Burke erle of Kent (as some saie) and his son Richard was sent into Ireland, and there greatly advanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) descended the burgeses called Clannicards, who were the best blood of the foresaid Richard, and these do yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Clanricke now living.

How Iohn de Courcie inuadeth Vsher.

Chap. 18.

John Courcie, who (as is before said) was joined in communion with William Fitzaldelme, when he saw the course and manner of his dealings, who as he was co-

rectious, and did nothing but for monie; so was he timorous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as also that the crinie feared him not, and the good subject loved him not. And considering also that the souldiers and garrison at Dublin, by means of their rapteins covetousnesse were unpaid of their wages, and by reason of his slouth and sluggishnesse the vittels were scarce, & none went & sought anie more abroad as they were wont to get anie vittels or preyes, he secretly dealed with some of them, and by his wise conference, and wittie persuasions, allureth and setteth unto him even such as were the valiantest, honestest, and chosen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And having so gotten into his companie two and twenty gentlemen, and about thre hundred others, he boldly entred and invadeth into the prouince of Vsher, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and strenght of the English nation. And then was fulfilled the prophesie of Merlin Celodine (as is said, howbeit I will not so affirme it) A white knight sitting upon a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of armes shall enter and invade Vsher.

This Iohn Courcie was somewhat of a browne colour, but therewith somewhat whittish, and at that time he rode upon a white horse, as also did beare in his shield three painted (1) birds. After that he had passed three daies fourne through the countrie of Wick, he came the fourth daie (being the kalends of February) to the citie of (2) Dolone, without anie resistance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enemy and a guest unlooked for. And (3) Odone then the ruler of that countrie, being affronted and amazed at their so sudden coming, fled awaie. The souldiers which before their coming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger starved, having now recovered great vittels and preyes of meat and cattels, were full and well refreshed.

At this verie present time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Williams, & he took great pains to intreat & make a peace betwene Odone & Iohn de Courcie, using all the persuasions that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there should be a yearly tribute paid to the king of England: but all his words availed nothing. Odone seeing that words could little availe, assembly all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies having gotten about ten thousand souldiers, with force invadeth, & with great courage cometh to enter & break into the citie of Dolone. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie also in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. Iohn Courcie seeing the course and bent of the enemies, who not onelie upon a hope and confidence of their great multitude against so few enemies; but also their valiant and courageous minds, who were fully determined to invade the citie: thought it better with his small companie (which though they were but few in respect of their adversaries, yet they were souldiers valiant, courageous, and of good service) to issue out and adventure the fight with them, than to be pinned & shut up in a beggarlie ward made with turres in a corner of the citie, and there for want of vittels to be famished. Wherefore he issued out and joined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the bowes a farre off on the one side, and the darts on the other side: then lance against lance, and the bill against the spar, and the sword against the skeine: who buckled so lustilie the one against the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the dust. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had seen how valiantlie each man

A prophesie of Merlin fulfilled.

A prophesie of Merlin fulfilled.

shewed himselfe, and speciallie how John Courcie most valiantlie with the stroke of his sword manied manie a man, killing some, but wounded and manied manie, would and must needs haue commended him for a right worthy, noble, and right valiant warrior.

(1) The giue the birds as this author saith, which by heralds are thus blasoned. Argent three griffes or gettes gules crowned gold: this griff or gette is a kind of an eagle, but such as is ravenous, and feedeth more upon carrion than upon anye soule of his owne preieng: & for his cowardnesse carteth neither the name nor praise appertaining to the true eagle.

(2) Downe is a towne lieng in the Ards, which is in Ulster, a profitable and a fertile soile: it is the see of the bishop of that diocese, who beareth his name of the said towne, being called the bishop of Downe.

(3) The Latine word is *Dunlennus*, which I do find to be Englished Downell, which is the name of a great familie or nation in the prouince of Ulster; but whether this Latine be trulie so interpreted, I refer it to the reader, or such as be expert in such Irish names.

The commendation of Roger Power,
and the victorie of Iohn de Courcie, and of
the prophecies of Celodine.

Chap. 19.

In this fight there was manie a worthy man, which valiantlie acquitted himselfe: but if it might be said without offense, there was no one man who did more valiant as than (1) Roger le Power, who albeit he were but a young man and beardless, yet he shewed himselfe a lustie, valiant, & courageous gentleman; who grew into such good credit, that afterwards he had the gouernment of the countrie about Leighlin, as also in Downe. This fight was verie long & doubtfull, each partie manfullie defending themselves, and none yielding the one to the other. But as the common prouerbe is, be the date neuer so long, yet at the length it ringeth at euensong: so likewise this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victorie fell to John de Courcie, and a great multitude of the enemies were slaine in the field, as also vpon the woars of the seas as they were fleeing and running awate. Then was fulfilled the old prophesie of Celodine the Irish prophet, who forespeaking of this battell said, that there should be such a great bloodshed therein of the Irish people, that the enemies perceiuing them should wade vp to the knees in blood. Which thing came so to passe; for the Englishmen perceiuing them and killing them vpon the woars, the same were so soft, that with the weight of their bodies they sunke downe vpon the hard knees or twisels, and so the blood flowing and lieng vpon the woars, they were said to be therein vpon to the knees.

The same man also (as is said) did write that a poore stranger, and one come out from other countries, should with a small power come to the citie of Downe, and against the will of the gouernor thereof should take the same. Manie other things also he wrote of sundrie battells to be waged, and of the euents thereof, which were all fulfilled in John de Courcie. This booke the said John had, and he so esteemed the same, that still he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and for the most part direct his doings by the same. It was also written in the same booke, that a young man with force and armes should breake and enter in through the wals of Waterford, and conquer the same with

the great slaughter of the townsmen: moreover, that the same man should come to Waterford, & from thence to Dublin, where he should enter in without anye great resistance; & all these things (as is apparent) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewise he wrote in the same booke, that the citie of Limericke should be twice left and forsaken by the Englishmen: but the third time it should be kept, which thing came so to passe. For first (as is before written) Desmond had it and gaue it ouer: the second was, when the king had giuen the same to Philip de Buse, for he being brought thither by Fitzthomas, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the same, and being come to the riuer side of Shenin for the same purpose, was there utterly discouraged to proceed anye farther, and so without anye thing done, leaueth the same as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it shall be shewed. And thus (according to this vaticine) twice it was left, but the third time it shall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Galognies the iusticiarie there appointed; in whose time the said citie being vnder his gouernment, was by treacherie and treason destroyed, and so forsaken and left; but afterwards recovered by Peilerius: ever since which time it hath remained and bene kept in the possession of the Englishmen. Well then to the battels of John de Courcie, first he had the victorie in two notable battels or fights at Dublin; the one in Februarie, and the other in Iulie: in which he hauing but a small companie of men, fought against sixtene hundred of his enemies, of whom he slue and ouerthrew a great number, and had the victorie. The third was at Fferlie about the taking of a preie, where by reason of the strait & narrow passes, he was too much and euerie engines ouerset by the enemies, and so had the worse; some of his men being killed, and some scattered and dispersed abroad in the woods and fields, so that he had scant eleuen persons left with him. And notwithstanding that he had thus lost his men and horses, yet was he of such a valiant mind and courage, that with those few which were left, he went through his enemies, and in spite of them all travelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat or drinke thirtie long miles, vntill he was past danger, & so came safelie vnto his owne castell againe. The fourth battell was at Wriell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fifth was at the bridge of Puoz, after and vpon his coming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victorie and conquest. So in three battels he had the victorie, but in two he receiued both the losse and hurt; and yet in them did more annoie the enemy, than was hurted himselfe.

(1) The race & issue of the Powers hath ever since and yet doth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their ancestrie, haue for their part shewed themselves valiant and men of good service, for which they haue bene honorable rewarded, and are now barons and peeres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the prouince or countie of Waterford, and not far from the citie of Waterford.

The description of Iohn de
Courcie.

Chap. 20.

In this John de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was sinowous and a verie strong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a singular audacitie: and being from his verie youth bent

bent to the wars proued a verie valiant soldior. He would be the first in the field and foremost in the fight; and so ambitious and desirous he was of honor, that were the enterprise neuer so perillous, and the service neuer so dangerous, yet he would giue the aduenture. And altho it he were the generall or capteine, yet setting the priuities thereof apart, he would be as a common soldior, and serue in the place of a priuat seruito; and manie times being more rash than wise, and more hastie than circumspect, he had the worst side and lost the victorie. And although in seruice he were thus forward, earnest, and beheimt; yet in time of peace and rest he was verie sober, modest, and altogether giuen and disposed to serue God, and hauing the victorie of his enemies and good successe in his affaires, he would ascribe the honor vnto God, and be thankfull for the same. But as Tullius writeth, nature neuer made anie thing perfect and absolute in all points. And so it appeared in this man: for though his too much pinching and sparing, and by reason he was verie brittle and vnconstant; his vertues (otherwise great, and deseruing great praises and commendations) verie much imperished and blemished. He married the daughter of Gored king of Malme. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought sundrie times with his enimies, he at length had the masteerie and conquest ouer them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and rest, he builded sundrie and diuerse castles throughout Alster, in such maner and conuenient places as he thought best. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie strange, that these three notable & the chiefest posts of Ireland, namelie Heruic, Keimond, and this John de Courcie, by Gods secret (but not vnjust iudgement) neuer had anie lawfull issue. I might also say the like of Melerius, who as yet hath no lawfull issue by his wife. Thus much hauing breidie and by the waie spoken of the noble acts of John de Courcie, and leauing the same vnto others to be more at large set forth and described, we will now retorne againe to Dublin.

The three
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Ireland
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lawfull.

The councell or synod kept at Dublin;
of Viuian the popes legat, and of Miles Cogan
issuing into Connagh.

Chap. 21.

In this meane time, Viuianus the popes legat remained still in Ireland, and held a synod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openly confirmed and published the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as also the popes ratification and confirmation of the same; commanding and charging euerie person, of what estate, degree, or condition: whether he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he should not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreover (1) for so much as the manner and custome was among the Irish, that whensoever anie goods, corne, or vittels, were put and kept in anie church, no man would medle or deale to carrie the same awaie; yet neuertheless, he gaue licence and libertie to all Englishmen, that whensoever they went, or were to go in anie housing, and could not elsewhere be provided of anie vittels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in anie church: so that they left with the churchwardens, or such as had the charge thereof, the true and iust value of so much as they took awaie. These things thus done, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of soldiors vnder William Fitzaldelme, as also constable of the citie of Dublin, he

with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the son of Fitzstephans, as also his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horsemen & 300 footmen, passed ouer the riuer of Shenin, & invaded Connagh, which hitherto no Englishman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith set on fire and burned all the towne, villages, and churches, as also all such corne as they had in their baggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewise they took downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields. Neuertheless, the Englishmen marched on wards, till they came to the towne of Thomond, where they staid eight daies together; and finding the countrie forsaken of the people, and barren of vittels, they returned backe againe ouer the Shenin: and by the waie they met with Rotho: the prince of Connagh, who late in a wood nere the Shenin watching for them, and he had there great troops and companies with him of the best fighting men of Connagh. Betwene them there was a long and a cruell fight, in which Miles lost but three of his owne companie, but manie of his enimies were slaine. Which done, he recovered ouer the riuer, & so came safelie to Dublin.

(1) This vsage and custome is yet at this present obserued, and euerie church in the countrie stuffed and filled with great chests full of corne, which the husbandmen do for safetie keepe therein: and this lieth safe at all times, euen in the verie warres among themselves: howbeit the same is not so religiously kept and obserued in these daies as in times past.

How William Fitzaldelme is sent from
home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his
place: and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitzstephans haue the kingdome of Conke
giuen vnto them.

Chap. 22.

William Fitzaldelme, who during his abode and being in this land, had done nothing worthe the commendation, sauing that he caused the flasse called Johns flasse to be fetched from Armagh, and brought to Dublin; he (I saie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzstephans were sent for by the king to come home. In whose come the king sent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, joining in commission with him Robert Fitzstephans then seneschall of Wexford and Waterford. The king, after the retorne of the aforesaid Fitzaldelme and others, thinking and considering with himselfe the good service of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzstephans, and others; as also how necessarie it were, that such noble seruitors and valiant men were placed among the Irish people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obissance; he gaue to Robert Fitzstephans, and to Miles Cogan in fee for euer to be equallie diuided betwene them all south Hounster (1) that is to saie, the whole kingdome of Conke, from the west part of the riuer at Leismore vnto the seas, sauing and reseruing the citie of Conke, and one cantred of land therevnto adioining. Also he gaue vnto Philip de Buse all the north Hounster, that is to saie, the kingdome of Limerike, sauing and excepting the citie of Limerike it selfe with one cantred ther vnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fee. These men thus rewarded, confederated themselves together to ioinie and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the best preparation that he can. Which being in readinesse they took shipping and arrived into Ireland in the moneth of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thence they came

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sted along vnto Cozke, where they were receiued with much honoz both by the citizens; and also by an English gentleman named Richard of London, who was deputie there vnder Fitzalbelme.

what a cantred is.

As soone as they had pacified and quieted Dermot (2) Mac Artie prince of Desmond, and the residue of the noble men and gentlemen in those parties, Fitzstephans and also Miles Cogan diuided betwene them the seauen cantreds, which were nearest to the towne: for these they kept and held in best peace and rest. Fitzstephans had the three cantreds which laie in the east part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the west, the one hauing the more because they were the wooser, and the other had the fewer cantreds that were the better folke and ground. The citie it selfe remained in their ioint gouernement, and the residue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the profits thereof growing they equallie diuided betwene them. A cantred both in English and in Irish is so much land as containeth one hundred villages, as is in our topographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundred. These things thus done, they bring and conduct Philip de Buse vnto Limerike. Fitzstephans had with him twentie gentlemen and fortie horsemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftie horsemen, Philip de Buse had twentie gentlemen & thre score horsemen, besides a great number of bowmen & footmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about fortie miles from Cozke, & onlie the river of Shenir was betwene them and the citie: the same at their coming was set on fire before their eyes by the citizens themselves. Peruerthelesse, Stephens and Miles offered to adventure ouer the water, and to enter the towne; or if Philip thought it so good, they would there build a castell vpon the riuers side right ouer against the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet considering with himselfe how dangerous the place was, being in the middle of the enemies, and farre remoted from all succors and helpe, without which he was not able with his small companie to defend and keepe the same, as also being partly persuaded by the counsell and aduise of his companie, thought it better to retorne home in safety, than to dwell in the middle of his enemies in continuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much marvelled that in this iourneie he had so euill success: for whie he had gathered & retained to him the notablest murderers, theues, & seditious persons that were in all Southwaies, and the marches of the same, and these were of best credit with him, and he most ruled by them.

These eclipses of the sun in thre yeeres.

About this time Amere duke Fitzstephans son, a lustie yong gentleman and a towardlie, died at Cozke in March, to the great sorrow and greefe of all his friends. Here about this time was found and seene a great tode at Waterford, wherof was made much wondering, as is in our topographie declared. Also within the space of thre yeeres there was seene thre eclipses of the sun, howbeit these were not vniuersall, but particular eclipses seene onlie in the land. After that Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan had quiette and peaceable gouerned and ruled the kingdom of Desmond five yeeres together, and by their prudence and modestie had restrained the haughty towardnesse, and rash disposition of their yong men, Miles and Kase, the sonne of Fitzstephans a lustie yong gentleman, and who had married Miles daughter, went toward Lisemore, there to meet & to haue a parlie with Waterford men: as they sate in the fields waiting and looking for them, one Pachture with whom they should and had appointed to haue lien at his house the next night following, suddenly

and outwaies came stealing vpon them, and there traitorously slue them, and slue of their companie. By meanes thereof the whole countrie forthwith was in an uproare, inso much that Dermot Mac Artie, and all the Irishie in those parties, as also the traitor Pachture, were out: and denieng to be anie longer the kings loiall subiects, made wars against Fitzstephans, who now once againe felt the course of fortunes disposition. And these so much annoyed him, that he could neuer recover himselfe againe, vntill that his nephew Desmond, who succeeded him in the gouernement there, came and rescued him: yet that notwithstanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and rest.

And by the waie this is to be noted and considered, that as the northerne men be warlike and valiant; so are the southerne men craftie and subtil, the one seeking honoz, the other deliting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other wylie; the one of great courage, the other set all on treason and falshood. But to the matter. When Desmond heard how fortune frowned vpon his vncle Fitzstephans, and what distresse he was in, being shut vp in the citie of Cozke, and his enemies assailing him round about, forthwith assembled his companie, and hauing in readinesse twentie gentlemen, and one hundred of footmen and bowmen, he taketh shipping at Waterford, and sailing along the coasts, maketh towards Cozke with all the hast he can, that he might relieue and comfort his friends, and be a terror vnto his enemies. And in the end hauing oftentimes incountered with the enemies, some he killed, some he drove out of the countrie, and some he compelled (which was the greater number) to submit themselves and to sue for peace: and thus in the end after great stormes and tempest followed a faire wether and a calme. Herie shortly after Richard of Cogan, brother vnto Miles, & nothing inferior vnto him in valiantnesse, or anie other respect: came into Ireland with a iollie picked companie and chosen men, being sent to the king to supplie his brothers roome. Also in the end of the same winter, and in the moneth of Februarie (3) Philip Barrie nephew to Fitzstephans, a verie honest and a wise gentleman, came ouer with a lustie companie of chosen men, as well for the aid of his vncle, as also for the recouerie of his land in Meethan, which was perforce taken awaie (4) from Fitzstephans, as also afterwards from Kase Fitzstephans sonne. In the same passage also came Gerald an other nephew of Fitzstephans, and brother vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduise and counsell did verie much pleasure and helpe both his vncle and brother: for he was learned and a great traoueller, in searching to learne the site and nature of that land, as also the first origine of that nation, and whose name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herie of Abnt Poris professed himselfe a monke in the monastrie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the same in franke and pure almes all his patronages and impropriations of all his churches, lieng by the sea coasts betwene Waterford & Waterford, and so became a monke, & liued a solitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind! & as he hath laid awaie his secular weedes, had cast off his malicious disposition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto these two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his broad seale, and was given by the name of the king, dome of Cozke, being bounded from the river which floweth by Lisemore towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Hendon vpon the seas on the west, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thre score knights fees. The citie it selfe without cantred of land

land was reserved to the king, saving that they two had the custodie the reof. This kingdome in course of time for want of helmes male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wiues inioied the same during their lives; and after them their helmes, untill such time as by a division growing amongst the Englishmen, the Irishrie expelled them, and recovered the countrie unto themselves.

(2) These Mac Arties are yet remaining in the said prouince of Conke, and they be now dispersed into sundrie families, but the chiefeest of them is named Mac Artie Mowe, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was advanced to the honoz and degree of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common speech by interposition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, some writing that Fitzstephans should take awaie the land from Philip Barrie, and giue it to his son Kase; and to recover this out of their hands, the said Philip came ouer with such power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was giuen to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the custodie and charge of Robert Fitzstephans, who when he listeth not or could not keepe it anie longer, deliuered the custodie thereof to his sonne Kase: who as his father so was he sweare to keepe the same. And for that cause Philip Barrie minding to inioie, and to make the best thereof, with such force and helpe as he had gotten, came ouer both to helpe his vnkle, & also to fortifie & build holds & castles vpon his said land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and keepe the same: and this seemeth to be the truth of the historie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, hauing seised vpon lands and possessions in Ireland, his posteritie haue euer since continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from their first ancestoz, haue from age and to age bene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good seruices, were advanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honoz do continue still. But would to God they were not so nuzled, roteb, and altogether seasoned in Irishrie! the name and honoz being onelie English, all the rest for the most part Irish.

How Hugh de Lacie builded castels, and fortified in Leinster and Meik.

Chap. 23.

Whilest these things were thus a dooing in Desmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wise man buildeth sundrie castels both in Leinster and Meik, and fortifieth the same verie stronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin vpon the riuer of (2) Barrow besides Desoie, a place naturallie of it selfe verie strong, which place Robert Mowe by the kings commandement had the charge of, untill he gaue the same ouer and forsooke it. What worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Mowe & Fitzaldelme, to be sent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is destituted and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie see the course of fortune, who when he is disposed to smile, how he advanceth and raiseth by men from base estate to high degrees: for why, these two had more pleasure in chambering and plasing the waitons with yong girls, and to plaie vpon a harpe than to beare a shield or baste, or to weare armour. And trulie it was to be marvelled, that so noble a prince could send such colwarde to beare rule, and haue ap-

thoritie in places of seruise. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wise man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietnesse: and therefore such as were oppressed or driven out of their lands and territories, he restored them, and with such courteous behauiour and gentle speeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie short time he drew vnto him the hearts of the people; who desirous to dwell vnder his gouernment, manured the grounds, which being then wast and vntilled, was in short space full sowed and fraighted both with come and cattell. And then for the safetie of the people and defense of the countrie, he builded towne and erected castels in euerie place, made orders & established lawes for the gouernment of the people. And by this it came to passe, that ech man inioied the labours of his owne hands, and euerie man liued in peace one with the other, and euerie bodie loved him, and he assured of all men. But hauing thus by his wisdom, policie, and good gouernement recovered that nation to god conformitie and obedience, behold ennie (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a gealouisie and suspicion, that his dytt and policie was to appropriate the whole land to himselfe, and as the lawfull king and monarch would crowne himselfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was so receiued & false rumour so spred, that it was in a short time caried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could broke the same.

(1) This Leighlin standeth full vpon the riuer of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient castell called by the name of the Blake castell, a fort in those daies verie strong: it standeth in the baronie of Mowone, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and hette of the baron of this Mowone, & so the Carews became & were for the course of sundrie yeares, untill in the troublefome times, in king Richard the seconds time they were expelled, as all others or the most part of the English were. But being dwelling there, some one of them builded a religious house of Grete friers nere adioining to the said castell, which being since dissolved in king Henrie the eightes time, the same fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetual garison, and thus was it disseuered from the baronie. There is also one other Leighlin distant from this about an English mile, where is the cathedrall church of that diocesse, and whereof the bishop taketh his name being called the bishop of Leighlin; but for difference sake the same is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bidge, by reason of a bidge builded of stone ouer the riuer at that place, and whereof the one end butteth vpon the foresaid Blake castell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable riuer, hauing his head or spring in the hill called Mons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable riuers Sure and the other Coire. This Barrow kepeth & hath his course through the countie of Lex, and passeth by the market towne of Athie vnto Carlow, and from thence vnto Leighlin, and so to Kosse, a little about which towne it meeteth and ioineth with the Coire, and they togither kepe their course about six miles, untill they meet with the Sure, which is nere vnto the late abbete of Dunbradie: and as they all doe spring and rise out of one mountaine, so after they haue taken their seuerall courses, they meet togither and take one waie into the seas. They are all namable, and all alike replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes.

The

The description of Hugh

de Lacie.

Chap.24.

If you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you shall understand his eyes were blacke and deepe, and his nose somewhat flat, and the right side of his face from the chin upwards by a mischance was shrewdly skalled: his necke was short, and his bodie haire, as also not fleshy but sinewy and strong compact; his stature was but small, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie sober, trustie, and modest. He was verie carefull in his owne priuat matters, but in causes of government and in all publicke affaires he was most vigilant and carefull. And albeit he were a verie good souldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires; yet in his sundrie adventures wherin he was sometimes rash and verie hasty, he sped not alwaies best nor had the best successe. After the death of his wife he was somewhat lose of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great choise: he was verie greedy and covetous of wealth and possessions, but ouermuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Leinster flourished Robert Fitzhenrie brother unto (1) Meilerius, who in his yowthfull yeares was verie lustie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter dyaureth and is cold, doth fade and wither awaye. Likewise (2) Alexander and Geraldus the two sonnes of Maurice. And albeit Gerald were a man but of meane stature, yet verie wise, sober, and honest. Also Roger le Poivre conestable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Poivre seneschall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the yonger sonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Keimonds were of best fame and credit in these daies. About this time befell and happened the two strange wonders at Fother in Metch, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie; namelye, of the woman violentlie and perforce abused in a mill by a souldier, and of the otes there stolen and caried awaye.

(1) Pessa the daughter of the great Abelas had three husbands, by the first named Henrie she had a sonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Meilerius.

(2) This same Pessa had to hir third husband one Gerald of Windsor, and by him had issue hir fourth son named Maurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a valiant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars against Abelas the father of this Pessa, and kept the towne and castell of Denbroke against him and all his force: but in the end after a peace concluded betwene them, he married this ladie, and had with this issue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie upon a vaine suspicion was sent for into England, and of his returninge againe from thence.

Chap.25.

The suspicion conceived of Hugh de Lacie baillie increased more & more; and as is before said came to the kings eares, who as princes in such causes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore forthwith sent for Hugh de Lacie by John conestable of Chester and Richard Pet, whome he appointed to carrie and serue in his place, & to be the gouernours of lordes

in the land. But before he should depart and go awaye, it was agreed by a common consent, that there should diuerse castles and sundrie forts be builded in Leinster: for Metch was alreadie metlie well and indifferently fortified & incastelled. First therefore they builded two castles in Fotheret of Dnolan, the one for (1) Keimond, and the other for Griffith his brother: the third was at (2) Wesselbermont nere to Mporoghs countrie for Walter of Kidenford: the fourth for John (3) Clauill upon the river of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fifth at Collach for John Herford. And as for Kildare, which with the countrie adioining was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Meilerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Ler was giuen to him, which was a wild and savage countrie, full of woods, passes, and bogs, and in the middle of the enemies, as also from ante succour or rescue: howbeit not vnfit for this such a champion of Metch and so worthy a souldier.

These things being thus done in the summer time, Hugh de Lacie took his passage ouer to England; and made his speedie repaire to the kings presence, where he so wisely and dutifullie behaued himselfe, that the king not onelie was resolved of his truth and fidelitie, but also putting especial confidence in him, he sent him backe againe. And calling home the foresaid John de conestable and Richard Pet, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and took assurance of him for his truth in this behalfe: howbeit he joined in commission with him one Robert of Salisbury, who should in the kings behalfe be a counsellor and a trustie assistant unto him in all his doings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there settled and placed, thinketh upon his first deuites, how to fortifie the countrie and to keepe it in good order. And the more castles he builded, and the more Englishmen he did bestow and place therein, the sooner and better did he thinke to bring the same to passe and effect. Among manie castles therfore which he builded, he made one at Tachmeo in Ler, which he gaue to Meilerius, as also gaue him his nece to wife; also one castell nere to Abotwie which he gaue to Robert Bigaret, and not farre from thence an other castell which he deliuered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thence he builded one other castell at the Mouch on the river of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had: besides in Metch he builded the castles of Dunach and of Kilaire, as also Adam Fuceport and Gilbert Wigents castles, and manie others, which were now too long to be particularlie repeted and recited.

And about this time was that strange talke and communication in a wood in Metch, betwene a preest and a wolfe, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie: which thing though it may seme verie strange & most incredible, yet the same is not to be discredited: for as S. Jerome saith, you shall find in scripture manie strange things, & which to a mans iudgement shall seme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheless they are most true. For nature cannot preuaile nor doe aught against the Lord of nature: neither ought aie creature to contemne or scorne, but rather with great reuerence and honour to consider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the yonger, the son of king Henrie the elder, being seduced & caried (the more was the pittie) by lewd and naughty counsels, rebelled the second time against his father, and had gotten vnto him the most part of the best noble men in all Poitiers; & the lustiest gentlemen in all France: besides his brother Geoffrey the earle of Britaine the chiefe author and cause of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by Gods

Cathe betwene a preest and a wolfe.

Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his unnatural ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie ballant and a lustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at Dorels to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortly after also the foresaid Gessie, a noble and a ballant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowesse might haue bene the sonne of Ulysses or Achilles, who now reuolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Pella the daughter of the great Rhesus prince of Wales had three husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsor, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Desmond, and Griffith.

(2) Trellfeldermont is a castell about a fiew miles from Catherlough, & sometimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering nere to the baronie of Wexone. The English writers doe saie that this castell was not builded in this Trellfeldermont, but at Bilken, a castell about three miles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Kilbare. But the Latine booke, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I doe herein follow, doe write it by expresse words, Trellfeldermont.

(3) This castell of Clauill not far from Leithlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlowgh or Catherlough: howbeit the common fame of the countrie doth attribute this castell of Carlowgh to Gua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appeareth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castels builded in Leinster were done by the Englishmen onelie, and for their defense and safetie.

(4) The countrie of Ler is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreame confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no shire ground, but inhabited by the Spores, who were alwaies rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parliament in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie, and named the Quenes countie.

The death of Laurence archbishop

of Dublin, and of Iohn Comin made archbishop in his place.

Chap. 26.

In this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1186. He was a (1) iust and a good man, but somewhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion because he was at the councell of (2) Laterane, and there inuighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was staid, and in the end there died; where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him Iohn Comin an Englishman borne, and a monke in the abbete of Cuenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Austerbe, where he was also made a cardinall. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church, wherein he would

haue done verie much good, if that he had not bene too woldie, & haue sought to haue pleased woldie princes, and to haue bene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common obseruation in the Romish church, that if anie one had received the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince, yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a goodie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The councell of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall councells that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Manie decrees were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the councell could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other decrees this was concluded, that all controversies betwene kings and princes, the correction thereof should apperteine to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperour, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

The comming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

Chap. 27.

The king to aduance his younger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion ouer Ireland, and he thereupon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a finall end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a forerunner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his comming, who shortly took his iourne about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Philip of Worcester, a ballant souldier, a sumptuous and a liberal man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to staie there as gouernour of the land vntill Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Philip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he resumed and took into the kings vse the lands in Orghahelle, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings provision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companie, & began to trauell from place to place, and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce exacted from the bargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Downe, and from thence to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, siluer, and monie, which he had exacted in euerie place where he came: for other good he did none. In this iourne there happened two strange miracles, the one at Arinagh concerning the great anguish and grieve of (3) Philip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) forname which Hugh Lacie took away from the pope priests at Armagh, as more at large is declared in our topographie.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albeit he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appeareth by the course of the histories of this time, he was about building of a castell at Derragh, and there being among his labourers,

what the shops pall

Two strange miracles.

labourers, and seeing one not to frame verie well in his worke, taught him what he should do, taking his pickaxe in both his hands and brake the ground. This wicked Irishman when he saw his lord and master thus stopping and labouring, suddenlie came behind him, and with his axe or weapon strake him in the head and slue him, but his inheritance and possessions came & descended to his two sonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbishops, one at Dublin for the prouince of Leinster, another at Cashill for the prouince of Mounster, the third at Thomond for the prouince of Connaught, & the fourth at Armagh for the prouince of Ulster. The chiefeest of them is the archbishop of this Armagh, for although euery one of the others be named a primate of Ireland, yet this one alone is named primate of all Ireland; which title he hath partly because he is successeur to S. Patrick, who first conuerted Ireland to the christian faith, and had his see and church at this Armagh; one other cause is because this archbishop was the first that receiued a pall from the pope. This pall is a certaine inuesture of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth or sendeth to euery archbishop, who weareth the same vppermost vpon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the first inuention thereof and the causes whye it is giuen to euery archbishop, is not incident nor appertaining to the course and nature of this historie, and therefore I will omit it. This Armagh was sometimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedrall church, leng farre and remote from all good neighbors, and in the middle of the Muns and other sauage people; the same hath bene and still is and lieth wast: and the archbishop remoued to a house of his named Lersham, which lieth nere the towne of Drogheda, being a place of better safetie.

what the bishops pall is.

(3) The historie is, that this Philip of Worcester being well landed with great riches exacted from the cleargie and departed, he was no sooner out of the towne, but that he was taken with a sudden pang, which for the time was so vehement, that it was supposed he would neuer haue recouered it.

(4) This Hugh Tirell among other the spoiles which he toke, he had a great buring fornaice or pan which serued for the whole house, for which his doing the priests cursed him, and he caried this along with him untill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the same was entred with fire, and the houses which were the said pan, as also much goods which they brought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the morning, when he saw the great spoile, and yet the said pan as nothing hurt nor perished, he began to repent and be soze, and so restored the pan againe.

The comming of Heraclius the patriarch into England.

Chap. 28.

While these things were doing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Jerusalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the east to the west, came into England about the beginning of February; who brought with him the keies of the holie citie and sepulchre, with the kings ensigne and martiall signe, in the behoufe of all the states of the holie land, as well of the brethren of the order of the temple as hospitall: and with the consent of all the cleargie and laitie, making supplication to king Henrie the second, falling at his feet with teares, and humble desiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of

the holie land, and Christes patrimonie, desperatlie afflicted by the infidels: otherwise affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdom would fall shortly into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Oh what a glorie was it to this king and kingdom, that he passing so manie emperours, kings and princes, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the world, should come into this corner of the earth, & as it were into an other world to require aid! Oh how worthy, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings glorie bene, if he setting aside other businesse, and forsaking his kingdoms, had taken without delaye (at this calling of Christ) Christes crosse, and haue followed him! Verelie, he should haue receiued of him the euerlasting kingdom, if he had serued him in this necessitie of whom he receiued his kingdom, and so glorious a grace of gouernement on earth. Oh if he would haue defended here (for his abilitie) the patrimonie of so worthy a kingdom in this point of necessitie, and this triall of deuotion, he might haue bene worthilie fortified in earth by such a patrone and tutor in all his affaires and necessities that soeuer.

The answer of the king to the patriarch.

Chap. 29.

Daie for answer herof being appointed at last by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common sort, by the admonishments of the patriarch, as the sermons of Baldwin the archbishop were crossed to the seruice of Christ. At the last the patriarch receiued this answer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defense and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond sea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he sent thither, to be reserued for him, and more also for the defense of the holie land. To whom the patriarch answered by following this aduise. Oh king you do nothing: and by this meanes you shall neither saue your selfe, nor reserue Christes patrimonie. We come to seeke a prince, and not monie. Euery part of the world almost sendeth vs monie, but none sendeth vs a prince. Therefore we desire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man. But, when the patriarch could get no other answer of the king, he taketh an other deuise: he desireth him to giue to their aid one of his sonnes, and if none other, yet his yongest sonne John, that the bloud descending from the Ancestres might in a new branch raise vp the kingdom.

This was the saying of the patriarch.

John himselfe, albeit he was readie to passe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (prostrating himselfe at his fathers feet) desired (as they saie) that he might be sent to Jerusalem, but he obtained it not. So the patriarch seeing he could do nothing, and draw no oile out of the hard stone, he spake thus against the king, in the audience of manie, with a threatfull and propheticall spirit. Oh glorious king, thou hast reigned hitherto among the princes of the world with incomparable glorie, and your princelie honour hath hitherto daile increased to the type of highnesse. But now doubtlesse is this triall being forsaken of God, whom you forsake, and destitute of all heauenlie grace. From henceforth shall your glorie be turned into sorrow, and your honor to reproch so long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this threat by penance, like the king of Persie, and had caused this sentence to be altered!

f. j.

Ths

The holie man spake this thing thise, first at London, then at Dover, and lastlie at Chynon castell beyond the sea. And I would to God the patriarch had bene a man without that propheticall spirit, & had rather spoken a lesing, that we may see more euidence touch such things byelie as were before spoken by that true forespeaker, which we saw shortly to take effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and five yeares, thirtie yeares were granted him for worlde glorie, expectation of his conuersion, & triall of his deuotion; but the last five yeares fell vpon him, as vpon an vngatefull, repobate, and abiect seruant, in reuengement, sorrow, & ignominie. For in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, immediatlie after the comming of the patriarch, his first enterpryse of sending his sonne John into Ireland, both the labour and cost was frustrate and lost. The thre and thirtith yeare, whereas he neuer lost land before, he lost to king Philip (being but a child) almost all Anjou. The foure and thirtith yeare he lost the castell Kader, and welnere all Berie. The five and thirtith yeare of his reigne, and the fourth yeare after the comming of the patriarch, not onelie king Philip of France, but his son Richard of Poitiers rising against him, he lost the cities of Towzes and Spaine, with manie castles, and himselfe also; according to that in saint Gregorie: Those that the Lord hath long forbore, that they might be conuerted, if they do not conuert, he condemneth them the more greuouslie.

The croising of kings.

Chap. 30.

Wat perchance the king was reserued by heauenlie disposition to the victorie of deserved loue. How much greater is it to repaire things cast downe, than to vnderprop things likelie to fall? And who had knowne Hector, if Troie had continued in prosperitie? By so much as aduersitie is more instant and byged, by so much the glorie of valiantnesse will shine the brighter. For by the secret iudgement of God, within two yeares after the victorie was giuen to the pagans and Barthians, against the christians, either to reuenge the cold deuotion of the east church, or to trie the deuout obedience of the westerne men; the worthy Richard earle of Poitiers hearing this ouerthrow, toke deuoutlie the crosse vpon him at Towzes, giuing an example to other princes in that matter. Wherevpon the king of England, the earles father, and Philip king of France, who had bin before at variance (with Gods grace, and the archbishop of Towzes persuation) in that place and that houre, at their conference at Gisors were croised, with manie other great men of the clergie and laitie. And as kings folowed the example of the erle, so after their example the emperour Frederike, through the persuation of the duke of Alba, with manie states of Almane were croised in the lords court at Spentz. So as it is thought, the king of England being reserued more than all other to the restoring of the decayed state of the holie land, if he had finished his life in this victorie; doubtlesse that famous prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius had bene verified in him. His beginning (saith he) shall wauer with wild affections, and his end shall mount to heauen.

A prophesie of Merlin touching the king

The discord of the kings.

Chap. 31.

Sudden discord rose betwene the kings and that (which was worse) betwene the father and the earle, through the working of the old enemie, & their sinnes deserving the same,

to the great hinderance of their noble enterpryse: as though they bring vnfit for it, the honoz thereof was reserued for other; or perchance according to the sentence of Gregorie: Aduersitie, which is obiected against god bolues, is a triall of vertue, and not a signe of disprize. Who is ignorant how happie a thing it was that Paule was dynen into Italie, and yet he suffered shipwacker? But the ship of his heart was safe among the surges of the sea. Likewise therefore as vertue is perfected in infirmitie, and gold tried in the fire: so the constancie of faith that cannot be crazed with tribulations, doth increase more as sinapis; and the courage of the mind is more valiant againe than troublous assaulls of fortune. How much rather would I, that these kings accompanied with a few men acceptable to God, had taken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious iourneie, than to war proud for the great wealth that they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read ouer the whole bible, and consider these latter times, and you shall find, that victorie hath bene gained, not with force and humane power, but with Gods grace and stroe of vertues. For as Cassiodorus saith: An armed people without the Lord is vnarmed. And as Seneca saith, Not the number of the people, but the vertue of a few get the victorie. Of the foure before named, the emperour Frederike, albeit he was the last croised, yet in the execution thereof he was the first: whome therefore I account so much the more worthy of victorie in heauen, and glorie in earth, that he forsaking large kingdomes and his empire, belaid not out the matter.

A vision and exposition thereof.

Chap. 32.

Before I thought it not inconuenient to set downe a vision, which he that hideth much from wisemen & reuealeth it to babes visited me withall, being a most simple and vble wretch. In the miserie of this time, in that ciuill and detestable discord betwene the king and the erle of Poitiers, I being with the king at Chynon castell the leuenth ides of Maie: at night in my slepe about the cocke crowing, me thought I saw a great multitude of men looking vp into heauen, and as it were wondering at somewhat. So I lifting vp mine eyes to see what the same was, I saw a bright light breake out betwene the thickenesse of the clouds, and the clouds being incontinentlie seuered asunder, and the lower heauen as it were being opened, and the sight of mine eyes pearling through that window to the empyreall heauen, there appeared the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as it were to be spoiled, all kinds of munition being bent against it. You might haue seene there a head cut from one, an arme from another, and some stricken through with arrowes, some with lances, and some with swords. And when manie of the beholders either for the brightnes, or terror, or pitie, had fallen flat on their faces: me thought that I (to see the end of the matter) did view it longer than the rest. So they hauing gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the bloudie flanes fell vpon the prince of the heauenlie orders, sitting in his throne as he was wont to be pictured, and drawing him from the throne on the right hand, hauing his breast naked, they thrust him through the right side with their lances, and immediatlie there folloved a terrible voice in this manner, Woch, woch, Wholi-ghost! But whether it came from heauen, or was uttered by the people beneath, I can not tell; and so the terror of this voice & the vision awakened me.

A strange vision.

I call him here to witnesse, to whome all things are apparant and manifest, that immediatlie as I sat in my bed, & revolved these things in my mind, I was in so great an horroz both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared least I should have fallen besides my selfe. But recouring devoutlie to the onlie refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse estones, & fortifying my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without sleepe, & so through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember that vision without horroz. What may be more terrible to a creature than to see his creator smitten through with weapons? What man without græfe can abide to see the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murdered? Who can behold the Lord of nature to suffer, & doth not suffer therewith? What this vision portendeth, without presudice to anie I will shew brieflie. He that suffered once in his owne person for all, & with vs to understand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right hand of his father, hath victoriously entered his kingdome; his enemies now go about to depriue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered vnto him by the shedding of his blood. Therefore, as I do suppose, this passion did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie: as though the crosse now being taken auaie, his enemies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on the crosse. Else that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with his blood. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his susteined, not in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great græfe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane tong, is a signe of græfe doubled. And where that woofull mourning voice began in the Germane tong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onelie the Almains and the Italians take this the affliction of their Lord more grienouslie than other nations, as their hasting declareth. God forbid that the passion or lamentation be here understood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in this expedition.

The meaning
of the foresaid
vision.

A strange
vision.

The memorable euents of our time.

Chap. 33.

Thinke it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euents in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the detainers of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephue of Henrie by his daughter Matilda: as well the death of the worthie knight Constans the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewes the French king: as of his mother quene Matilda the countesse of Wallogne. When the concord adoption made betwene king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the marriage of quene Elianor, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatlie, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The assiege of the castell of Bingenorth vpon Seuerne, and the compulsion of the worthie knight Hugh Mortimer to the terrible example of all. What ne-

deh manie words: To confound the mightie, and to make euen the rugged, there were prosperous successes. And as destruction fell vpon the detainers of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the bycheyen, as also of the sons.

The subduing of prince Dene at Colshull in Northwales in a woddie streit, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Tholouse, albeit it was vnprofitable. An altercation & warre betwene the king of England and Lewes of France, through the dotting of both parts. The yielding vp of prince Robt by the means of his vnckle Dene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The vniwillig & wrested confession onelie by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning armates: when that prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius seemed to be fulfilled; The bolis tongs shall be cut out. The inturions crying out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & mainteining the rights of the crucifix, and the priue departure of him to exile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Caken, & chancelloz to the emperoz, from the said emperoz to the king of England: who was an effectuous persuader of marriage to be had betwene Henrie the emperors nephue duke of Saronic and Bauier, and Matilda the kings eldest daughter: he moued also, but in vaine, to set cleare the Almains schisme. Not long after the publike perurie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the fe of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinentlie the countie Gunceline, and other states of Saronic came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

A prophesie
of Merlin
fulfilled.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Yorke, to the presudice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obtained the kings daughter Elianor, to be married vnto Ansaldo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Dornicus (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephans, & earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of Oswestrie in Powes, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hurtfull dismembzing, of the pledges, and great slaughter of his enemies. The martyrdome of Thomas. The often shining miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings blood at Winchester. The viage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father. The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquite of the death of the marty. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thence into Normandie; with an appealing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the yong king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the citill and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Petrie Leon cardinall of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a counsell vnder him of all the cleergie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of supremacie betwene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Yorke: but the allegations on both sides with fits and faines brake it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diasterus elect of Croia, and earle Floxus, came from William king of Sicill, to haue marriage betwene him and Joane the kings yonger daughter.

"Albimona"
scrip.

Jf. li.

The

The ambassadoys of the kings of Spaine, Castile, and Navar, came into England: who as concerning lands and castles (whereof they contended) promised altogether to stand unto the king of England arbitrement. Wherefore the king assembling at London all the lawyers & wise men in the land of both orders; when the cause was proposed, and the allegations heard on both sides, by famous advocates; among whom, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Navar, excelled in eloquence: the king using wise counsell, and intending to end the contention by transaction, that giving somewhat from one, and keeping somewhat from an other, he would hurt neither partie much. But as he was appointed iudge by both, so he was careful for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a transaction, and ingrossing it in writing, he wote the iudiciall examination for a promise; That if either part refused to stand to his arbitrement, the definitive strife might be decreed by sentence. The coming of Lewis king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe deuoutlie, whom he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup pretious both for matter & substance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while prostrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right side hole of the marble stone that standeth thereby; at last, rising from his prayer (that he might confirme the memorie of his pilgrimage with everlasting record) in the presence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbishop of the see, the prior of the couent, and other men of state, he gaue pearlelie vnto Canturburie abbey an hundred tuns of wine.

The second defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Cestreie, with the sudden death of the yonger king at Sparcels. The coming on pilgrimage of Godfride archbishop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders vnto Canturburie. The death of earle Cestreie. The coming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the sailing of earle John into Ireland. Almost all things as they be here set in order, chanced in our time, in no great distance betwene, in and about the space of thre and thirtie yeares. How glorious had all these things bene, if they had led to a good end! Which surely would haue hapned, if he setting other things aside, had followed Christ, when he was called, of whom he receiued all these benefits; and had spent the last five yeares reigne in his seruice. But these things being before rehearsed by the way, let vs returne to the historie.

The recapitulation of fundrie acts,
and of the comming of John the kings
sonne to Ireland, with his
successe there.

Chap. 34.

NOW omitting the building of three castles, one at Tipperarie, the other at Arghylin, & the third at Lismore, after the coming of earle John, & speaking nothing of the euill fortune of thre worthy yong men; Robert Barrie at Lismore, Keimond Fitzhugh at Dethan, and Keimond Cantinensis at Dozonia. Of part of the garrison of Arghylin slaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midsummer daie, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defense. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Ograine slaine at Tipperarie. Of them of Arghylin slaine againe by those of Limerike in taking of a prete,

Of Dermuctus Mac Arthie prince of Desmond, with others slaine in a parlee nere Corke by them of Corke, and the garrison of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the slaughter of them of Kencelon, with their prince inuading Meth by the men there of, & William Little, and one hundred of their heads sent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Brigid, & Columbe at Dundallie, & the translation from thence by the procurement of John de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Lacie at Dornach, through the treason of his owne Irishmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights vnder John de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable slaughter of Roger Bolowe, and manie others in Osserie: and thorough that occasion, the private conspiracie of all Ireland against the Englishmen, manie castles being therewith destroyed. All which things are not vniuersally to be recorded, when the dominion was translated to the kings son. But assigning these doings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and therefore this first enterprize of the kings son had no good successe I thought good to declare briefly: that this small addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is past) yet it may be a caueat for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more absolute forme, pag. 53. which being delivered out of sundrie copies, doo perfect one another.]

When all things mete and necessarie for so great a iournie or voyage were at the king his commandement and charges made readie; then John the kings yonger sonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was sent ouer; and in the Lent time (1) he toke leaue of his father, and as he travelled towards saint Dauids to take shipping, he passed and rode along by the sea coasts of Southwals, and so came to (2) Penbroke. Where brought and accompanied him vnto the ship a noble and a worthy man named Keimulfe Glanville, one of the king his most private counsell in all weightie matters, as also chiefe iustice of England. And on wednesdaye in the Easter weeke, the wind being at east and blowing a good gale, he toke ship in Milford hauen, but for half he left to do his deuotion and oblation at saint Dauids, which was but an euill halloving: nevertheless on the next morrow about nonetide he arrived in safetie vnto Waterford with all his companye, which were about thre hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horsemen, and others a great number. Then was fulfilled the vaticine or prophesie of old Merlin: A burning globe shall rise out of the east, & shall compasse about the land of Ireland, and all the soules of that land shall see round about the fire. And hauing spoken these words of the father, he continueth his speech, and thus speaketh of his sonne: And of this fire shall rise a sparkle, for feare of which all the inhabiteurs of the land shall tremble and be afraid: and yet he that is absent shall be more esteemed than he that is present, and better shall be the successe of the first than of the second.

John at this his first arriuall into Ireland was of the age of 12 yerres, which was from the first arriuall of his father thirtene yeares, of the landing of the earle Strangbow foureteene yeares, and from the first entrance of Robert Fitzstephens fiftene yeares, and the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and siue, Lucius then Romaine bishop, Frederike the empero, and Philip the French king. There passed ouer with the king in the same fleet manie good clerks, among whom (3) one was speciallie commended vnto this yong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent searcher of naturall histories,

Page.

The ancient
house of the
Carwys.

Prophecies
of Merlin
fulfilled.

hystories, as also had bæne before two yeares in the same land, and there collected sundrie notes, and sufficient matter as well for his hystorie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as leisure served him) digest and set in good order of a booke, the same being his labor of thre yeres. A trauell to him painefull, but to his posteritie profitable, although much misliked and envied at by such as then were living: the one liked it well, but the other dispraised it; the one reaped a benefit and commoditie, but the other of a secret malice maligning the same, fretted in his humour, and was grauelled in his owne follie.

(1) The first dosage of the king his sonne, being then but a child of twelue yeres of age: the English chronicles do make small mention thereof. But such as do write thereof, do report that the king brought his sonne as farre as Glocester on this isle: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degree of knighthood, sent him on his iourne.

The ancient house of the Carwys.

(2) Penbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Pontgome. rie the ancestor of the Carews; whose names are Pontgomeries, & lieth in Westwales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Penbroke. Shire. It standeth upon a cræke of Milford haven, about two miles from the castell Carew: of which castell the Pontgomeries builded, and there dwelling toke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie doth yet retaine. In this towne of Penbroke standeth a goodlie and a strong castell, which hath bæne in times past the seat and house of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Penbroke. In this was king Henrie the seventh bozne. It is now in great ruine and in decaye.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrensis the author of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his works) was learned and much given to studie. He was archdeacon of saint Davids, and descended from Girald of Windsor, and the ladie Bessa his wife, for he was the son of Maurice, and the sonne of the foresaid Girald and Bessa: and so this Girald of Windsor was his Proauus or great grandfather.

The praise and commendation as also the excuse of Robert Fitzstephans and the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 35.

Robert Fitzstephans was the first who taught and shewed the waie to the earle, the earle to the king, and the king to his sonne. Great praise-worthie was he that gaue the first aduenture, and much was he to be commended who next followed and increased the same: but about all others he deserved best, who fulfilled, absolued, and ended the same. And here is to be noted, that albeit both Fitzstephans and the earle did helpe Dermon Mac Morogh to recover his countrie of Leinster, as also defended and kept the same from robbers, theues, & enemies: yet they did it in diuerse respects. The one in respect of his faith and promise, the other for loue of Gwa, & of the (1) inheritance, which by his should grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conquests of sundrie territories as well in Desmond as in Meth, I can not excuse them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinster, the first part of portion of Ireland, surrendered and yielded up all

his right and title there vnto the king himselfe, and toke it againe to hold of him. The like also did all the princes of the land. Whereby as also by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the English nation entred not into this land by wrong and iniurie, (as some men suppose and deame) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The course of this hystorie in the beginning doth plainelie declare, how that Dermon after his departure from the king came to the citie of Bristol, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Cheshire, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinster: conditionallie that he would passe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recover his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards being at saint Davids for passage, there he met with Robert Fitzstephans, & did condition with him, that if he would passe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Waterford with certeine cantreds thereunto adjoining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in respect of his promise did passe ouer into that land and realme.

The causes of lets whiche this conquest could not nor had his full perfection.

Chap. 36.

Happie and for euer happie had Ireland bæne, which being valliantlie conquered, well replenished with towines, and fortified with castels from sea to sea of the first (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue established a good order and gouernment, had not they through the secret malice and treacherie of some men bæne called stwaie and sent from home. Vea happie had it bæne, if the first conquerors (being noble and valliant men) might according to their deserts haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the first comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrows, and afraid of our force, they were then easie to be reclaimed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delating of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reason that the best seruitors being called home from thence, new rulers toke too much ease, and liued in too much securitie; nothing was done to anie purpose: and therevpon the people of that countrie toke hart of grace, and practised our manners in shooting and the vse of our weapons: and by little and little they became so well expert and skillfull therein, that whereas at the first they were easie to be overcome, were now strong and hardie, and not onlie able to resist, but also readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the causes herof who so listeth to search, shall easilie find out the same: for if you will read ouer the bookes of the kings & prophets, examine the course of the old testament, and well consider the examples of these our latter daies; you shall find it most certaine and true, that no nation, no state, no citie, nor common-wealth was euer ouerthrowne by the enimie, nor overcome by the aduersarie but onelie for sinne and wickednesse. And albeit the Irish people and nation for their sinfull and abhominable life did well deserue to be overthrowne and ouertun by strangers; yet was it not Gods will and pleasure that they should utterlie be brought into subietion: neither was it his good will & pleasure that the Englishmen, though they had brought some of them into subiecti-

Shin the cause of overthrowes by the enimie.

Jf. 19. on,

Prophecies of Merlin fulfilled.

The foure
Irish pro-
phets.

on, yet they should not therefore haue the whole em-
pire and entire soueraintie ouer them: for both were
sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods
hand, but deserued to be seuerlie punished, and ther-
fore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and
had the ouer hand) could yet obtaine a seat (2) in Pal-
las castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & brought
into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to
haue the foure men whome they account to be great
prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration
and credit (2) Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Co-
lunkill, whose books and prophesies they haue among
themselves in their owne language, and all they in-
treating and speaking of the conquest of this land,
do affirme that the same shall be assailed with offen
warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaugh-
ters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant
any perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation
(4) not much before dooms date. And albeit the whole
land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most
part bene in the power of the Englishmen, and by
them fortified and replenished with sundrie and ma-
nie castells, though sometimes to their perilles and
smartes: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall
make the absolute and finall conquest, shall come
from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Pa-
trike, and vpon a sundate at night shall with force
breahe into a castell builded in the fastnesse of Dha-
lie: and vntill that time the English nation shall
from time to time be in continuall troubles with the
Irish, sauing that they shall hold and intole the
whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the
seas.

(1) The course of this historie doth at full de-
clare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were
maligne, & as much as might be descredited. First
Robert Fitzstephan, whose seruice was counted no-
table, and his fidelitie to his prince and king trustie
and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure,
was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe,
yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had
him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two
yeares in his warres: and although he were againe
afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not
in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow
although he came ouer with the king his special li-
cence, yet his good successe was so enuid at, that the
king made proclamation, that all his subiects be-
ing in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come
home; and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie re-
leefe should be transported out of anie of his domini-
ons into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards
were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yeld
vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vnto
the kings deuotion, & to receiue the same againe
to be holden of the king. Keimond who could not be
charged, nor spotted with anie vntruth: yet the trea-
cherous Herute with his false informations so in-
ueigled and falselie informed the king against him,
that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie
gouernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie
saith) was the first that made waie into Ulster, who
fortified the prouince of Leinster and Meth with ma-
nie strong holds & castells, and brought all the coun-
trie to a peaceable state; he was suspected to haue
meant the impozition of the whole land to his
owne vse, and was disinised of his charge and go-
uernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu
of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Phi-
lip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value at
all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape
by treasure and riches.

(2) Pallas was the daughter of Iupiter, who for

her excellent gift in inuention, is said and fained by
the poets to be bozne of the bzaine of Iupiter with-
out anie mother, she inuented the order of warres,
and deuised the maner of fightings, she maketh men
to be bold, and giueth the victorie. And because Eng-
lishmen could not obtaine a full and a perfect victo-
rie: therefore they were said not to sit in Pallas
castell.

(2) There were two Merlin, and both were pro-
phesiers: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonus*, or
Syluester; because his dwelling and habitation was
nere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was bozne in
the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellen-
tie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledge of
all naturall causes; and by diligent obseruations he
would gesse maruellouslie at the euents of manie
things. Wherevpon he was taken for a prophet, and
reputed for a magician or a diuino. He was in
the time of king Arthur, about the yeare five hun-
dred and threescore, and of this Merlin it is spoken
in this historie. The other Merlin was before this
man and in the time of Hoxtiger: about the yeare of
our Lord foure hundred and threescore, and he was
named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie
well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike;
but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that no-
thing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them be-
fore the euent.

(4) Much adoe there hath bene, and manie books
written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so
manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would
haue the truth plainelie told, it is some to be seene
how the verie cause proceedeth and is continued for
want of a generall reformation. But Pluto hath lo-
blinded mens eyes, that seeing they can not nor will
not see: but hereof I shall moze at large write in an
other place.

A breefe repetition of certeine things
done within the course of the historie
that are omitted.

Chap. 37.

Here by the waie it were not amisse brief-
lie to touch & declare of certeine things which
happened, & which (for certeine causes) are not
at full discoursed in this storie, as we tolled
that we might haue had the oportunitie so to haue
done. First therefore you shall vnderstand, that John
the kings sonne at his first comming ouer builded
thre castells, one at Tribach, an other at Archo-
phinan, and the third at Lisemoze. Likewise thre
worthie gentlemen were lost and killed: namelie,
Robert Bartie at Lisemoze, Keimond Fitzbugh at
Dlithan, and Keimond Kantune at Dhozie. Also
how Donald the prince of Limerike secretlie stole
vpon the earles armie in Dhozie, as they were com-
ming from Dublin towards Limerike, and slue
foure hundred Dromans, and foure noble gentle-
men, which were their capteines; among whom was
Ogrante an Irishman. And also Dermond Mac
Artie prince of Desmond, being at parlee with cer-
teine men of Corke not farre from the said towne,
was there set vpon by the said Corkemen & (1) Theo-
bald Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part
of his companie slaine. The like happened in Meth,
where they of Kencole & their capteine made a rode,
and being set vpon by one William the iustice of
that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of
their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreover John de
Courcie found the bodies of saint Patrike, saint
Bridgid, and saint Colome at Delyne, and removed
them from thence. Hugh de Lacie builded his castell
at

at Drogheda, was there traitorously slain. John de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh lost sighte of his best gentlemen. Roger le Poivre a valiant, and a lustie young gentleman, was by treason taken and murdered in Drogheda, whereupon the Irishmen forthwith brake out from their due obedience to the king of England, and rebelled against the Englishmen, destroyed manie castles, and set the whole realme in a great sturre and inquietnesse. Other sundrie things happened which were too long to recite: and therefore leaving the same, we will returne to our historie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the sonne of Walter the sonne of Gilbert: & was the first Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wise and an expert man, was first sent with William Fitzaldelme. Afterwards he was sent over by king John to view and serch the countrie; and in the end he grew into such credit, that he was infeoffed with great linings there, as also advanced (and his posteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Desmond and Ossorie.

The causes why England could not
make the full and finall conquest
of Ireland.

Chap. 38.

IT were not amisse, that we now did consider the causes, and declare the impediments, why the kings sonne had not the best successe in this his so honourable a tourne, and wherefore his so famous attempt toke not effect: that albeit the same can not reuoke and remedie that which is past and done, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie follow and insue. The principall and chiefe cause I suppose and thinke to be, because that whereas the patriarch of Jerusalem named Heraclius came in an ambassage unto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Palestine called the holie land, requesting that he would take vpon him to be their helpe, and defending the same against the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damasco: who hauing bent his whole force against them, was like within two yeares following utterly to be ouerrun, the said holie land, unless some rescue in the meane time and with expedition were provided: he utterly denied and refused the same. And being further urged to send one of his sonnes, although it were the yongest: he denied that also: making no account neither of the cause it selfe, which was Christ; nor of the people, which were Christians: neither yet of the person, which was a reuerend and honourable personage.

And yet neuertheless he sent forth his yonger sonne in a tourne of holling, more sumptuous than are needfull or profitable: And whether I praise you: Was it into the east and against the Saracens and miscreants? No, no, it was into the west, & against his euen christian, nothing lacking the advancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cause, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and singular commoditie. An other cause was this. At the first landing and entrie of the kings sonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefe of the Irishmen in those parties, and who since their first submission to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertised of this his arrivall, did come and resort vnto him in peaceable manner, and after their best order to salute him, and congratulate his comming. But

our new men & Normans, who had not before bene in those parties, making small account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to scorne for the manner of their apparell, as also for their long beards and great glibes, which they did then weare and vse according to the vse of their countrie: but also they did hardlie deale and ill intreat manie of them. These men nothing liking such intertainment shifted themselves out of the towne, & with all hast fled themselves home: either one into his owne house; & from thence they with their wiues, children, and household, departed and went some to the prince of Limerike, some to the prince of Corke, some to Rothome prince of Connagh, and some to one lord, and some to an other: and to these they declared orderlie how they had bene at Waterford, and what they had sene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a young man was come thither garded with young men, and guided by the counsels of young men: in whom there was no staie, no sobrietie, no steadfastnesse, no assurednesse, whereby they and their countrie might be assured of anie safetie.

These princes and namelie they three of Connagh, Corke, and Limerike, who were the chiefe, and who were then preparing themselves in a readinesse to haue come and saluted the kings sonne, and to haue yielded vnto him the dutifull obedience of faithfull subiects: when they heard these newes, they began straightwaies to imagine, that of such euill beginnings whose endings would insue: and reasoning the matter among themselves, did conclude, that if they thus at the first did deale so discourteouslie with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: that would they do to such as were mightie and stout, and who would be loth to receiue such discourtesies at their hands: Wherefore with one consent they concluded to stand and iointe together against the English nation, and to their uttermost to aduenture their liues, and to stand to the defense of their countrie and libertie. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themselves, and swore each one to the other, and by that means enemies before are now made friends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we speake it, and that which we saw we do boldlie witnesse. And for so much as we thus sandle and in our pride did abuse them, who in humblenesse came vnto vs: therefore did we well deserue by Gods iust iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to lose the others, for by this example they were utterly discouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what appertineth vnto honour: yet most and aboue all others do they desire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not ashamed to be found false of their word, and vnjust in their dealings: yet will they greatlie commend lieng and commend trusty, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themselves. But to the matter. What great evils and inconueniences do grow by such follies and insolencies, a wise man may some learne by the example of Rehoboam the sonne of Salomon, & so by an other mans harms learne to beware of his owne. (2) For he being leade and carried by young mens counsels, gaue a young mans answer vnto his people, saying vnto them; My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will scourge you with scorpions, by reason whereof ten tribes forsooke him for euer, and followed after Jeroboam. Another cause is this, when Robert Fitzstephan came first over, and also the earle; there were certaine Irishmen which toke part with them, and faithfullie serued brider them: and these were rewarded and had given vnto them for recompense certaine

The incon-
niences fol-
lowing euill
government.

lands, which they quietly held and indied, until this time of the coming ouer of the king his sonne: for now the same were taken from them, and giuen to such as were new come ouer, contrarie to the promise & grant to them before made. Whereupon they tooke vs and fled to our enemies, and became not onelie spies vpon vs, but were also guides and conductors of them against vs: they being so much the more able to hurt and annoy vs, because they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and secrets. Besides this, the cities and townes vpon and neere the seacoasts, with all such lands, reuenues, tributes, and commodities as to the same did belong and appertene, and which before was imploied and spent for the defense of the commonwealth & countrie, and in the seruice against the enemies, were now all assigned and bestowed vpon such as were giuen to pilling and polling, and who late still within the townes, spending their whole time, and all that they had in drunkenness and surfetting, to the losse and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants, and not to the annoyance of the enemies. And besides sundrie other commodities, this was one, and a speciall one; that at the verie first entrie of the king his sonne into this vncle and rebellious land, the people being barbarous, and not knowing what it was to be a subject, nor what appertained to government, such men were appointed to haue the charge, rule and gouernement, as who were more meet to talke in a parlor than to fight in the fields, better skill to be clad in a warme gowne than to be shrowded in armor, and who knew better how to pill and poll the good subjects than to resist and incounter the enemy: yea for their valiantnesse and prowesse they might well be resembled vnto William Fitzalbine, vnder whose gouernement both Ireland and Wales were almost vtterlie destroyed & lost. For while they were neither faithfull to their owne people nor deadly fall to their enemies; yea they were vtterlie void of that affect, which is naturallie ingrafted in man, which is to be pittifull to the humble and prostrate, and to resist the proud and obstinate; but rather of the contrarie, they spoiled their owne citizens, and winked at their enemies: for to resist and withstand them nothing was done, no castles nor fortresses builded, no passes for safetie made, no waies for seruice opened, but all things went to ruine, and the common state to wacke. Moreover, the seruicemen and the soldiers which were in garrison, they liking well of their captains and masters maners and loose life, gaue themselves to the like, spending their whole time in rioting, banqueting, whozesome, and all other dissolute and wanton orders, farrieng still within the townes and places far off from the enemies. For as for the marches (so called because the same bordered vpon their enemies; or rather of spars, because in those places martiall affaires were and are wont to be most exercised) they would not come neere the sight thereof, and by that means the people there dwelling and seated, the soles there manured, the castles there builded, were altogether destroyed, wasted, spoiled, and burned. And thus the prowesse of the old captains, the good seruices of the veterans & well experimented soldiers by the insolent, disemperat, and lewd life of these new comes was discredited: whereof was nothing else to be awaited for, but after such calmes must needs insue stormes and tempests. And albeit they thus lieng in the townes in securitie and at rest, wallowing in lose and wanton life, euerie daie being a holie daie to Bacchus and Venus: yet the state of the land at large was most miserable and lamentable. For euerie where was howling and weeping, the manured fields became waste, the castles destroyed, and the people

murdered, and no newes but that the vtter destruction of the whole land was at hand. And in this distresse and necessitie, it had bene verie requisite and needfull that the souldiers should haue taken vp their weapons, serued against the enemy, and haue defended the common state: but it was farre otherwise, for there was such lawing & veration in the townes, one daile suing and troubling another, that the veterane was more troubled with lawing within the towne, than he was in perill at large with the enemy. And thus our mercenary ouer to this trade and kind of life, became fainthearted, and afraid to looke vpon the enemy: and on the contrarie the enemy most strong, stout, and bold. Thus was the land then gouerned, and thus the same passed towards the destruction of the English nation and gouernment, which had doubtlesse verie shortly followed and ensued, had not the king provided a speedie remedie for the same. For the king being aduertised how disorderlie things framed, and considering with himselfe in what perill the state of his realme and people stood, he with all speed sendeth for all these new come souldiers, in whom (other than the name of a souldier was nothing of ante value and commendation) and commandeth them to repaire and come home, and sendeth ouer in their places these old beaten and well tried souldiers, by whose seruice the land before had bene conquered and kept among whom one and the chiefe was John de Courcie, who was made lord deputie, and had the gouernment of the land committed vnto him: who, according to his office and dutie, setteth in hand the reformation of all things meet and requisite to be redressed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his said affaires and seruices, the more the land grew to good order, and insioied peace & quietnesse. For while he would not be idle himselfe, neither would he suffer his souldiers to lie idle like loiterers and sluggards: but was alwaies labouring and traouelling abroad, and marching still towards the enemies, whom he followed and pursued euen through the whole land, to the vttermost parts thereof, as well in Conke, Thomond, Connagh, and elsewhere; and if by any means he could haue ante aduantage of them, he would fuerlie giue the onset and aduenture vpon them: which for the most part was to their ouerthrowe, though he and his sometimes were galled, and felt the smart. And would to God he had bene as prudent a captain as he was a valiant souldier; and as prouident in the one as skilfull and hardie in the other! But to my former purpose. Among the manie and sundrie inconueniences happened by euill gouernment of these new officers (as is before said) there was none greater, nor more to be lamented than was this: that notwithstanding God of his goodnesse did giue the victorie, and send the happie successe in this noble conquest: yet was there neither due thanks attributed vnto God, nor any remembrance giuen vnto his church; but to increase a further ingratitude, they tooke and spoiled auaile from the same their lands and possessions, as also minded to abridge them of their old and ancient priuileges & liberties. To great a note of ingratitude, and an argument of too much vnthankfulness: whereof that vniquietnesse and troubles did insue, the sequence therof (for the course of sundrie years) did shew and declare.

So manie outrages & disorders, which did creepe in by the disordered gouernement vnder the king his sonne, were not so much to be imputed to his young and tender yeares, as vnto the euill counsels and directions of such as were about him, and had the speciall charge thereof: for such a sauage, rude, and barbarous nation was by good counsels, discret directions

Lawing
swayle than
sparing.

The Stral-
dons! could
you see that
curried fault
and abuse?

ations and prudent gouvernement to haue bene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformitie. For whie, if a realme which by wise and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also lewd and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wise men doe knowe it, and the elder sort doe confesse it to be true; although young men to couer their folies, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselves great liuings, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be readie to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enimie, and that they would doe this and that with manie god morowes. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they sought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gainne & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obtained that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and defence of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chieselie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people euen from the beginning haue bene alwaies of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie in their bodies: their beards and heads they neuer wash, clense, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire thereof they suffer to growe, sauing that some doe vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembered, it groweth fast together, and in procelle of time it matted so thicke and fast together, that it is in stead of a hat, and kepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelue chapter, and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect thereof is, that after the death of Salomon the people of Israell requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the grieuous burdens and heauie yoke which his father laied vpon them, who leauing the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of young heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Wexford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they faithfullie serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Pozogh at Limerike, when the earle of Desmond recovered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Irishmen, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Doreen, and had a seat there by the gift of the Kenaughts, but since resisting against them and denieng to paie their accustomed cheuerie, persuaded themselves vnto the earle of Doreen, passing vnto him a certaine blacke rent to be their defendour against the said Kenaughts, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Doreen.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentieth chapter in the description of this John de Curcie, where his too much ragness is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher, or Ecclesiastes: Who be vnto thee O thou land whose king is but a child. Which is not meant absolutelie of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and

is void of that grauitie, wisdom, and maiestie as is required in a prince and gouernour. For Josias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet because he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land goodlie and vprightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

Three sorts of people which came and serued in Ireland.

Chap. 39.

There were three sundrie sorts of seruitors which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Pozmans, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were next, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Pozmans were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not feed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or anie remote place against the enimie, neither would they lie in garrison to keepe anie remote castell or fort, but would be still about their lords side to serue and gard his person; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, sweare and stare, and standing in their owne reputation, disdaine all others. They receiued great intertainment and were liberallie rewarded, and lest no meanes brought how they might rule the roste, beare the sway, and be aduanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and foremost, but to serue in hosting, to encounter with the enimie, to defend the publike state, & to followe anie martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And forasmuch as those noble and worthy seruitors, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdaine, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored: it came to passe that in all their doings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decayed, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they toke in hand.

The Pozmans fine in their apparell and delicate in their diet.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouernement the duchie of Poimandie, and the earledomes of Gascoigne, Guilen, Anion, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well inough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those provinces there subiect vnto him: for of them he chose both them which were of his counsell in peaceable gouernment, as also his seruitors in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euerie of these provinces some, yet because Poimandie was the chiefe, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Pozmans, and so called Pozmans.

How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.

Chap. 40.

It is an old saying, that euerie man in his owne art is best of credit & most to be believed: so in this matter they are speciallie to be credited, who haue bene the chiefe travellers and seruitors in and about the first recoverye

Lauing
swore than
swearing.

The Girat:
dus! could
you see that
curled fault
and abuse

Great ods
betweene the
warres in
France and
Ireland &
Wales.

uerie of this land, do know and can best discouer the
natures, manners, and conditions of these people
and nation: for as the matter speciallie toucheth
them, so none can do it better than they. For whie, by
reason of their continuall warres with them being
their most mortall enemies, none can better saie
than they how they are either to be conquered or
vanquished. And here by the waie happie had Wales
bin, I meane that Wales which the English people
do inhabit, if the king therof in governing the same
or when he incountred with his enemies had vied
this deuise & policie. But to the matter. These For-
mans although they were verie good souldiers and
well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in
France far differeth from that which is vied in Ire-
land and Wales; for the soile & countrie in France
is plaine, open, & champaine; but in these parts it is
rough, rockie, full of hills, woods, & bogs. In France
they weare complet harness, and are armed at all
points, not onelie for their honor, but especiallie for
their defense and safeties; but to these men the same
are combersome & a great hinderance. In France
they keepe standing fields & trie the battels, but these
men are light horsemen & range alwaies at large.
In France they keepe their prisoners and put them
to ransomes, but these chop off their heads and put
them to the sword. And therefore when the battell is
to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine coun-
trie, it behoueth all men to be armed, some in com-
plet harness, some in iakes, some in Almaine ri-
uets, & some in brigandines & shirts of maille, accor-
ding to their places of seruice. So on the contrarie,
where the fight & trial is in narrow streits, rockie
places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which
footmen are to serue and not horsemen, there light
armoz and slender harness will best serue. To fight
therefore in such places and against such men, as be
but naked and unarmed men, and whome at the first
push and aduenture, either the victorie must be had
or lost, light and easie armoz is best and conuenient.
And againe these people are verie nimble & quicke
of bodie, and light of foot, and for their safetie and ad-
uantage they seeke waies through streits and bogs,
and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much
armoz to follow and pursue them. Moreover, the
Frenchmen and Formans most commonlie are
horsemen, and do serue on horsebacke, & these men
haue their saddles so great and deepe, that they can
not at ease leape by and downe; and being on foot by
reason of their armoz, they cannot serue nor trauell.
And you shall further vnderstand, that in all the ser-
uices and hostings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the
Welsh seruitors, and especiallie such as do dwell
in the marches, by reason of their continuall wars,
they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experien-
ces, they can endure ante paines and trauels, they
are vied to watchings and wardings, they can abide
hunger and thirst, and know how to take aduantage
of their enemy; and their seruice by horse is such, that
they are readie to take aduantage of the field, be-
ing quicke & readie to take and leape to the horse, as
also to leaue the same, & to follow the enemy at their
best aduantage, whether it be on horse or on foot. And
such kind of seruitors and souldiers were they, which
first gaue the aduenture and first predailed in Ire-
land: and by such also in the end must the same be
fullie conquered, that when the battell is to be fought
& waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and
against such as be thoughtlie armed and appointed
for the same, it is reason that the aduerser part be like-
wise armed and appointed. But when the matter
is to be waged in stepe places, rough fields, rockie
hills, or in marsh and boggy grounds, and against
such as be quicke of foot, and do like others to

tops of hills, or to bogs, and woods: then men of
the like exercise, and hauing light armour, are to
be allowed. And in the Irish wars this one thing
is to be considered, that you do in euerie wing toine
your horsemen with your footmen and horsemen,
that by them they may be defended from the enemies,
whose nature and conditions are to run in and out,
and with their darts are wont they would to annoy
their enemies, who by the horsemen are to be kept off.
And moreover, that the hisher part of the land lieng
on the east side, or part of the Shenin which diuiderh
the three other parts from this, and this being the
fourth part must be well fortified with castles and
forts: but as for Connagh & Thomond, which lie in
the further side of the Shenin, and all those parties
(sauiug the citie of Limerike which must needs be
recovered and kept in the English gouernement)
must for a time be bozied withall, and by little and
little by fortifying of the frontiers in meet places be
gotten and recovered, and so by little and little to
grow in vpon them as occasion shall serue.

How the Irish people being vanqui-
shed are to be gouerned.

Chap. 41.

If there be means and policies to be
used in conquering this people, who are now
more light in their bodies than inconstant in
mind: so when they are vanquished, they must
in an order be ruled and gouerned. First and princi-
pallie therefore it is to be considered, that whosoever
shall be gouernor ouer them; that he be wise, con-
stant, discret, and a staich man; that in time of peace,
and when they are contented to liue vnder law and in
obedience, they may be gouerned by law, directed by
right, and ruled by iustice; as also to be stout and va-
liant, ready and able with force seuerelie to punish
all such as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance)
shall either rebell and break out, or otherwise liue in
disordered manner. Moreover, when anie haue done
amisse, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and do
yet afterwards knowledg their follie, and yelding
themselves haue obtained pardon; that in no wise
you do afterwards entreat them, neither yet
laie their former faults to their charges, neither cast
them in the teeth of their folles: but hauing taken
such assurance of them as you may, to entreat them
with all courtesies and gentlenesse, that by such good
means they may the better be induced and encoura-
ged to keepe themselves within their dutie, for loue
of their good gouernement which they see: and yet be
afraid to do euill for feare of punishment, which they
are to receiue for their euill and lewd doings. And
if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but
confound their doings, being slacke to punish the e-
uill, and quicke to oppresse the good and obedient, to
flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to
spoil them in peace; to saue them in their treasons
and treacheries, and to oppresse them when they liue
in loialtie, as we haue seene manye so to haue done:
surelie these men so disorderlie confounding all
things, they in the end shall be confounded them-
selves. And because harms foresene do least annoy &
hurt, let them which be wise looke well, that in time of
peace they do prepare for the warres. For after the
gleason daies and calme seas do follow stormes and
tempests: and therefore, when they haue vacant
times and leisure, let them build and fortifie castles,
cut downe and open the passes, and do all such other
things as the nature of warres requirith to be pre-
pared. For this people being vncertaine, craftie,
and subtil, vnder colour of peace, are wont alwaies
to be studieng and deuising of mischiefes. And also bi-
cause

no better
examples.

The Lerne
disage in ban-
toll.

no better
examples than
examples.

The Lerne
bridge in bar-
rell.

cause it is good to be wise by another mans harme,
& warie by other mens examples. For nothing doth
better teach a man than examples, and the paterns
of things done afore time. Let not them forget what
became of these worthe men, Miles of Cogan,
Maſe Fitzstephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Poſore,
and others, who when they thought of least danger
they were in most perill: and when they thought
themselues in most safetie, they were intrapped and
deſtroied. For as we haue ſaid in our Topographie;
this people is a craftie and a ſubtile people, and more
to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open
warres: for their peace indeed is but enimitie, their
policies but craft, their friendships but coloured, and
therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by
experience the more in some part hath bene proued:
and therefore, as Euodius ſaith, Let the fall and ruine
of things paſt be forewarnings of things to come.

And because herein a man can not be too wise nor
warie, it were good that an order were taken (as it
is in Sicilia) that none of them should weare any
weapon at all, no not so much as a ſtaffe in their
hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon,
though it be but ſlender, they will (if they can) take
the auantage, and bewreake their malice and can-

kered ſtomachs. Finally, forſomuch as the kings of
England haue a iuſt title, and a full right to the land
of Ireland in ſundrie and diuerſe reſpects; and con-
ſidering alſo that the ſame is chieſlie maintained by
the intercoure and traffike of merchandizes out of
England; and without the ſame cannot releue and
helpe it ſelfe; it were verie expedient that for the ac-
knowledging of the one, and for the intoleng of the
other, as alſo for the ſupporting of the continuall
charges of the king of England there yearly be-
ſtowed: that there be a yearly tribute paid and an-
ſwered vnto the king of England, either in monie,
or in ſuch commodities as that land breedeth, as well
for the continuance of the title in memorie, as alſo
for the auoiding of manie inconueniences. And be-
cause time weareth ſtate, and men do daile periſh
and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of
the king and of his realme, and the memorie of this
conqueſt, the ſame be ingroſſed and regiſtered in a
publike inſtrument to indure for euer. And thus ha-
uing ſpoken that we know, and witneſſed what we
haue ſene, we doe here end this hiſtozie, leaving vn-
to others of better knowledge and learning, to con-
tinue the ſame as to them ſhall be thought moſt need-
full and conuenient.

Thus farre Giraldus Cambrenſis.



The proceſſe of Irish affaires (beginning where
Giraldus did end) vntill this preſent age, being a wit-
neſſe of ſundrie things as yet fresh in memorie: which
proceſſe from henceforward is intituled
the Chronicles of Ireland.



Leauing at the conqueſt of Ireland penned
by *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, we are now to pro-
ceed in that which followeth: wherein our
authour (as he himſelfe writeth) vſed ſuch
notes as were written by one Philip Flat-
burie, out of a certeine nameleſſe author,
from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and
we hauing none other helpe beſides (ex-
cept onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do ſet downe that which we
find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the ſame Marleborow
in all the whole diſcourſe that followeth, except in ſome cer-
teine particular places, where we ſhew from whence
we haue drawne that which we write
as occaſion ſerueth.



THE CHRONICLES of Ireland, &c.



Castell built
at Derwath.

Hugh de Lacie (of whom such memorable mention is made heretofore) the rather to meet with such hurlye burlies as were like to put the state of the Irish countrie in danger, if the same were not the sooner brought to quiet, erected and built a number of castels and forts in places conuenientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garnished with men, munitions, and vittells, as one at Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be set on worke for wages. Lacie came sundrie times thither to further the worke, full glad to see them fall in vze with aile such exercise, wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and tast the sweetnesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation: for which cause he visited them the oftner, and mercilie would command his gentlemen to glue the labozers example to take their toles in hand, and to worke a season, whilst the poze soules looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was busilie occupied, some lading, some heaving, some plastering, some graving, the generall also himselfe digging with a pickaxe: a desperat villaine among them, whose tole the noble man vsed, espiong both his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining downwards, still as he stroke watched when he so staped, and with an aye cleft his head in sunder, little esteeming the tormentes that for this traitorous act insued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that he was the first that brought it to a ripe due order of obedience vnto the English power. His bodie the two archbishops, John of Dublin, and Matthew of Cashill buried in the monastrie of Westie, and his head in saint Thomas abbey at Dublin.

1186
Lacie is traitorouslie
slaine.

Curcie and
Hugh Lacie
the younger
keepe the
realme in
quiet.

1199.
King John
slayeth his
nephew
Arthur.

By occasion of this murther committed on the person of Hugh Lacie, John Curcie, and Hugh Lacie the younger, with their assistants, did streight execution vpon the rebels; and preuenting euerie mischief per it fell, staied the realme from byzores. Thus they knitting themselves together in friendship, continued in wealth and honor vntill the first yeare of king Johns reigne, who succeeding his brother king Richard, toke his nephew Arthur, son to his brother Geffrey earle of Britaine, and dispatched him (some said) with his owne hands, because he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as descended of the elder brother. And therefore not onelie the French king, but also certeine lords of England and Ireland fauored his title: and when they understood that he was made alwaie, they toke it in marvelous enill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring such barbarous crueltie, whereof all mens eares were full, spake bloudie words against king John, which his lurking aduersaries (that laie ready to vndermine him) caught by the end, and vsed the same as a meane to lift him out of credit: which they did not onelie bring to passe, but also procured a commission to attach his bodie, and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie mistrusting his part, and belike getting some intelling of their vizit, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacie lord iustice was faine to leue an armie and to binuade Ulster, from whence he was oftentimes put backe: wherevpon he proclaimed Curcie traitor, and hired sundrie gentlemen with promise of great recompense, to bring him in either quicke or dead. They fought once at Downe, in which battell there died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice soiled at Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in practising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne captains were inueighed to betraie their owne master: insomuch that vpon Good fridate, whilst the earle out of his armour visited barefooted certeine religious houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him, toke him as a rebell, & shippd him ouer into England the next waie, where he was adiudged to perpetuall prison. One Seintleger addeth in his collections (as Campion saith) that Lacie paid the traitors their monie, and forthwith therevpon hanged them.

This Curcie translated the church and prebendaries of the trinitie in Downe, to an abbey of blacke monks brought thither from Chester, and caused the same to be consecrated vnto saint Patrike: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature; he deemed himselfe worthilie punished. Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French knights came to king Johns court, and one among them requited the combat for triall of the right to the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expedient to leopord the title vpon one mans lucke, yet the challenge they determined to answer. Some friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a warrior of notable courage, and in pith of bodie like a giant. King John demanded Curcie, whether he could be content to fight in his quarrell: Not for the said the erle, whose person I esteeme vnto worthie the aduenture of my blood, but for the crowne & dignitie of the realme, in which manie a god man liueth against thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life.

Curcie being
reth displeased
saie words
against king
John.

He is accused.

He is spoken
med traitor.

He is taken

Translation
of prebendaries
to monks.

A challenge for
a combat made
by certeine
French
knights.

Curcies answer
to king
John.

He taketh vpon
him to defend the
challenge.

These

Curcie
reth the
Chronic
cic.

King
went
Ireland

See
hereof
gland

ports the same had bene to their prejudice for a time sinisterlie misconstrued, so as the gentlemen had still bene kept backe, and not rewarded according to their deserts. The king now informed of the truth made *Hoize Fitzgerald* the sonne of *Hoize* afore said lord cheefe iustice of Ireland. *Lucas* succeeded *London* in the archbishops see, and was consecrated. In the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtie, *Richard Marshall* was taken prisoner in battell at *Bildare*. Some write that he was wounded there, and within few daies after died of the hurt at *Bilkentie*, and was buried there in the quere of the church of the friers preachers, nere to the place where his brother *William* was interred, who departed this life in the yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and one.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fortie and one, *Walter Lacie* lord of *Meth* departed this life in England: he left two daughters behind him that were his heires, *Margaret* married to the lord *Merdon*, and *Matild* the wife of *Geffrie Genuill*. King *Henrie* in the six & thirtieth yeare of his reigne, gave to *Edward* his eldest sonne, *Calcoigne*, Ireland, and the countie of *Chester*. In the yeare following, *Hugh Lacie* earle of *Ulster* departed this life, and was buried at *Cragfergus*, in the church of the friers minors, leaving a daughter behind him, that was his heire, whome *Walter de Burgh* or *Bourke* married, and in right of hir was created earle of *Ulster*, as after shall appeare. *Hoize Fitzgerald* lord iustice of Ireland, being requested by this prince to come and assist him with a power of men against the *Welsh* rebels, left a sufficient garrison of men in the castell of *Selighagh*, which he had latelie builded, and then came over with *Helin Ochoher*, and a laste band of souldiers: & meeting the prince at *Chepstow*, behaved themselves so valiantlie, that returning with victory, they greatlie increased the favour of the king and prince towards them; and upon their returne into Ireland, they joined with *Connache* *Mac Dermot Mac Roite*, and made a notable iournie against *Odonill* the Irish entitie, that when *Lacie* was once dead, invaded & soe annoied the kings subiects of *Ulster*. *Odonill* being vanquished, the lord iustice forced pledges and tribute of *Oneale* to keep the kings peace; and diverse other exploits praise worthy did he, during the time of his government, as *Blasburt* hath gathered in his notes for the lord *Hoize Fitzgerald* earle of *Bildare*, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and fourtine.

After *Hoize Fitzgerald* succeeded in office of lord iustice, *John Fitzgerrit* knight, and after him *Alaine de la Zouch*, who the earle of *Barrie Fitzwarren* slew. And after *de la Zouch*, in the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and twentieth of *Henrie* the third his reigne, was *Stephan de long Espant* to supplie that room; who slew *Oneale* with thre hundred fiftie & two of his men in the streets of *Dublin*, and shortly after departed this life; then *William Dene* was made lord iustice, and *Greene* castell destroyed. Also *Mac Carole* plaid the diuel in *Desmond*.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and one, *de William Dene* lord iustice of Ireland deceased, and *Richard Rochell* (or *Capell* as some copies have) was sent to be lord iustice after him; who greatlie ended the familie of the *Giraldines*; during his gouvernement the lord *John Fitzthomas* and the lord *Hoize* his son were slain: in the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and four, *Walter de Burgh* was made earle of *Ulster*, and *Hoize Fitzmoize* toke the lord iustice of Ireland together with *Theobald Butler*, *Wiles Coghan* and diverse other great lords at *Trilidernot*, and *Mac Nicholas*

daie. And so was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the *Burghs* and *Giraldins*. In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and six, there chanced an earth quake in Ireland. In the yeare following, king *Henrie* toke up the variance that was in Ireland betwixt the parties, and discharging *Dene*, appointed *Dauid Barrie* lord iustice in his place, who tamed the insolent dealings of *Hoize Fitzmoize*, confine germane to *Fitzgeralds*.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, *Conhor Ozen* was slaine by *Dermot Mac Sponerd*, and *Hoize Fitzgerald* earle of *Desmond* was drowned in the sea, betwixt *Wales* & Ireland. And *Robert Wifort* was sent over to remaine lord iustice of Ireland, and *Barrie* was discharged, who continued till the yeare one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, and then was *Richard de Crecester* made lord iustice. And in the yeare following, was the lord *James Audleie* made lord iustice. *Richard Werdon*, and *John Werdon* were slaine, and *Folke* archbishop of *Dublin* deceased. Also the castels of *Aldelcke*, *Kolcoman*, & *Scheligagh*, were destroyed. The same yeare was a great dearth and mortallitie in Ireland. In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie & two, the lord *James Audleie* was slaine by a fall from his horse in *Thomond*, and then was *Hoize Fitzmoize* made lord iustice of Ireland, and the castell of *Kandon* was destroyed. In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie and two, king *Henrie* the third departed this life, and the lord *Walter Genuill* latelie returned home from his iournie into the holie land, was sent into Ireland, and made lord iustice there. In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie and five, the castell of *Kolcoman* was effronce repaired and fortified.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie and six, there was an overthow given at *Glenburle*, where *William Fitzroger*, prior of the knights hospitallers, & manie other with him, were taken prisoners, and a great number of other were slaine. The same yeare, *John de Werdon* departed this world, and *Thomas de Clare* married the daughter of *Hoize Fitzmoize*. In the yeare following, *Robert Wifort* was appointed to supplie the room of *Genuill*, being called home, and so was this *Wifort* the second time ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. He having occasion to passe into England, made his substitute *Fulborne* bishop of *Waterford* till his returne; and then resumed the government into his owne hands againe. In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie and seven, *Thomas de Clare* slew *Ozgerath* king of *Apolesmon*: and yet after this the Irish sloed him up in *Sleebant*, together with *Peirice Fitzmaurice*; so that they gave hostages to escape, and the castell of *Kolcoman* was towne. In the yeare next ensuing, was *John de Werlington* consecrated archbishop of *Dublin*: There was also a counsell holden at *Crenock*, and *Mac Dermot* slew *Cathgur* Oconthir king of *Connagh*. In the yeare one thousand two hundred senentie and nine, *Robert Wifort* upon occasion of business, came over into England, and left *Wifor* *Fulborne* bishop of *Waterford* to supplie his room; and *Kate* *Richard* and *Dauid* chased *Oheale* into battell.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and foure score; *Robert Wifort* came the third time to occupie the room of lord iustice in Ireland, resuming that come into his hands againe. In the yeare following, the bishop of *Waterford* was assailed by the king of England lord iustice of Ireland. *Adam Casacke* the younger slew *William Barret*, and manie other in *Connagh*. And in the next yeare, to wit, one thousand two hundred foure score and two, *Peir* quest slew *Spur ertagh*, & his brother *Art Mac Spargh* at

Hoize Fitzgerald.
Lucas archbishop.

1230

1234

1241

The lord
Werdon.
Geffrie
Genuill.

1252

1253

The castell of
Selighagh.

Odonill.

John Fitzgerrit lord iustice.
Alaine de la Zouch lord iustice.
Stephan de long Elper.

William Dene lord iustice.
Greene castell destroyed.
Mac Carole.

1261

Sir Richard Capell lord iustice.

Lord *John Fitzthomas* slaine.

The lord iustice taken.

1266

1267

Dauid Barrie lord iustice.

1268

Robert Wifort.

Richard de Crecester.

1270

1271

The lord
Audleie.

Kandon.
The deace of king *Henrie* the third.

1272

1273

Walter Genuill.

1275

1276
An overthow at *Glenburle.*

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Christ church repaired.

Donat bishop of *Dublin*.

Strangford towne resto red by *Henrie* *Sidwicke*.

Captaine *Randolfe*.

John *Sam* lord consecrated archbishop of *Dublin*. In overthow at *Kathow*. *Spowagh* and *Ardriscoll* burnt.

Sanford archbishop of *Dublin* lord iustice.

William *McC* lord iustice.

The earle *Bildare*.

at Athlon. Also the lord James de Birmingham, and Piers de Lute departed this life. Also the archbishop Derlington deceased. And about the same time, the citie of Dublin was defaced by fire, and the people of Chiffs church utterly destroyed. The citizens before they went about to reparaire their owne priuat buildings, agreed together to make a collection for repaaring the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, and continued by Citrus prince of Dublin at the instance of Donat sometime bishop of that citie, and dedicated to the blessed trinitie.

At length Strangbow earle of Denbroke, Fitzstephans, & Laurence, that for his vertue was called saint Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and his four successors, John of Guesham, Henrie Scottsbill, and Lucas, and last of all John de saint Paule finished it. This notable building, since the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bene beautified in diuerse sorts by many zealous citizens. Strangbowes towe defaced, by the fall of the rose of the church, sir Henrie Sidneie, when he was lord deputie, restored; & likewise did cost vpon the earle of Kildares chapel for an ornament to the quier, ouer the which he left also a monument of capteine Randolfe, late coronell of the English bands of footmen in Ulster that died there ballantlie, fighting in his princes seruice, as after shall appeare. In the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and thre, Formund chancelor of Ireland, and Richard Lute departed this life, and siter Stephan Fulborne was made lord iustice of Ireland.

In the yeare 1285, the lord Theobald Butler fled from Dublin, and died shortly after, and the lord Theobald Gerdon lost his men and horses as he went towarde Offalie, & the next day Gerald Fitzmaurice was taken, and John Samford was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Whereouer at Rathod, the lord Gesteire Gennill fled, and sir Gerard Doget, and Kafe Petit were slaine, with a great number of others. The Forwagh and Ardscoll with other townes and villages were burnt by Philip Stanton the sixteenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare 1286. Also Calwagh was taken at Kildare. In the yeare 1287, diuerse nobles in Ireland deceased, as Richard Deceter, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Cassie, & Nicholas Teling knights. The yeare next ensuing, deceased siter Fulborne lord iustice of Ireland, and John Samford archbishop of Dublin was advanced to the roome of lord iustice. Also Richard Burgh earle of Ulster besieged Theobald Gerdon in the castell of Athlon, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

In the yeare 1290, was the chase or discomfiture of Offalie, & diuerse Englishmen slaine. Also Mac Coghlan surne Dmolaghelin king of Meth, and William Burgh was discomfited at Deluin by Mac Coghlan. The same yeare 1290, William Mesic was made lord iustice of Ireland, and entered into that office on S. Martins daie. Vnto this iustice, Edward Balioll king of Scotland did homage for an earldome which he held in Ireland, in like manner as he did to king Edward for the crowne of Scotland. In the yeare 1292, a fifteenth was granted to the king, of all the temporall goods in Ireland, whilest Mesic was as yet lord iustice. This Mesic was a sterne man and full of courage, he called John earle of Kildare before him, charging him with foule riots and misdeemeanors, so that he ranged abroad, and sought reuenge vpon priuat displeasures out of all order, and not for anie aduancement of the publicke wealth or seruice of his soueraigne.

The earle as impatient to heare himselfe touched

as the iustice to suffer euill doing, answered thus. By your honor and mine (my lord) and by king Edwards hand (for that was atcompted no small oth in those daies among the Irish) you would if you durst appeach me in plaine termes of treason or felonie: for where I haue the title, and you the force of it. I dare, I wote well how great an eiesoze I am in your sight, so that if I might be handsomlie trusted by for a fellow, then might my master your sonne be, come a gentleman. A gentleman quoth the iustice, thou proud earle: I tell thee, the Mesics were gentlemen before Kildare was an earldome: and before that Welch bankrupt thy cousine fettered his nest in Leinster. But seeing thou darrest me, I will surely breake thy heart. And therewith he called the earle a noxious theefe and a murderer. Then followed facing and bacing among the souldiers, with high words, and terrible swearing on both sides, vntill either part appeased his owne.

The lord iustice shortly after, leaving his deputie William Haie, toke the sea, and passed ouer to the king. The earle immediatlie followed, and as he noultie as the lord iustice accused him of felonie, Kildare no lesse appealed him of treason. For triall hereof, the earle asked the combat, and Mesic refused not: but yet when the lists were prouided, Mesic was slipt awaie into France, and so disherited of all his lands in the countie of Kildare, which were bestowed vpon the earle and his heires for ever. The earle waring losse of mind in such prosperous success, squared with diuerse nobles, English and Irish of that land. The same yeare died John Samford archbishop of Dublin, and John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, and John de la Mare toke prisoners, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and William Burgh within the countie of Meth, and the castell of Kildare was taken, and all the countie wasted by the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, and Calwagh burnt all the rolles and talies concerning the records & accompts of that countie. Great dearth and death reigned in Ireland this yeare, and the two yeeres next ensuing. The earle of Kildare detained the earle of Ulster prisoner, vntill by authoritie of a parlement holden at Kilkennie, he was delivered out of the castell of Leie, for his two sonnes, and for the intiaction which the earle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other his vnrulle and misordered parts, was disseized of the castell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

William Dodingfells, being this yeare made lord iustice of Ireland, after Mesic died, in the yeere next following, that is 1295, and the thre and twentieth of king Edward the first. After him succeeded in that roome the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice. In the yeare 1296, siter William de Bothum was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298, and sir and twentieth of Edward the first, the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an agreement was made betwixt the earle of Ulster and the lord John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, by John Mogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. In the yeare 1299 William archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and Richard de Feringis was consecrated archbishop in his place. The king went vnto John Mogan lord iustice, commanding him to giue summons vnto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselves with horse and armor to come in their best arraie for the warre, to serue him against the Scots: and withall wrote vnto the same nobles, as to Richard de Burgh earle of Ulster, Gesteire de Gennill, John Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Gerdon, Piers lord Birmingham of Chetemoie, Enface lord Potowe, Hugh lord Durtell, John de Cogan, John

1294
The death of the archbishop Samford.
The earle of Ulster taken prisoner.

Great dearth and death.

William Dodingfells lord iustice.
1295
Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.
1296
1298
Rec. Turris.

1299

Chiff church repared.

Donat bishop of Dublin.

Strangbowes towe restored by Henrie Sidneie.

Capteine Randolfe.

1285

John Samford consecrated archbishop of Dublin.
In ouerthrow at Rathod.
Forwagh and Ardscoll burnt

1288
Samford archbishop of Dublin lord iustice.

1290

William Mesic lord iustice.

1292

The earle of Kildare.

1266

1267

David Barrie lord iustice.

1268

Robert Fitz.

Richard de Exeter.
1270
1271

The lord Audier.

Randon.
The decaie of king Henrie the third.
1274
Walter Gennill.

1276

In ouerthrow at Stenbarre.

1277

1278

1280

1281
The death of king Edward the first.

1282

de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Laffice, Richard de Ercester, John Wipurd, Walter Lennant, John of Wyford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Heisbe, William Cadell, John de Hale, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Withwelaun the first of March. Such a precept I remember I have read, registered in a close roll among the records of the tower. But where Marlburrow saith, that the said John Wogan lord justice of Ireland, and the lord John Fitzthomas, with many others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Champion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the seven & twentieth of the reigne of king Edward, & if my remembrance faile me not, the close roll aforementioned beareth date of the four and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in those warres against the Scots, the king sent diuerse times to the Irish lords to come to serue him, as it behoued them to do by their tenures: and not onelie he sent into Ireland to haue the seruices of men, but also for prouision of vittels, as in close rolles I remember I haue also seene recorded of the seauen and twentieth and thirtieth yeare of the said king Edward the first his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abstract of the Irish chronicles, which should seme to be collected out of Flatburie, whom Champion so much followed, that in the yeare 1301, the lord John Wogan lord justice, John Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerse others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare also a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of saint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feast daie of saint Colme. Also the lord Genuill married the daughter of John de Pontfort, and the lord John Mortimer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, also the lord Theobald de Werdon married the daughter of the lord Roger Mortimer. The same yeare in the winter season, the Irish of Leinster raised warre against the towne of Wicklow and Rathdon, doing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chastised for their wickednesse, losing the most part of their prouision and castell. And in the Lent season the more part of them had bene utterly destroyed, if discorde and variance had not risen among the Englishmen, to the impeachment of their purposed enterprises.

In harvest there were three hundred thēues slaine by the Hēlanes. Also Walter le Power wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manye farmes and places in that countrie. In the yeare 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the spirituall liuings in England and Ireland, for the space of three yeares, to mainteine wars in defense of the church of Rome, against the king of Arragon. In the yeare 1303, the earle of Ulster, and Richard Burgh, and sir Cusace le Power, with a puissant armie entered Scotland. The earle made three and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he set forwards. The same yere Gerald, sonne and heire to the lord John Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewise the countesse of Ulster. William de Mellislaie, and sir Robert de Wersmull were slaine the two and twentieth of October. In the yeare 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by casual fire. In the yeare next ensuing, Jordaine Comin with his complices slue Maritagh Mconhur king of Ossalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerse others within the court of Wiers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbie. Also sir Gilbert Sutton steward of Wierford was slaine by the Irishmen, nere to the farme

of Heimond de Grace, which Heimond bare himselfe right balliantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped.

In the yeare 1306 a great slaughter was made in Ossalie nere to the castell of Geshill, the thirtenth daie of Aprill upon Mconhur and his friends by the Mdempsies, in the which place were slaine a great number of men. Also Mben king of Thomond was slaine. Moreover, Donald Mge Mar Arthie slue Donald Kulle king of Desmond. And upon the twelfe of Maie in the confines of Mesth, a great onerthow chanced to the side of the lord Wiers Butler, and Balimoz in Leinster was burnt by the Irish, where Henrie Celse was slaine at that present time. Hereof followed great wars betwixt the English and Irish in Leinster, so that a great armie was called together forth of diuerse parts of Ireland, to restreine the malice of the Irish in Leinster, in which iourne sir Thomas Pandeuill knight entered into a conflict with the Irish nere to Glenfell, in the which he bare himselfe right manfully, till his horse was slaine vnder him, and yet then to his great praise and high commendation he saued both himselfe and manye of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Caucocke, was consecrated bishop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept such a feast as the like had not lightlie bene seene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, first to the rich & after to the poore. Richard Flerings archbishop of Dublin deceased on the euen of saint Luke the euangelist, to whom succeeded Richard de Hauering, who after he had continued in that see about a five yeares, resigned it ouer by dispensation obtained from Rome, and then his nephew John Lech was admitted archbishop there.

In the yeare 1307 the first of Aprill, Murcod Ballagh was beheaded nere to Merton by sir David Cauntoun knight, and shortly after was Adam Daune slaine. Also, a great discomfiture and slaughter fell upon the Englishmen in Connagh by the Mcheles the first daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Ossalie raised the castell of Geshill, and in the vigill of the translation of Thomas Becket, being the first of Iulie, they burnt the towne of Aleie and besieged the castell: but they were constrained to depart from thence shortly after, by John Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remoue that siege. In the yeare 1308 king Edward the first departed this life the seventh of Iulie.

Edward the second.

Richard archbishop of Dublin, after that he had gouerned that see the space of five yeares, by reason of a vision that he saw in his sleepe, feeling himselfe troubled in conscience, with consideration of that dreame, resigned the next morrow all his title to the archbishops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall benefices as seemed conuenient to his estate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he caused all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to safe keeping. The profession of these Templers began at Jerusalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hostell nere to the temple, who till the counsell of Trois in France were not increased above the number of nine, but from that time forth in litte more than fiftie yeares, by the zealous contribution of all chistian

Chr. Pembrig

1301
Irishmen in=
made Scot=
land.

Walter
Power.
1302

1303
The earle
of Ulster.

1304

1306
A discomf=
ture at G=
saie.

Salimoz
burnt.

Warres in
Leinstr.

The lord chancellor con=
secrated bishop
of Imaleie.

The archbis=
hop of Dub=
lin deceased.

1307

A discomf=
ture in Connagh.

1308

1300
The order of
the Templers
suppressed.

Asian realmes, they had houses erected euerie where, with livings bountifullie assigned to the same for their maintenance, in so much as they were augmented unto the number of thre hundred, that were knights of that order, beside inferiour brethren innumerable; but now with wealth they so forgot themselves, that they nothing lesse regarded, than the purpose of their foundation: and withall being accused of horrible heresies (whether in all things iustlie or otherwise, the Lord knoweth) they were in the council at Mons in France condemned, and their livings transposed to the knights Hospitallers, otherwise called the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehension and committing was sudden, and so generall in all places upon one daie, that they had no time to shift for themselves.

For first, the king sent forth a precept to euerie shiriffe within the realme of England, commanding them within each of their roomes to cause a prescribed number of knights, or rather such men of credit, on whose fidelities he might assure himselfe to assemble at a certaine towne named in the same writ, the sundaie next after the Epiphanie, & that each of the same shiriffes failed not to be there the same daie, to execute all that should be intained them by any other writ, then and there to be deliuered. The shiriffe of Dorset was commanded to giue summons to foure and twentie such knights, or other sufficient men to meet him at Dorset. The shiriffe of Dorset folke and Suffolke, to summon twentie to meet him at Thetford. The other shiriffs were appointed to call to them some ten, some twelue, or some fourtene, to meet them at such townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Westminster the fifteenth of December, in the first yeare of this king Edward the seconds reigne. The other writ was sent by a chapleine authorized both to deliver the same writ, and to take an oth of the shiriffe, that he should not disclose the contents, till he had put the same in execution, which was to attach by assistance of those aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to use, all the Templers within the precinct of his roome, and to seize all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cause an inventarie of the same indented be made in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or any other, and in the presence of other honest men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himselfe, sealed with his seale that made the seizure, and leauing the other in the hands of the said warden: and further to see the same goods and cattels to be put in safe keeping, and to provide that the quicke goods might be well kept and looked unto, and the grounds manured to the most profit, and to cause the bodies of the Templers attached, to be so detained in all safetie, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to streit prison, but to remaine in some convenient place other than their owne houses, and to be found of the goods so seized accordinglie as falleth for their estates, till he haue otherwise in commandement from the king: and that is done herein, to certifie into the ercheke the morrow after the purification. The date of this second writ was from Wileket the twentieth of December. There was likewise a writ directed to John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, signifieng unto him what should be done in England, touching the apprehension of the Templers, and seizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to proceed in semblable manner against them in Ireland: but the date and place when the shiriffes should there assemble, was left to the discretion of the said iustice and trea-

suroz of the ercheke there, but so as the same might be done before any rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Also a like commandement was sent unto John de Writaine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Eustace Cotelbach chamberleine of Scotland, also to Walter de Pederton lord iustice of west Wales, to Hugh Aldighleigh alias Anderleie lord iustice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iustice of Chester. Thus much for the Templers. But now to other dwings in Ireland.

In the yeare 1308 the twelke of Aprill deceased Peter de Birmingham a noble warriour, and one that had bene no small scourge to the Irish. The eleuenth of Maie the castell of Bennun was burnt, and diuers of them that had it in keeping were slaine by William Macbalthar, and other of the Irish, and likewise the towne of Courcoulie was burnt by the same malefactors. And the first of June, John lord Wogan lord iustice was discomfited nere to Glindelozie, where John de S. Hogelin, John Porton, John Berton, and manie other were slaine. The fifteenth of June, Dunlough, Cobir, and manie other townes were burnt by the Irish rebels. About this season, John Decker maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the brydge ouer the Liffie towards S. Alfons, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minors, where he was buried, repaired the church of the friers preachers, and euerie scribe tabled the friers at his owne costs.

John Wogan hauing occasion to passe into England, William Burgh did supplie his roome, unto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Gaueson, when (contrarie to the kings mind) he was banished by the lords of England, and about the nauitie of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being sent thither by the king with manie iewels: and beside the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had assigned to him the comodities roiall of that realme, which byed some trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and the said Gaueson, who notwithstanding bought the good willes of the souldiers with his liberalitie, slue Dermot Odeimplie, subdued Mizen, edified sundrie castels, caufices, and brydges, but the next yeare he was reuoked home by the king, as in the historie of England it maie appeare.

In the vigill of Simon and Jude, the lord Roger Mortimer landed in Ireland with his wife, right heire to the seigniorie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuill, that was sonne to the lord Gesteire Genuill; which Gesteire became a frier at Trim of the order of the preachers: by reason whereof, the lord Mortimer and his wife entered into possession of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord John Bonneuill was slaine nere to the towne of Ardscoil, by the lord Arnold Polye and his complices, his bodie was buried at Athie in the church of the friers preachers. In the yere following, at a parlement holden at Kildare, the lord Arnold Polye was acquit of that slaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defense. In the yeare 1311, or (as some bookes haue) the yeare 1309, Wogan lord iustice summoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuerse whole some lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the bishops in contention about their iurisdiccions, namely the bishop of Dublin forbad the primat of Armagh to raise his crozier within the prouince of Leinster.

Shortlie after, Rowland Joyce the primat slea by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the prioste of Grace Dieu, where the bishops seruants met him, & with force chased him out of the diocesse. This bishop was named John a Leekes, and was consecrated

1308

This Macbalthar was after hanged at Dublin. The lord iustice discomfited.

1308

John Decker maior of Dublin.

Piers Gaueson sent into Ireland.

Lord Roger Mortimer.

1309

Lord John Bonneuill slaine.

1310

A parlement at Kilkennie. Campion.

1311

W. iij. not

not long before he kept this furre. Richard earle of Ulster with a great armie came to Bonrath in Thomond, whereas sir Robert or rather sir Richard de Clare discomfited his powder, toke sir William de Burgh prisoner, or (as some bookes haue) the earle himselfe. John Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie, and diuerse others were slaine. The twelue of Nouember this yere, Richard de Clare slue sir hundred Galloglasses, and John Moggoghedan was slaine by Omolmoie. Also Donat Obzen was murdered by his owne men in Thomond.

The one and twentieth of Februarie began a riot in Argile by Robert Werdon, for the appeasing whereof an armie was lead thither by John Wogan lord chiefe iustice in the beginning of Iulie, but the same was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine, as sir Nicholas Auenell, Patrike de Koch, & others. At length yet the said sir Robert Werdon, and many of his complices came and submitted themselves to prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made depute iustice vnder the lord John Wogan, who in the Lent next ensuing besieged the Obzens in Glindelow, and compelled them to yeld themselves to the kings peace. Also in the yere abovesaid 1312, Maurice Fitzthomas married the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Ulster at Grene castell, and Thomas Fitzjohn married an other of the said earles daughters in the same place, but not on the same daie: for the first of those two mariages was celebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie, and this second marriage was kept the morrow after the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also Robert de Buse overthrew the castell of Man, and toke the lord Donegan Dowwill on saint Barnabies daie.

In the yere 1313, John a Leakes archbishop of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease were elected in schisme and diuision of sides two successors, Walter Moneburie lord chancelor, and Alexander Bigno: tresuro: of Ireland. The chancelor to strengthen his election, hastilie went to sea, and together with an hundred and fiftie and sir persons perished by shipwracke. The other submitting his cause to the pprocess of law, taried at home and sped. Moreover, the lord John de Burgh, sonne and heire to the earle of Ulster, deceased at Galbie on the feast daie of saint Marcell & Marcelline. Also the lord Edmund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin on saint Michaels daie being fundae. The knights hospitalers of saint Johns (as they were called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers in Ireland. The same yere was the lord Theobald Werdon sent lord iustice into Ireland.

In the ninth yere of king Edwards reigne, Edward Buse, brother to Robert Buse king of Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with sir thousand men. There were with him diuerse captains of high renoume among the Scottish nation, of whome the chiefe were these: the earles of Murrie and Mentith, the lord John Stewart, the lord John Campbell, the lord Thomas Kandolfe, Fergus de Andressan, John Wood, and John Bisset. They landed nere to Cagfergus in Ulster the five & twentieth of Maie, and joining with the Irish, conquered the earledome of Ulster, and gaue the English there diuerse great overthowes, toke the towne of Dundalke, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Argile: they burnt churches & abbeies, with the people whom they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman nor child. Then was the lord Edmund Butler choert lord iustice, who made the earle of Ulster and the Geraldines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir John Pandenill, thus seeking to preserue the residue

of the realme which Edward Buse meant sholde to conquer, hauing caused himselfe to be crowned king of Ireland. The lord iustice assembled a great power out of Pounster, and Leinster, and other parts thereabouts, and the earle of Ulster with another armie came vnto him nere vnto Dundalke, where they consulted together how to deale in defending the countrie against the enemies: but hearing the Scots were withdrawne backe, the earle of Ulster folowed them, and fighting with them at Coimiers, hee lost the field.

There were manie slaine on both parts, and William de Burgh the earles brother, sir John Pandenill, and sir Alane Fitzalane were taken prisoners. Herewith the Irish of Connagh and Meth began forthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and burnt the castell of Athlon and Randon. And the Buse comming forward burnt Kenlis in Meth, and Granard, also Fynnagh, and Pelwacastell, and kept his Christmas at Loughludie. From thence he went through the countrie vnto Keshmegan and Beldare, and to the parties about Trisfeldermot and Athie, then to Kaban Skettier and nere to Ardskoll in Leinster: where the lord iustice Butler, the lord John Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Bower, and other the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Pounster came to incounter the Buse: but through discord that rose among them, they left the field vnto the enemies, sir William Pendergast knight, and Desmond le Grace a right ballant esquier were slaine there. And on the Scottish side sir Fergus Andressan and sir Walter Murreie, with diuerse other that were buried in the church of the fraters preachers at Athie.

After this the Buse in his returne towards Meth burnt the castell of Leie, and so passed forth till hee came to Kenlis in Meth. In which meane time Roger lord Mortimer, trusting to win himselfe fame if he might overthrow the enemies, called forth fiftene thousand men, and understanding that the Scots were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there incountering with them, was put to the worse, his men (as was supposed) willfullie shynking from him, as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the newes of this overthrow, vppstart the Irish of Pounster, the Otolles, Obzens, Omozes, and with fire and sword waisted all from Arclow to Leir. With them coped the lord iustice, and made of them a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were sent to the castell of Dublin.

In tyme of these troubles and warres in Ireland by the inuasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish lords, faithfull men and true subiects to the king of England, did not onelie promise to continue in their loiall obessance towarde him, being their soueraigne prince; but also for more assurance deliuered hostages to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The names of which lords that were so contented to assure their allegiance were these, John Fitzthomas lord of Offalie, Richard de Clare, Maurice Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzjohn le Bower baron of Donoille, Arnold le Bower, Maurice de Rochford, Dauid de la Koch, and Gilles de la Koch. These and diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine the inuiolent attempts of the Scots, although the Scots had drawne to their side the most part of the wild Irish, and no small number also of the English Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so that the countrie was miserable afflicted, what by the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on the other, which rebels notwithstanding were overthrowne in diuerse particular condias. But yet to the further scattering of the English forces in Ireland, there rose foure princes of Connagh, but the Burghes

Sir Richard de Clare.

John Lacie slaine.

1312 Robert Werdon vasseth a riotous tumult. John wogan lord iustice.

1313 Campion.

The earle of Ulsters sonne and heire deceased.

1314

1315 Edward Buse inuaded Ireland.

Captains of name with Buse.

Dundalke taken and burnt

Edmund Butler lord iustice.

A great overthrow.

The king of Connagh slaine.

Obellie slaine.

The lord Mortimer discomfited by the Scots.

Sir Thomas Pandenill slaine.

Assurance given by the lords of Ireland for their loialtie.

A great ouer-
throw.

The king of
Connagh
daine.

Burghes and Berminghams discomfited them, and
sue eleuen thousand of them beside Athenrie. A-
mongst other were slaine in this battell Fedelmi-
cus, Deonbur king of Connagh, Dkellie, and di-
uerse other great lords and capteins of Connagh
and Meth. The lord Richard Bermingham had an
esquier that belonged to him called John Husseie,
who by the commandement of his maister went
forth to take view of the dead bodies, and to bring
him word whether Dkellie his mortall so were
slaine among the residue. Husseie comming into
the field with one man to turne vp and surueie the
dead carcases, was straight espied by Dkellie, that
laie lurking in a brake bush thereby, who hauing
had good proue of Husseie his ballancie before that
time, longed sore to traine him from his capteine,
and presuming now vpon his good oportunitie, dis-
couered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win
him with courteous persuasions, or by force to
worke his will of him, and so comming to him said:
Husseie, thou seest that I am at all points armed, &
haue manie esquire here likewise furnished with ar-
mour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art na-
ked with thy page, a yongling, & not to be accounted
of: so that if I loued thee not, and meant to spare
thee for thine owne sake, I might now doe with thee
what I would, and lea thee for thy maisters sake.
But come & serue me vpon this request here made
to thee, and I promise thee by saint Patrikes staffe
to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions
than thy maister hath in Ireland. When these words
might nothing weie him, his owne man (a great
fount lubber) began to reprove him of follie, for not
consenting to so large an offer, which was assured
with an oth, wherevpon he durst gage his soule for
performance.

John had Husseie thre enimies, and first therefore
turning to his knave, he dispatched him. Next he
raught vnto Dkellies esquier such a knocke vnder
the pit of the eare, that downe he came to the ground
and there he laie. Thirde, he laid so about him, that
per ante helpe could be looked for, he had also slaine
Dkellie, and perceiving the esquire to be but asto-
nied he recovered him, and holpe him vp againe,
and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he for-
ced him vpon a truncheon, to beare his lords head in-
to the high towne before him, who did so; and Hus-
sie presented it to Bermingham, who after the cir-
cumstances declared, he dubbed Husseie knight,
advancing him to manie preferments. The succes-
sors of that familie afterwards were barons of Gal-
trim. Sir Thomas Pandemill and others in this
meane while made oftentimes enterprizes against
the Scots, and sue diuerse of them in sundrie con-
stitas. But howsoeuer it chanced; we find recorded
by Henrie Marleburgh, that either the said sir Tho-
mas Pandemill (that thus valiantlie behaued him-
selfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the
same name, and his brother also called John Pan-
demill were both slaine shortly after at Downe, vpon
their comming forth of England, by the Scots
that were readie there to assaile them.

Sir Thomas
Pandemill
daine.

Assurance gi-
en by the
ords of Ire-
and for their
dialtie.

Thus may we see, that those lords and knights,
which had giuen pledges for their loialtie to the king
of England, sought by all waies and meanes how
to beat backe the enimies: which they might haue
done with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted the
Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sun-
drie parts of the countrie; who neuertheless were
oftentimes well chastised for their disoiall dealings,
as partly we haue touched; although we omit di-
uerse small overthrows and other particular mat-
ters, sith otherwise we should increase this booke
further than our first purposed intent would permit.

Whilist the Scots were thus holden vp in Ireland,
that they could not in all things worke their wills,
Robert le Bruce king of Scots came ouer him-
selfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother,
whose souldiours most wickedlie entred into churches,
spoiling and defacing the same of all such towmes,
monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which
they found, and might laie hands vpon.

Campion,
1316
The king of
Scots in
Ireland.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had bene
strictlie besieged a long time, was surrendred to the
Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want
of other vittels were driuen to eate leather, and right
Scots (as some write) which they had taken pris-
oners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Ul-
ster departed this life. And on the sundaie next af-
ter the natiuitie of our ladie, the lord John Fitztho-
mas deceased at Laragh Wyne nere to Spainoth,
and was buried at Kildare, in the church of the fri-
ers preachers. This John Fitzthomas, a little be-
fore his death, was created earle of Kildare; after
whome succeeded his sonne Thomas Fitzjohn a
right wise and prudent personage. The fourteenth
of September, Conhor Mac Hele, & sue hundred Ir-
ishmen were slaine by the lord William de Burgh,
and lord Richard Bermingham in Connagh. Also
on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, John
Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset sue a great number
of Scots, among the which were one hundred with
double armors, and two hundred with single ar-
mors: so that of their men of armes there died thre
hundred beside footemen.

Cragfergus
delivered vp
to the Scots.

He eaten.

John Fitz-
thomas the
first earle of
Kildare de-
ceased.

Scots ouer-
throwne.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a great tem-
pest of wind and raine, which threw downe manie
houses, with the steeple of the Trinitie church in
Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and
water. On the first of December, sir Alane Ste-
ward that had bene taken prisoner in Ulster by
John Loggan, and sir John Sandale, was brought
to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the La-
cies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be im-
pannelled to inquire of their demeanour, for that they
were accused to haue procured the Scots to come
into Ireland: but by that inquest they were dischar-
ged, and therewith toke an oth to keepe the kings
peace, and to destioie the Scots to the uttermost of
their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots
came in secret wise vnto Slane, with twentie thou-
sand armed men: and with them came the armie of
Ulster, destioing all the countrie before them.
Whereouer, on mondaie before the feast of S. Pat-
thias the apostle, the earle of Ulster lieng in the ab-
bete of S. Marie nere to Dublin, Robert Foking-
ham maior of that citie, with the communalte of
the same went thither, toke the earle, and put him
in prison within the castell of Dublin, sue seven of
his men, and spoiled the abbeie.

A great tem-
pest.

1317

The earle of
Ulster appe-
hended.

The same weeke, Edward Bruce marched to-
wards Dublin, but here with, turning to the castell
of Inoke, he entred the same, and toke Hugh Tir-
rell the lord thereof, together with his wife, and ran-
somed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of
Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege,
and made the best puruicance they could to defend
their citie, if the Bruce had come to haue besieged
them: but he turning another waie, went vnto the
towne of Paas, and was guided thither by the La-
cies, contrarie to their oth. From thence he passed
vnto Tristeldermot, and so to Baliganam, and to
Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there
remained till after Easter. They of Ulster sent to
the lord iustice lamentable informations of such cru-
eltie as the enimies practised in those parts, besee-
ching him to take some order for their reliefe in that
their so miserable estate. The lord iustice deliuered
to

Hugh Tir-
rell taken by
the Scots.

The kings
standard be-
lieved to
them of Ul-
ster.

to them the kings power with his standard, where-
with under pretense to expell the Scots, they got vp
in armor, and ranging through the countrie, did
more here and molest the subiects, than did the stran-
gers. The Scots proceeded and spoiled Castells,
& wherefoever they lighted upon the Butlers lands,
they burnt and spoiled them unmercifullie.

Roger Mo-
timer iustice
of Ireland.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Tho-
mas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare,
and Arnold le Botz baron of Donnoill leuied an
armie of thirtie thousand men, ready to go against
the enemies, and to giue them battell, but no good
was done. For about the same time the lord Roger
Motimer was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and
landing at Foghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord
Butler, & to the other captiues, willing them not to
fight till he came with such power as he had brought
ouer with him. Whereof the Butle being warned,
retired first towards Kildare. But yet after this he
came within foure miles of Trim, where he laie in a
wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and
so at length about the beginning of Aprill he retur-
ned into Ulster.

Slaughter of
Irishmen.

1317

The earle of
Ulster deliue-
red out of pri-
son.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter
of the Irish nere to Crislendermot, and likewise at
Balithan he had a good hand of Dmorch, and lue
manie of his men. The lord Motimer pacified the
displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of
Ulster, and the nobles that had put the said earle
under safe keeping within the castell of Dublin, accu-
sing him of certeine riots committed to the prejudice
and losse of the kings subiects, whereby the Scots in-
creased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of
the countrie caused such horrible scarcitie in Ulster,
that the soldiers which the yeare before abused the
kings authoritie, to pursue themselves of ouer fine
diet, surfettted with flesh and *Aqua vita* all the Lent
long, prollod and prolled insatiable wherefoever they
came without need, and without regard of the poore
people, whose onelie prouision they deuoured. These
people now lining in slauerie under the Butle, star-
ued for hunger, hauing first experienced manie la-
mentable thists, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

The earle of
Ulster deliue-
red.

The earle of Ulster was deliuered by maine-
prise and upon his oth, by the which he undertoke ne-
uer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise
than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto
the feast of the natiuite of saint John baptist: but he
kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to
stand in triall of his cause, or through some other rea-
sonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeare
afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat
called a chryonecke was sold at foure and twentie
shillings, & a chryonecke of otes at sixtene shillings,
and all other vittells likewise were sold according to
the same rate; for all the whole countrie was soe wa-
sted by the Scots and them of Ulster, insomuch that
no small number of people perished through famine.

Sir Hugh
Crosses slaine.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Mo-
timer toke his iourne towards Drogheda, and sent
to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him,
but they refused so to do. Whereupon he sent sir Hugh
Crosses vnto them, to talke with them about some a-
greement of peace: but they slue the messenger, for
whome great lamentation was made, for that he
was reputed & knowne to be a right worthy knight.
The lord iustice soe offended herewith, gathereth an
armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased
out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withdrew to
Ulster, & there ioined himselfe with Edward Butle.
Whereupon, on the thurdaie next before the feast of
saint Margaret, the said Hugh Lacie and also Wal-
ter Lacie were proclaimed traitors. This yeare pas-

The Lacies
renoit to the
Scots.

sed verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ire-
land, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties
enimies one to another, as by dearth and other mis-
fortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his
bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt
the towne of Paas and castell Marten. Also in the
feast of the purification, the popes bulles were publi-
shed, whereby Alexander Bigno was consecrated
archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was
great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quar-
rell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that
there died in fight to the number of foure thousand
men on both parties.

1318

Bigno con-
secrated arch-
bishop of Dub-
lin.

After Easter Walter Mep treasurer of Ireland
was sent ouer into that realme, who brought let-
ters to the lord Motimer, commanding him to re-
turne into England vnto the king: which he did, and
departing forth of Ireland, remained indebted to
the citizens of Dublin for his prouision of vittells in
the summe of a thousand pounds, wherof he paid not
one farthing, so that manie a bitter curse he carried
with him to the sea, leauing William archbishop of
Cashell lord chancellor gouernor of the land in his
place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop
both chancellor and iustice, and so continued till the
feast of saint Michaele. At what time Alexander Bigno
archbishop of Dublin arrived at Foghall, being
constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint
Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But
here is to be remembred, that a little before the de-
parture of the lord Motimer forth of Ireland, to wit,
the first of Aprill, the lord Richard de Clare with
foure knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de
Paas, sir James Caunton, and sir John Caunton;
also Adam Apilgard and others (to the number of
foure score persons) were slaine by Dbyen and Mac
Archie. It was said that the enemies in despite cau-
sed the lord Richards bodie to be cut in peeces, so to
satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same pe-
ces were yet afterwards buried in the church of the
friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Mo-
timers returne into England, John Lacie was had
forth of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim,
where he was arreigned and adiudged to be pressed
to death, and so he died in prison.

Walter Mep
treasurer of
Ireland.

The lord Richard
de Clare slaine.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of
Bignos gouernment. Immediatlie vpon his ar-
riual, the lord John Birmingham being generall of
the field, and hauing with him diuerse captiues of
worthy fame, namelie sir Richard Tute, sir Miles
Weldon, sir Hugh Crisperton, sir Herbert Sutton,
sir John Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir
William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the
primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Hulle, and
John Paupas led forth the kings power, to the num-
ber of one thousand thre hundred foure and twentie
able men against Edward Butle, who being accom-
panied with the lord Philip Potwylate, the lord Wal-
ter de Soules, the lord Alaine Stetward, with his
thre brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert,
and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped
not past two miles from Dundalke with thre thou-
sand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight
with them if they came forward: which they did with
all conuenient speed, being as de Trous to giue bat-
tell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The lord
Birmingham
and other
captiues a-
gainst the
Scots.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompani-
eng the English power, & blessing their enterprize,
gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he
thought serued the time per they began to incoun-
ter. And herewith buckling together, at length the
Scots fullie and wholie were vanquished, and two
thousand of them slaine, together with thre capteine
Edward Butle. Paupas that pressed into the
throng

The primat
of Armagh.

The battell of
Armagh.
The Scots
vanquished.
Edward
Butle slaine.

Birmingham
made earle of
Louth.
Sir Richard
de Clare
slaine.

1319

1320
The earle of
Kildare lord
iustice.

An unmercifull
re created a
Dublin.

1321

Rec. Turri

1322

1323
John Dm
lord iustice

throng to encounter with Busse hand to hand, was found in the search dead aloft upon the flaine bodie of Busse. The victorie thus obtained upon saint Calixtus daie, made an end of the Scottis kingdome in Ireland, & lord Birmingham sending the head of Busse into England, as Marlborrow hath, being the messenger himselfe, presented it to king Edward, who in recompense gave to him and his heires males the earldome of Louth, and the baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heires generall for ever. Shortly after sir Richard de Clare with foure other knights of name, and manie other men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to governe as lord iustice there now the second time, and the towne of Athell and Plebs were burned by the lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitzthomas. And about this season the bridge of Kilkolin was builded by Maurice Jakis.

Birmingham made earle of Louth.
Sir Richard de Clare slaine.
1319

1320
The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

An universitie created at Dublin.

In the yeare following, to wit, one thousand three hundred and twentie, which was the fourteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland. Here is to be remembred, that about this time also Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin sent to pope John the two and twentieth, for a privilege to institute an universitie within the citie of Dublin, and his sute took effect: and the first three doctors of divinitie did the said archbishop himselfe creat, William Hardtie a frier preacher, Henrie Cogie a frier minor, and sir Edmund Bernerden: and beside these one doctor of canonlaw, to wit, Richard archdeacon of saint Patricks that was chancellor of the same universitie, who kept their terms and commendments solemnlie: neither was this universitie at a nie time since disfranchised, but onlie through change of times discontinued, and now since the dissolving of monasteries bitterlie decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a parlement holden there, whilst sir Henrie Sidneie was the queenes lieutenant, to have it againe created, by waie of contributions to be laid together: the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands, and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were also, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuised; A worthie plantation of Plantagenet & Bullogne. But whilst they disputed of a convenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and one, there was a great slaughter made of the Monchurs at Balibagan, by the English of Leinster and Meth. And John Birmingham earle of Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Unto this man, whilst he was lord iustice, the king wrote, commanding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaves of the Trinitie, in the sixteenth yeare of his reigne, with three hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars, and six thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an aketon, a sallet, and gloves of mail, which number was to be leuted in that land: besides three hundred men of armes which the earle of Ulster was appointed to serve within that tourne, which the king at that time intended to make against the Scots. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and two, diuerse nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the lord Richard Birmingham, the lord Edmund Butler, and the lord Thomas Persuall. Moreover, the lord Andrew Birmingham, and sir Richard de la Lond were slaine by O'neal. In the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord John Darcie came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and the

kings lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the diocesse of Ossioe the ladie Alice Kettle, whome the bishop ascribed to purge hir selfe of the same of inchantment and witchcraft imposed vnto hir, and to one Petronill and Basil hir complices. She was charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit called Robin Artison, to whome she sacrificed in the high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks eies. Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betwene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmuring & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these words:

To the house of William my sonne,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first conuiction they abured & did penance, but shortly after they were found in relapse, & then was Petronill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death accused the said William as priuie to their sorceries, whome the bishop held in durance nine weeks, forbidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at length, thorough the sute and instance of Arnold le Powze then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall to persecute the bishop; so that he thrust him into prison for three moneths. In rising the closet of the ladie, they found a wafer of sacramental bread, hauing the diuels name stamped thereon in stead of Iesus Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith she greased a staffe, vpon the which she ambled and galloped thorough thicke and thin, when and in what maner she list. This businesse about these witches troubled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time it could neuer be vnderstood what became of hir. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and six, & last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster departed this life.

Edward the third.

Verth was the businesse about the witches at an end, when it was signified, that a gentleman of the familie of the Stoules in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinatelie the incarnation of our saulo, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of disolute life, and the apostolike see erroneous. For such assertions he was burnt in hogging greene beside Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Macmorch, and sir Henrie Traherne were taken prisoners. In the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Powze & William earle of Ulster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Roger Outlaw prior of saint Johns of Jerusalem in Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmainan, was made lord iustice. This man by reason of variance that chanced to rise betwixt the Geraldins, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one side; and the Powzes & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a parlement, wherein he himselfe was faine to make his purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected of heresie.

The bishop of Ossioe had giuen an information against Arnold le Powze, conuicted & conuicted in his

The ladie Alice Kettle accused of sorceries.

1326

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.

The prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

Arnold Powze accused of heresie.

1318

Bignoz consecrated archbishop of Duncannon.

Walter Fitzpatrick earl of Ireland.

The lord Richard de Clare slaine.

The lord Birmingham and other persons against the commons.

1321

Rec. Turris.

1322

The primat of Trinagh.

The battell of magh. The Scots slain. Edward Bruce slaine.

1323
John Darcie lord iustice.

his confessor of certeine hereticall opinions, but because the beginning of *Howys* accusation concerned the iustices kinsman, and the bishop was miscredded to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a daie was limited for the iustifying of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of *Kilkennie* to prosecute his accusation) was reputed parcell: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspence, he infamed the said prior as an abbettoe and fauourer of *Arnolds* heresie. The prior submitted himselfe to the triall, and thereupon were severall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. Then passed a decre by the counsell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the mayors of *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Limerike*, *Waterford*, and *Droghedagh*, the shirifs, knights, & senechals of euerie shire, to appeare at *Dublin*. From amongst all these, they appointed six inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons as foresaid singularlie one by one, found that with an vniuersall consent they deposed for the prior, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull child of the catholike church. In the meane time, *Arnold le Howze* the prisoner deceased in the castell, & because he stood unpurged, long he late buried.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine, *John de Birmingham* earle of *Louth*, and his brother *Peter*, with many other of that surname, and *Richard Calbot* of *Palahide* were slaine on *Whitson* euen at *Ballyagan* by men of the countrie. Also the lord *Thomas Butler*, and diuerse other noblemen were slaine by *Mac Coghghan* & other Irishmen nere to *Spolinger*. For the Irish as well in *Leinster* as in *Meth* made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in *Hounster* under the leading of *Obzen*, whom *William* earle of *Ulster* and *James* earle of *Diamond* banquished. So outrageous were the *Leinster* Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding sicked with their sauelins, spurned the host, and waisted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (matters of no small consideration among them name lie in those daies) but maliciouslie persevered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of *Wexford* somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest fleeing were all drenched in the water of *Slane*. In the yeare one thousand three hundred and thirtie, the earle of *Ulster* with a great armie made a iourne against *Obzen*, and the prior of *Kilmannan* lord iustice put *Maurice Fitzthomas* earle of *Desmond* in prison in the marshallise, out of the which he stralied escaped, and the lord *Hugh Lucie* returned into *Ireland*, and obtained the kings peace and fauour.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, the earle of *Ulster* passed ouer into *England*, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in *Whenslie*. Also the castell of *Arlo* was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the *Cowlagh* by *Otohell* and others. Also the lord *Anthony Lucie* was sent ouer lord iustice into *Ireland*, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at *Thurlis* by the knights of the countrie, & at *Finnagh* in *Meth*, there were manie of them slaine by the English, but yet was the castell of *Fernis* taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the as-

umption of our ladie, which falleth on the fifteenth of August, *Maurice Fitzthomas* earle of *Desmond* was apprehended at *Limerike* by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of *Dublin*. Moreover, the lord iustice toke sir *William Birmingham* at *Clo-mell* by a wile, whilst he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne *Walter Birmingham*) vnto the castell of *Dublin*, the thirtieth of April. In the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir *William* was hanged at *Dublin*, but *Walter* was deliuered by reason he was within quarters.

Campion following such notes as he hath seene, writeth that the death of this *William Birmingham* chanced in time of the gouernement of *William Outlaw* prior of *Kilmannan*, being lieutenant vnto *John lord Darcie*, that was made lord iustice (as the said *Campion* hath noted) in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. Although *Marlburrow* affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the yeare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, after the lord *Lucie* was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoever, or vnder whome soeuer *Birmingham* was executed, he was accounted an od knight, and such a one as for his baliance, his match was not lightlie to be anie where found. The castell of *Clonmore* was taken the same yeare by the Englishmen, and the castell of *Bonrath* was destroyed by the Irish of *Thomond*. Also *Henrie de Mandeuill* was taken and sent prisoner to be safelie kept in *Dublin*. Likewise *Walter Burgh* with two of his brethren were taken in *Connagh* by the earle of *Ulster*, and sent to the castell of *Howburgh*.

This yeare the lord *Anthony Lucie* was discharged of his rone by the king, and so returned with his wife & childzen into *England*, and the lord *John Darcie* was sent ouer lord iustice in *Lucies* place, and great slaughter was made vpon *Bren Obzen*, and *Mac Arthie* in *Hounster*, by the English of that countrie. This *John Darcie* (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of *Louth*, and *Baliogartie*, and other lands in *Ireland* which belonged to the earle of *Cw*. And so that the said earle was a Frenchman, and toke part with *Phillip de Valois* the kings enemy, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of *Desmond* vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parliament holden at *Dublin* in this yeare 1333, was sent ouer into *England* vnto the king; and *William* erle of *Ulster* a yong gentleman of twentie yeares of age, in going towards *Knockfergus* the seauenth of June, was slaine nere to the fords in *Ulster*, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into *England*: and the daughter was after married vnto the lord *Lonell* the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at *Dublin*, and left a daughter behind her that was his heire, married to *Roger Mortimer* earle of *March*, and lord of *Trinn*.

This murder was procured by *Robert Fitzmartine* *Mandeuill*, who was the first that prestimed to giue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of *Ulster* (slaine as ye haue heard beside *Knockfergus*) the lord iustice *Darcie* with a great power went into *Ulster*, to pursue those that through *Mandeuills* seditious tumulis had so traitorously murdered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice *Darcie* appointed sir *Thomas Burgh* treasurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in *Ulster*, he passed ouer into *Scotland*, there to make warre against the Scots that were enemies at

The earle of
Desmond ap-
prehended.

1332
William Bir-
mingham ex-
ecuted.

Campion.

1336

1337
Sir John
Charleton
iustice.

1338
The bishop of
Hereford lord
iustice.

1340
John Darcie
lord iustice
during his life.

Calling in of
liberties.

The lord
Darcie iustice

The earle
of Cw.

1333
A parliament.

Articles of
questions.

The earle of
Ulster slaine.

1343
Rafe
Mandeuill
lord iustice
during his life.

Sir Thomas
Burgh.

The lord iustice
in Scotland.

The coun-
cil of Ulster.

1329
The earle of
Louth slaine.

The lord
Butler slaine.

1330

The prior of
Kilmannan
lord iustice.

1331

Anthony Lu-
cie lord ius-
tice.

at that present to the king of England, and on the feast date of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so that by the king in one part, and the lord justice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in manner whole conquered, and Edward Balliol was established king of Scotland. The lord justice might have possessed the Isles if they had bene worth the keeping: into the which Isles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Sussex late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernor at any time yet aduentured. At Darcies comming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord justice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

1336 In the yeare 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirde reigne, on S. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies. The lord John Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord justice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancellor, and John Rice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welshmen soldiers. The bishop was ordeined afterward lord justice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and shortly brought againe into quiet by the earles of Kildare and Desmond. The lord John Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord justice of Ireland, in the fourteenth yeare of king Edward the thirde reigne, which king abused by euill counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet roiall, the franchises, liberties and grants, whatsoeuer had bene deuised, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. This renouing of liberties was displeasante taken. The English of birth and the English of blood falling at words, were diuided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited, so as the realme was euen vpon the point to giue ouer all, and to rebell. For redresse whereof, the lord justice called a parlement at Dublin, to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselves together at Kilkennie, where they with the commons agreed vpon certaine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifieng in the same partie their griefes. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

Articles of questions,

1. How a realme of warre might be gouerned by one both unskillfull and vnable in all warlike seruice?

2. How an officer vnder the king, that entered berie poore, might in one yeare growe to moze excellent wealth, than men of great patrimonie and likelihood in many yeares?

3. How it chanced, that sith they were all called lordes of their owne, that the soueraine lord of them all was not a penie the richer for them?

The chiefe of them that thus saied to reprimde with the present gouernment, was Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond, through whose malice and bearing out of the matter, the countrie was in great trouble, so as it had not lightlie chanced, that such contrarietie in mindes and disliking had appeared amongst those of the English race, in that realme at any time before. Whereunto first Wiffort was sent vnder lord justice, the bringing his wife with him, the countesse of Wiffort arrived about the thirtieth of Iulie. This man was berie rigorous, and through perswasion (as was said) of his wife, he was in more reame and courteous than otherwise he would haue bene, and rather not to be forgotten. For if his lady had bene as ready to imbrace his husband to haue shewed himselfe gentle

and mild in his gouernement, as she was bent to pike him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous proceedings, she had bene now aswell reported of, as she is infamed by their pens that haue registred the doings of those times. But to the purpose. This Wiffort lord justice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seventh of June. And because the earle refused to come according to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into Mounster, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

And whilest he yet remained in Mounster, he deuised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond apprehended: which being brought to passe, he afterward deliuered him vpon mainprise of these suerties whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of Wiffort, James Butler earle of Ormonde, Richard Lute, Nicholas Weldon, Maurice Rochford, Custace le Botwe, Gerald de Rochford, John Fitzrobert Botwe, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgiral, John Wellesteie, Walter le Fant, Richard Wellesteie, Henrie Craberne, Roger Botwe, John Lefant, Roger Botwe, Matthew Fitzhenrie, Richard Walleis, Edmund Burgh sonne to the earle of Wiffort, knights: David Barrie, William Fitzgiral, Foulke de Fraxinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henrie Fitzberkleie, John Fitzgeorge de Koch, Thomas de Lees de Burgh. These (as yet haue heard) were bound for the earle. And because he made default, the lord justice verelie toke the aduantage of the bond against the mainpernours, four of them onelie excepted, the two earles and two knights.

The lord justice is charged with strict dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the same persons had assailed him in his warres against Desmond. But trulie if we shall consider the matter with indifferencie, he did no moze than law and reason required. For if euery suertie vpon forfeiture of his bond should be forborne, that otherwise doth his due, that care would men haue either to procure suerties to become suerties themselves: But such is the affection of writers, speciallie when they haue conceived any mistaking towards those of whom they take occasion to speake, so as many a worthy man hath bene defamed, and with slander greatlie defaced in things wherein he rather hath deserued singular commendation. But howsoeuer this matter was handled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the death of the lord justice, which insued the next yeare, honours were made, and great joy shewed through all the realme of Ireland. His lady verelie (as should appeare) was but a miserable woman, procuring him to extortion and biberie. Much he abridged the prerogatives of the church, and was so hated, that euen in the sight of the countrie he was robbed without rescue by Mac Cartie, notwithstanding he gathered power, and dispersed those rebels of Wiffort. Robert Darcie was ordeined justice by the counsell.

1346 Robert Darcie was ordeined justice by the counsell, till the kings letters came to sir John Fitzmaurice, who released Fitzthomas earle of Kildare left in durance by Wiffort at his death. Fitzmaurice continued not long, but was discharged, and the lord Walter Birmingham elected to succeed in that roome, who procured a safe conduct for Desmond to plead his cause before the king, by whom he was liberallie intreated, and allotted towards his expenses there twenty shillings a day at the princes charge. In consideration of which courtesie shewed to his kinsman, the earle of Kildare, accompanied with diuers lords, knights, and chosen householders, serued the king at Calis,

The earle of Desmond.

Suerties for the earle of Desmond.

Wiffort euen spoken of.

Note conceiaued for the death of the lord justice Wiffort.

1346 Robert Darcie lord justice John Fitzmaurice justice. L. Birmingham justice.

1347
Record. Tur.

1348
The prior of
Kilmannin.
Baron Car-
rew justice.
Sir Tho-
mas Rokel-
bie justice.
Record. Tur.

1349

John de S.
Paulie arch-
bishop of
Dublin.

1350
Remondie
Shereman.

Sir Robert
Savage.

Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned af-
ter the winning thereof in great pompe and iollitie.
We find that Thomas Berkeley, and Reinold
lord Cobham, and sir Justice Berkeley became
mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that
he should come into England, and abide such triall
as the law would award. John Archer prior of Kil-
mainin was substituted lieutenant to the lord ius-
tice. To whom succeeded Baron Carew, and after
Carew followed sir Thomas Rokelbie knight, unto
whom was assigned aboue his ordinarie retinue of
twenty men of armes, a supplie of ten men of
armes, and twenty archers on horsebacke, so long
as it should be thought needfull. Great mortalitie
chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so
especiallie in places about the seacoasts of England
and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this
life Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin. And
the same yeare was John de saint Paule consecra-
ted archbishop of that see. This prelate deceased Ben-
tinke Shereman sometime maior of Dublin, a great
benefactor to euerie church and religious house with-
in twenty miles round about the cite. His legacies
to the poze and others, beside his liberalitie shewed
in his life time, amounted to three thousand marks.
In this season dwelled in Ulster a worthy knight
one sir Robert Savage, who the rather to preserve
his owne, began to wall and fortifie his manor hou-
ses with castels and piles against the Irish enimie,
exhorting his helpe. Henrie Savage to applie that
word he to beneficall for himselfe & his posteritie. Fa-
ther (quoth yong Savage) I remember the prouerbe
Better a castell of bones than of stones. Where
strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe
vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber my
selfe with dead wallies. My fort shall be there soeuer
yong blouds be stirring, & where I find comie to
fight. The father in a fume let lie the building, and for-
swore to go anie further forward in it. But yet the
want thereof, and such like hath binde the decays
well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentle-
men in Ulster, as the lacke also of loaded towne
is one of the principall occasions of the waste wild-
nesse in other parts of Ireland. In the year 1351
this Savage, hauing prepared an armie against
the Irish, allowed to euerie soldier before they
should buckle with the enimie, a mightie draught of
Aspicke wine, and ale, and killed in punishment for
their returne, beates, ventison, and fowles, great plenty
of which things himselfe of his captiues mistaked,
because they considered the successe of warre to be
uncertaine, and therefore esteemed it better policie
to poison the dates, or to doe them aduante, than to
hauethe same; and happlie to find a sort of toge
with such princelie fods, if ought should happen to
themselues in this aduantage of so few against so
many. Herat killed the gentleman and said, Thus
ye are too full of wine. This word is but an inuolue
which ye haue no speciall interest; but are onlie ten-
nants at will of the Lord. If it please him to com-
mand us from it, it were from our lodging, and
to so other good fellows in our homes, where that
shall be for us to leade them some night for their
suppers. Let them hardlie win it, and we will
under our dwellings, god manet should no lesse but
for we haue them with such face as the countie be-
deh, and with all my heart much good may it doe
them. Notwithstanding I presume to send upon your
noble courages, that verelie my mind, which may
shall returne at night, & banke our schires with our
owne fowle. And so bid, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.
In the yeare 1354 deceased Maurice Fitztho-
mas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who
had that office of the kings grant for terme of life.

After him succeeded in that roome Thomas de Ro-
kelbie, a knight, sincere and upright of conscience,
who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be ser-
ued in trene cups, answered: Those homelie cups &
dishes paie trulie for that they containe: I had ra-
ther drinke out of trene cups & paie gold and siluer,
than drinke out of gold & make wooden paintment.
This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard
Kafe pimat of Armagh, & four orders of begging
friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the said
Richard Kafe, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare
1360: Kafe deceasing in the popes court, and Kil-
minton in England. Almerike de St. Amand, John
or (as other haue) James Butler earle of Desmond,
and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Bilsbare, were ap-
pointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In De-
monds time, and in the thre and twentieth yeare of
king Edward the thirde reigne, order was taken
that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in
their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects
from inuasions of enimies. And further, proclama-
tion went forth, that no mere Irish borne should be
made maior, bailiffe, portier, officer, or minister in
anie towne or place within the English dominions:
nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other
being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeiture of all
that he might forfeit, should aduance anie that was
mere Irish borne to the roome of a canon, or to haue
anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that late among
the English subiects.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Bilsbare, when he
was ordained lord iustice, the kings letters assigned
in yearelike fee for his office 500 pounds, with condi-
tion, that the said governour should find twenty
great hostes to serue in the field, he himselfe to be
the twentieth man in going against the enimie: which
allowance and conditions in those dates (so farre as
I can gette) should seme to be ordinarie to the office.
Lionell duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward
the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord iustice
there, and was in right of his wiffe earle of Ulster.
He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth
not once to approach his armie, nor to be in anie wise
imployed in seruice of the wars. He vanquished De-
bren; but yet subentlie (no man understanding how)
an hundred of his souldiers were wanting as they
laie in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be
occasioned by that displeasing decree afore rehear-
sed. Whereupon he took better aduise, and receiued
the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had
them in before that present, shewing a tender loue
towards them all, and so euier after prospered in his
affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Maeston,
now knowne by the name of the familie of Cor-
manton, Holiewood, Talbot, Cusac, de la Hyde,
Patricke, Robert and John de Frarints: all these
being gentlemen of worthy fame in dynastie. The
archbishop he removed to Catherlagh, & bestowed in
summing that towne five hundred pounds.

In the yeare 1362 John de St. Paule archbishop
of Dublin departed this life the fifteenes of Sep-
tember. And in the yeare following was Thomas
Mabbot consecrated archbishop of that place. Edward
Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was appointed lord
iustice, until the coming of the lord Willing, the
first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the
yeare 1364. This Willing called a parliament at
Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a
subsidie of three thousand pounds to be lent of the
people, subiects to the king in that land. And in an
other parliament holden by him at Balthoill they
granted three thousand pounds to be likewise lent
of the nobles and communalitie of the land.

lord iustice
deceased.
Thomas Ro-
kelbie lord
iustice his
saung.

1357
Dissention
betwixt the
pimat of
Armagh, &
the four or-
ders of friers.
The lord
iustice.

Record. Tur.

The earle of
Bilsbare lord
iustice.

Lionell duke
of Clarence.

1361

1367
The lord
iustice lient-
enant.

1369
Record. Tur.
A parliament
at Balthoill.

Mortalitie
people.
1370

Conham.

1373
Sir Richard
Bilton lord
iustice.
1373
Slaughter.

1375

1381
The earle of
March the
kings lieu-
tenant.
1383

1385

1390

1394
King Rich-
ard com-
ing to Ire-
land.

1399
Roger Ma-
stier lord
lieutenant
Thom. W.
1399

Sir John
Fitztho-
mas.

1355
The earle of
Desmond

land, towa rds the maintenance of the kings expenses in his warres. Yet the king in the thre and fortieth yeare of his reigne, directing his letters unto the said lord Windsor, comanded him to surceale from leuening the foresaid monie, although afterwards he comanded againe that the arrearages should be leuied and paid to his lieutenant the said Windsor.

Mortalitie of
people.
1370

Conthar.

1372
Sir Richard
Aston lord
iustice.
1373
slaughter.

1375

The third pestilence in Ireland made awaie a great number of people. In the yeare 1370 the lord Gerald Fitzmoize earle of Desmond, and the lord John Fitzrichard, and the lord John Fitzjohn, and manie other noble men were slaine by Obzen, and Mac Conmard of Thomond in the moneth of Iulie. In the yeare 1372 sir Richard Aston was sent ouer to be lord iustice in Ireland. In the yeare following great warre was raised betwixt the English of Meth, and Dufferoll, in the which manie upon both sides were slaine. In the same yeare, the lord John Husse baron of Galtrim, John Fitzrichard Whirke of Meth, and William Dalton were slaine in Kinalough. In the yeare 1375 Thomas archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert de Wakeford consecrated archbishop there.

Richard the second.

1381
The earle of
March the
kings lieutenant.
1383

1385

1390

Edmund Mortimer earle of March & Ulster was made the kings lieutenant in Ireland. In the yeare 1383 a great mortalitie reigned in that countrie. This was called the fourth pestilence. In the yeare 1385 Dublin bridge fell. Beside Edmund Mortimer earle of March, Campion affirmeth, that in this Richard the seconds daies, there are iustices and lieutenants of Ireland speciallie recorded; Roger Mortimer sonne to the said Edmund, Philip Courtneie the kings consine, James earle of Desmond, and Robert Wre earle of Oxford, marquesse of Dublin lord chamberleine, who was also created duke of Ireland by parlement, and was credited with the whole dominion of the realme by grant for teacme of life, without patenganie thing therefore, passing all writs, and placing all officers, as chancelor, treasurer, chiefe iustice, admerall, his owne lieutenant, and other inferior charges under his owne Teste. In the yeare 1390, Robert de Wakeford archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and the same yeare was Robert Waldebie translated unto the archbishop of Dublin an Augustine frier.

1394
King Richard
goeth ouer into
Ireland.

1397
Roger Mortimer lord
lieutenant.
Thom. Wall.

1399
Sir Richard
Aston lord
iustice.

In the yeare 1394, king Richard sore afflicted and troubled in mind with sorow for the decaie of his wife quene Anne, that departed this life at Whitsuntide last past, not able without teares to behold his palaces and chambers of estate, that represented unto him the solace past, & doubled his sorow, sought some occasion of businesse: and now about Michaelmas passed ouer into Ireland, where diuerse lords and princes of Ulster renewed their homages, & placing Roger Mortimer erle of March his lieutenant, returned about Shrouetide. In the yeare 1397, Richard de Poorthalis archbishop of Dublin departed this life, that was the same yeare from another place removed thither: he was a frier of the order of the Carmelites.

The same yeare Thomas de Craulie was chosen and consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Also sir Thomas de Burgh, and sir Walter de Birmingham, two sir hundred Irishmen, with their capteine Macdonne, Mooreouer, Edmund earle of March lord deputie of Ireland, with the aid of the erle of Desmond, waiked the countrie of an Irish lord called Obzen, and at the winning of his chiefe house, he made ten

uen knights, to wit, sir Christopher Preston, sir John Bedlow, sir Edmund Londones, sir John Londones, sir William Nugent, Walter de la Hyde, and Robert Cadell. But after this it chanced, that on the Ascension daie, certeine Irishmen due fortye Englishmen: and among them these were accounted as principall, John Fitzwilliams, Thomas Talbot, and Thomas Cambrie. But shortly after Roger Mortimer earle of March and Ulster the kings lieutenant was slaine, with diuerse other, by Obzen and other Irishmen of Leinster at Kenlis. Then was Roger Crele elected Lord iustice of Ireland.

Roger Crele
lord iustice of
Ireland.

The same yeare on the feast daie of saint Marke the pope, the duke of Surreie landed in Ireland, and with him came sir Thomas Craulie the archbishop of Dublin. King Richard informed of the unrulie parts and rebellious sturres of the Irishmen, minded to appease the same, and speciallie to reuenge the death of the earle of March: whereupon with a number of two hundred sails he passed ouer into Ireland, and landed at Waterford on a sundaie, being the morrow after saint Petronilla the virgins day. The fridaie after his arrivall at Ford in Kenlis within the towne of Kildare, there were slaine two hundred Irishmen by Henrich de Artols a Gascoigne, and such Englishmen as he had with him: and the morrow after, the citizens of Dublin brake into the countrie of Obzen, due thirtye & three of the enemies, and toke fourescore men with children.

1398
King Richard
passeth the se-
cond time ouer
into Ireland.

The fourth kalends of Iulie, king Richard came to Dublin, and remained there for a time; during the which diuerse lords and princes of the countrie came in and submitted themselves unto him, by whome they were courteously used, and trained to honourable demeanour and ciuilitie, as much as the shortnes of time would permit, as in the English historie you maie find set forth more at large. Whilste king Richard thus late in Dublin to reduce Ireland into due subiection, he was aduertised that Henrie duke of Lancaster, that latelie before had bene banished, was returned, & ment to bereave him of the crowne. The sonne of which duke, together with the duke of Glocesters sonne, the king that by within the castell of Crim, and then taking the seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he found his defense so weak, and vnure, that finallie he came into his aduersaries hands, and was depoted by authoritie of parlement, and then was the said duke of Lancaster admitted to reigne in his place.

The king
cometh to
Dublin.

See more
hereof in
England.

Henrie the fourth.



Whitsuntide in the yeare 1400, which was the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the fourth, the conestable of Dublin castell, and diuerse other at Stanford in Ulster, fought by sea with Scots. Where manie Englishmen were slaine and drowned. In the second yeare of king Henrie the fourth, sir John Stanleie the kings lieutenant in Ireland returned into England, leaving his vnder lieutenant there sir William Stanleie. The same yeare on Bartholomew euen, sir Stephan Scrope, deputie unto the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings brother, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived there to supplie the comie of Alexander bishop of Meth, that exercised the same office vnder the said lord Thomas of Lancaster, before the comming of this sir Stephan Scrope; which sir Stephan for his violence and extortion before time vied in the same office vnder king Richard, was sore cried out vpon by the voices of the

1400

1401
Sir John
Stanleie lord
lieutenant.

Sir Stephan
Scrope.

W. J.

po: e

lord iustice
deceased.
Thomas Ro-
kebie lord
iustice his
saueing.

1357
Dissent
betwixt the
primat of
Armagh, &
the foure or-
ders of friers,
three lord
iustices.

Record. Tur.

The earle of
Kildare lord
iustice.

Lionell duke
of Clarence.

1362

1367
The lord
Windsor
lieutenant.

1369
Record. Tur.
parlement.
subsidie.

poore people, in so much that the ladie his wife hearing of such exclamations, would in no wise continue with him there, except he would receiue a solemne oath on the bible, that twittinglie he should wrong no christian creature in that land, but dulie and trulie he should see paiement made for all expences: and hereof (he said) he had made a vow to Christ so determinatlie, that vntlesse it were on his part firmelie promised, he could not without perill of soule go with him. His husband assented and accomplished his request effectualle, recovered a good opinion for his vpright dealing, reformed his caters & purueitours, enriched the countrie, mainteined a plentiful house, remission of great offenses, remedies for persons indangered to the prince, pardons of lands and liues he granted so charitablie and so discretelie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie blessings and praiers, and so cherefullie they were readie to serue him against the Irish vpon all necessarie occasions. The lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived the same yeare at Dublin, vpon saint Wices daie.

The maior of Dublin John Drake, with a band of his citizens nere to Wye, due foure thousand of the Irish outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Christs church) but Marlburrow speaketh onelie of 493, and these being all men of warre. The verie same daie that this victorie was atchieued, to wit, the eleuenth day of Iulie, the church of the friers prechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbishop of that citie. The same yeare in September, a parlement was holden at Dublin, during the which in Argile sir Bartholomew Weldon knight, James White, Stephen Gernon, and other their complices, due the shiriffe of Louth John Dowdall. In the yere 1403, in Aprile, sir Walter Betterleie steward of Ulster, a right valiant knight was slaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The same yeare about the feast of saint Martin, the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne returned into England leaving the lord Stephan Scrope his deputie there: who also in the beginning of Lent sailed ouer into England, and then the lords of the land chose the earle of Desmond to be lord iustice.

In the first yere of Henrie the fourth, John Colton archbishop of Armagh the seuen & twentieth of Aprill departed this life, vnto whom Nicholas Stoning succeeded. The same yeare on the daie of saint Vitale the martyr, the parlement of Dublin began before the earle of Desmond then lord iustice of Ireland, where the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the charter of Ireland. In the first yere of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of Aprile, thre Scottish barks were taken, two at Greene castell, and one at Alkeie, with capteine Macgolagh. The same yeare the merchants of Wodagh entered Scotland, and toke preies and pledges. Also on the euen of the feast day of the seuen brethren, Oghgard was burnt by the Irish. And in June sir Stephan Scrope that was come againe into Ireland, returned effronces into England, leaving the earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland. About the same time they of Dublin entered Scotland at saint Johnian, and valiantlie behaued themselves against the enemies, and after crossing the seas, directed their course into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welch men, bringing from thence the shize of saint Cuthberts, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler earle of Desmond died at Walsingham, whilste he was lord iustice, vnto whom succeeded Gerald earle of Kildare.

In the seventh yere of king Henrie on Corpus Christi day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie

people about them, manfullie banquished the Irish enemies, and slue diuerse of them, and toke two ensignes of standards, bringing with them to Dublin the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeare the prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfullie with the Irish, & banquished two hundred that were well armed, slaying part of them, and chasing the residue out of the field, and the prior had not with him past the number of twentie Englishmen: but God (as saith mine author) assisted those that put their trust in him. The same yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scrope deputie iustice to the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feast of saint Hilarie was a parlement holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Peller de Birmingham slue Cathole McDonhur about the end of Februarie. In the yere 1407, a certeine false and heathenish witch an Irishman, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had caused forzie churches to be destroyed, as he that was neuer christened, and therefore called Corbi, chanced to take prisoner one Patrike Savage, and receiued for his ransome two thousand markes, though afterwards he slue him, together with his brother Richard.

The same yeare in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse, Stephan Scrope deputie to the lord Thomas of Lancaster, with the earles of Desmond and Desmond, and the prior of Kilmannan, and diuerse other capteins and men of warre of Wexford, set from Dublin, and inuaded the land of Mac Murrough, where the Irish came into the field and skirmished with them, so as in the former part of the daie they put the English power to the worse; but at length the Irish were banquished and chased, so that Molan with his son and diuerse others were taken prisoners. But the English capteins aduertised here, that the Burkens and Okeroll in the countie of Kilkennie, had for the space of two daies together done much mischief, they rode with all speed vnto the towne of Callan, and there encountering with the aduersaries, manfullie put them to flight, slue Okeroll, and eight hundred others. There went a tale, and beleued of manie, that the sunne stood still for a space that daie, till the Englishmen had ridden six miles: so much was it thought that God fauoured the English part in this enterprise, if we shall beleue it.

The same yeare the lord Stephan Scrope passed once againe ouer into England, and James Butler earle of Desmond was elected by the countrie lord iustice of Ireland. In the daies of this Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Corke being sore afflicted with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish neighbours, complained themselves in a generall writing directed to the lord Rutland and Corke, the kings deputie there, and to the counsell of the realme then assembled at Dublin: which letter because it openeth a window to behold the state of those parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in those daies, we haue thought good to set downe here, as it hath bene entered by Campion, according to the copie deliuered to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the quenes maiesties priuie counsell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old record that beareth no date.



It may please your wisdomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poore subiects within the countie of Corke, or else we are cast auaie for ever. For where there are in this countie the se lordes by name, beside knights,

The Irish overthrown by the maior of Dublin.

1403

Stephan Scrope, the earle of Desmond lord iustice.

1404 The archbishop of Armagh deceased.

1405

The citizens of Dublin invaded Scotland. They inuaded Wales.

The earle of Desmond deceased.

Hen. Mark.

A parlement at Dublin.

1407

Corbi what he signifyeth.

Okeroll slaine.

I thinke rather Greene castell.

The citie of Corke.

knights, esquires, gentlemen, and peomen, to a great number that might dispend yearelie eight hundred pounds, five hundred pounds, four hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twentie markes, twentie pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lordes. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelie reuenues was beside Doysele hauen and other crækes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barneuale of Wærhauen, his yearelie reuenue was beside Woysele hauen and other crækes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Wogan of the great cassell, his yearelie reuenue beside his hauens and crækes, thirtene thousand pounds. The lord Walram of Enfozt, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Kelbetton, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Spandewile of Barenfellie, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the gard, his yearelie reuenues beside hauens & crækes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Baltmore, his yearelie reuenue beside hauens and crækes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Koch of Poole cassell, his yearelie reuenues besides hauens and crækes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late yong Barrie by forfeiture, the yearelie reuenue thereof, besides two rivers and crækes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble counsell may come to Corke, & call before you all these lordes, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them do make warre upon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings counsell; for the better destruction of these parts is that onelie cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enemies were dyuen into a great vallie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mounteines called Sparcozt, or the leppons Iland: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lordes fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part toke certeine Irishmen to take their part, and so vanquished their enemies. And thus fell the English lordes at warre among themselves, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and dyane them awaile, and now haue the countrie whole vnder them; but that the lord Koch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelie remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and yong Barrie is there vpon the kings portion, paieng his grace neuer a pennie rent. Therefore we the kings poore subiects of the citie of Corke, Kinsale, and Boghall, desire your lordship to send hither two good iustices to see this matter ordered, and some English capteins with twentie Englishmen that may be capteins ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to redresse these enormities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all. Thus far that letter.

The citie of Corke.

And (as saith Campion) at this date the citie of Corke is so incumberd with vnquiet neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continuallie, & to keepe them shut at seruice times,

at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering any stranger to enter the towne with his weapon, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at any time walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at seasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armor and weapon for their safegard. They march in wedlocke among themselves, so that welnære the whole citie is alied and ioined together in consanguinitie. But now to retorne vnto the doings of the earle of Desmond that was placed lord iustice in Scropps roome. We doe find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Bilkennie and Dublin were cosses renewed, and certeine ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against puruelors. The same yeare, the moztow after Lammas daie, the lord Thomas of Lancaster sonne to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carlingford, and in the weeke following he came vnto Dublin, and put the earle of Kildare vnder arrest, comming to him with three of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the cassell of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

On the daie of saint Marcell the martyr deceased the lord Stephan Scrope at Trisseldermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Kilmalman wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be giuen by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Koffe. And after the feast of saint Ylari, he held a parlement at Bilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirtieth of March, he returned into England, leauing the prior of Kilmalman for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgillmore was slaine in Cragfergus within the church of the friers minors, which church he had before destroyed, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enemies the Savages entred vpon him. This yeare being in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June, Janico de Artois with the Englishmen slue foure score of the Irish in Ulster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by their ancient seale called *Signum prepositurae*) by a prouost; and in the thirtieth of Henrie the third by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into thiriffes, by charter granted by Edward the first, 1547.

This maioralitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, exceedeth any citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentieth daie of Maie, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted three weekes, the prior of Kilmalman sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentieth of June, the same iustice toke the cassels of Mbraclide, Mferoll, and de la Mare. Ireland this yeare was sore afflicted for want of corne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Mzen with 15000 kernes, of which number eight hundred renolted to the Irish, so that if the power of Dublin had not bene there, it had gon euill with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for John Derpatrike was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, marriages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Presson married the daughter of Edward Paris, and John Wogan matched with the eldest daughter of Christopher Presson; and Walter de la Hyde with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of Ibertius and Valerianus, which falleth on the tenth of Aprill, Mconthir did much mischief.

1408
A parlement
at Dublin.

The lord
Thomas of
Lancaster
commeth ouer
into Ireland.

The lord
Scrope de-
ceased.

The lord
Thomas re-
turneth into
England.

1409
James de
Artois.
The sword
giuen to the
citie of Dub-
lin.
Bailiffes
changed into
thiriffes.

1410

A tourne
made by the
lord iustice.

1411
Marriages.

1412
Mconthir.

Hen. Marlb.

A parlement
at Dublin.

1407

Corke what it
signifieth.

Deeroll
slaine.

The bishop of
Meth deceased.
The death of
king Henrie
the fourth.

chiefe in Meth, and toke 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Moles a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice fought together, and either slue other. The foure & twentieth of Maie, Robert Mountaine bishop of Meth departed this life, to whome succeeded Edward de Audisic sometime archdeacon of Cornwall. This yeare on saint Catberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

Henrie the fift.

1413
John Stan-
leie the kings
lieutenant in
Ireland.

In the first yeare of this king, the five and twentieth of September, landed in Ireland at Clatwarse, John Stanleie the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Januarie next ensuing at Athird, in Latine called *Atrium Dei*. After his decease, Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord iustice of Ireland. Janico de Artois led forth a power against Maginors, a great lord of Ireland, but nere to a place called Inoz manie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Mathias daie, a parlement began againe at Dublin, which continued for the space of fiftene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by invasions made into the English pale, and burning up all the houses afore them that stood in their wate, as their usuall custome was in times of other parlements: whereupon a tallage was demanded, but not granted. In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish nere to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enemies, whilst the archbishop being lord iustice in Arisfelbermot, went in procession with his cleargie; praiering for the good speed of his men and other of the countrie that were gone forth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Gordian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Mconthit and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Maurenar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Wardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

Thomas
Crauleie
archbishop of
Dublin.

A parlement.

1414

Englishmen
slaine.

John lord
Talbot of
Sherfield.
1415
Robert Tal-
bot deceased.

1416
The archbi-
shop of Ar-
magh de-
ceased.

The parles-
ment remo-
ued to Trim.

A subsidie.
1417

On saint Martins euen sir John Talbot of Holmshire, lord Furniual landed at Dalkete, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honor. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and fiftene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that walled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Waret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Kenlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Geruasius and Prothasius which falleth on the nineteenth of June, the lord lieutenants wife the ladie Furniual was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succeeded John Suanig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furniuals sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell upon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Walimoz of Waliquelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had bene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare remoued to Trim, & there began the eleuenth of Maie, where it continued for the space of eleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

In the yeare following, the archbishop of Du-

blin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Faringdon; but his bodie was buried in the new college at Orford. This man is greatlie praised for his liberalltie, he was a good almesman, a great clerke, a doctor of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in good quiet by the space of twentie yerres. This yeare shortly after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Beshat. Also at Dlane on the feast daie of saint John and saint Paul, the erle of Bildare, sir Christopher Pzefson, and sir John Bedloto were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the prior of Kilmalmanan.

The archbi-
shop of Du-
blin deceased.

His praise.

1418

The nine and twentieth of June Mathew Hulseie baron of Galtrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & ninetene a roiall counsell was holden at Paas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare upon Cenehurst daie Mthoell toke foure hundred kine that belonged vnto Walimoz, so breaking the peace contrarie to his oth. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Spurch chiefe capteine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokeleie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the maior raised the castell of Kenie. The morrow after the feast daie of Processus and Martinianus, that is the twentieth of June, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue foure hundred Irishmen, & toke Mkelie. On the feast daie of Marie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leaving his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went forth of Ireland to serue the king in his warres of Poymandie, as Thomas Butler that was prior of Kilmalmanan, and manie others. John Fitzhenrie succeeded the said Butler in government of the priorie of Kilmalmanan. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirtie Irishmen nere vnto Rodisson. Also the thirteenth of Februarie John Fitzhenrie prior of Kilmalmanan departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succeed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

1419
A counsell of
parlement
holden.

Mac Spurch
taken pri-
soner.

Mkelie ta-
ken.

The prior of
Kilmalmanan
went to serue
the king in
France.

1420
The parles-
ment began.

The castell of
Colmolin.
The erle of
Dymonds son
and heire
borne.

James Butler earle of Dymond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of John lord Talbot and Furniual, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of Aprill: and shortly after his comming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried awate loze wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a counsell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seventh of June. In the meane while he fetcht great booties out of the countries of the Irish lords, Diale, Mac Mahun, and Maginots. But first yer we go further to shew what Marlburrow hath noted of the doings, whilst this earle of Dymond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writeth thereof, as thus.

1420
James But-
ler earle of
Dymond lord
lieutenant.

A parlement
summoned.

1421
A parlement.

In the red more of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculouly standing still in his epticle by the space of thre houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakemire in all that bog annoteng either horse or man of his part) he banquished Dmoze and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number he

James Yong
an author al-
leaged by
Campion.
The sunne
staeth his
course.

The bishop of
Cashill ac-
cused.

he overcame Arthur Mac Morogh, at whose might & puissance all Leinster trembled. To the instruction of this mans worthinesse, the compiler of certaine precepts touching the rule of a common-wealth exciteb his lord the said earle in diuerse places of that worke incidentlie, effions putting him in mind that the Irish are false by kind, that it were expedient, and a worke of charitie to execute vpon them willfall and malicious transgressors the kings lawes somewhat sharplie, that Adempste being winked at a while, abused that small time of sufferance to the iniurie of the earle of Bilsdare, intruding vntillie vpon the castell of Leie, from whence the said deputie had iustlie expelled him, and put the earle in possession thereof, that notwithstanding their oths and pledges, they are yet no longer true than they fele themselves the weaker. This deputie famed the Brens, the Burghs, Mac Barons, Mghaghuaght, Moris Mac Mahun, all the capteins of Thomond: & all this he did in thre months; the clergie twice euerie weeke in solemne procession praiering for his good succes against those disordered persons, which now in euerie part of Ireland degenerated from the English ciuilitie, to their old trade of life vsed in that countrie, repined at the English manner of gouernment. So far Campion.]

Diuerse parlements vpon prorogations were holden in tyme that this earle of Dymond was gouernor. The first began at Dublin the seauenth of June in this yeare one thousand foure hundred and twentie, which continued about fifteen daies. At this parlement was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie of seauen hundred marks. At the firste daies end this parlement was adioined till the mondaie after saint Andrews daie. In the same parlement the debts of the lord John Talbot, which were due to certaine persons for vittels and other things, taken by whilist he was lord lieutenant there, were reckoned by, which lord Talbot verelie, for that he saw not the creditors satisfied before his comming awaie, was partlie enill spoken of in the countrie. The morrow after the feast of Simon and Jude, the castell of Colmolin was taken by Thomas Fitzgiralde. And on saint Katharins euen, the sonne and heire of the earle of Dymond lord lieutenant was bozne, for the which there was great reioicing. In the parlement begun againe at Dublin the mondaie after saint Andrews daie, an other subsidie of thre hundred marks was granted vnto the lord lieutenant. And after they had sat thirtene daies, it was effions adioined untill the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie. Then rumors were spred abroad, that Thomas Fitzgiralde earle of Desmond was departed this life at Paris vpon saint Laurence daie, after whome succeeded his vnckle James Fitzgiralde, whome he had thre seuerall times renounced, as one that was a waister of his patrimonie both in England and Ireland, and not like to come to anie good profe.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, the parlement began againe vpon the last prorogation, the mondaie after saint Ambrose daie: in which parlement it was ordeined that certaine persons should be sent to the king, to sue that a reformation might be had in matters touching the state of the land. The chiefe of those that were thus sent, were the archbishop of Armagh, and sir Christopher Bresson knight. Whereouer Richard Medelian bishop of Cathill was accused by John Gese bishop of Lismore and Waterford, who laid thirtie articles vnto his charge. Amongst other, one was for that he loued none of the English nation, and that he bestowed not one benefice vpon anie Englishman, and counselled other bishops that they should not bestow anie within their diocesse vpon anie Englishman. Whereouer, another article was for counter-

setting the kings scale. And another, for that he went about to make himselfe king of Spounster, and had taken a ring from the image of saint Patrick (which the earle of Desmond had offered) and giuen it to his lemmann. Many other crimes were laid to him by the said bishop of Lismore and Waterford, which he exhibited in writing. Also in the same parlement there rose contention betwixt Adam Daine bishop of Clone, and another prelat, whose church he would haue annexed vnto his see. At length, after the parlement had continued for the space of eightene daies, it brake vp. Herewith came newes of the slaughter of the lord Thomas of Lancaster duke of Clarence, that had bene lord lieutenant of Ireland. And vpon the seuenth of Maie certaine of the erle of Dymonds men were overthrowen by the Irish, nere to the abbete of Leis, and seuen and twentie Englishmen were slaine there: of whom the chiefe were two gentlemen, the one named Purcell, & the other Grant. Also ten were taken prisoners, and two hundred escaped to the foresaid abbete, so sauing themselves. About the same time Mac Mahun an Irish lord did much hurt within the countrie of Argile, by burning & waisting all afore him. Also vpon the morrow after Midsummer daie, the earle of Dymond lord lieutenant entred into the countrie about Leis vpon Dymordis, and for the space of foure daies together did much hurt, in slaying and spoiling the people, till the Irish were glad to sue for peace.

Henrie the sixt.



Heutenants to Henrie the first ouer the reime of Ireland were these, Edmund earle of March, and James earle of Dymond his deputie; John Sutton lord Dupleie, and sir Thomas Strange knight his deputie; sir Thomas Stanleie, and sir Christopher Plunket his deuptie. This sir Thomas Stanleie on Michaelmasse daie, in the twelue yeare of king Henrie the first, with all the knights of Meth & Treuil, fought against the Irish, slew a great number, & took Peill McDonnell prisoner.]

Upon lord Wils, and the earle of Dymond his deputie. James earle of Dymond by himselfe, John earle of Shrewesburie, and the archbishop of Dublin lord iustice in his absence. Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to king Edward the fourth & earle of Ulster, had the office of lieutenant by the kings letters patents during the terme of tenne yeares, who appointed to rule vnder him as his deputies at sundrie times the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzensface knight, James earle of Dymond, and Thomas Fitzmorice earle of Bilsdare. To this Richard duke of Yorke and Ulster then resident in Dublin, was bozne within the castell there his second sonne the lord George that was affter duke of Clarence. His godfathers at the fontstone were the earles of Dymond and Desmond. Whether the commotion of Jacke Cade an Irishman bozne, naming himselfe Moxtiner, and so pretending counsaige to diuerse noble houses in this land, proceeded from some intelligence with the dukes friends here in Ireland, it is vncertaine: but surelie the duke was vehementlie suspected, and immediatlie after began the troubles, which through him were raised. Which troubles being couched for a time, the duke held himselfe in Ireland, being latelie by parlement ordeined protector of the realme of England: he left his agent in the court, his brother the earle of Salisburie, lord chancelor, to whom he declared the truth of the trou-

The duke of Clarence slaine in France.

Mac Mahun

Here endeth Marburrow, and all that followeth is taken out of Campion.

Campion out of the records of Christs church. George duke of Clarence bozne at Dublin. Jacke Cade.

The archbt. of Dublin deceased, his prais.

1418

1419 A council of parliament holden.

Mac Murch taken prisoner.

1420 The parliament began.

Whellie taken.

The prior of Kilmalmain went to seege the king in France.

The castell of Colmolin. The earle of Dymonds son and heire bozne.

1420 James Butler erle of Dymond lord lieutenant.

A parliament summoned.

1421 A parliament.

The bishop of Cathill accused.

James Yong an author alleged by Campion. The same saith his course.

bles then toward in Ireland : which letter exemplified by sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, a great searcher and preseruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by him set downe we haue thought good likewise to present it here to your view.

To the right worshipfull, and with all
mine heart entierlie beloued brother,
the earle of Salisburie.

The copie of
a letter.



Right worshipfull, & with all my hart
entierlie beloued brother, I recommend
me vnto you as heartilie as I can. And
like it you to wit, sith I wrote last vnto
the king our souereigne lord his highnesse, the Irish
enimie, that is to saie Magoghigam, and with him
thre or foure Irish capteins, associat with a great
fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that
they were within the king our souereigne lord his
peace, of great malice, and against all truth haue
maigned against their legiance, and bengeable haue
bzent a great towne of mine inheritance in Metch,
called Kamoze, and other villages thereabouts, and
murthered and bzent both men, women, and children,
withouten mercie : the which enemies be yet assem-
bled in woods and forts, alwaighting to doe the hurt
and greiuanee to the kings subiects, that they can
thinke or imagine. For which cause I write at this
time vnto the kings highnesse, and beseech his good
grace for to haften my payment for this land, accord-
ing vnto his letters of warrant now late directed
vnto the treasurer of England, to the intent I may
waage men in sufficient number for to resist the ma-
lice of the same enemies, & punish them in such wise,
that other which would doe the same for lacke of resis-
tance, in time maie take example. For doubtlesse,
but if my payment be had in all hast, for to haue men
of warre in defense and safegard of this land; my
power can not stretch to keepe it in the kings obeis-
sance: and verie necessitie will compell me to come
into England to liue there vpon my poze liuelihod.
For I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience
should fall thereto by my default: for it shall neuer
be chronicled nor remaine in scripture (by the grace
of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence.
And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull bro-
ther, that you will hold to your hands instantlie,
that my payment maie be had at this time in esche-
wing all inconueniences. For I haue example in o-
ther places (more pitie it is) for to dread shame, and
for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highnesse, as
my dutie is. And this I praye and exhort you good bro-
ther, to shew vnto his good grace, and that you will
be so good, that this language maie be enacted at this
present parlement for mine excuse in time to come,
and that you will be good to my seruant Roger Ro
the bearer of these, and to my other seruants, in such
things as they shall pursue vnto the kings highnesse,
and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of
the said Roger, touching the said matters. Right
worshipfull, and with all my heart entierlie beloued
brother, our blessed Lord God preserue and keepe you
in all honour, prosperous estate, and felicitie, & grant
you right good life and long. Written at Dublin the
fiftenth daie of June.

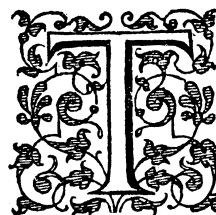
Your faithfull true brother
Richard Yorke.

Magoghigam his
power.

Of such power was Magoghigam in those daies,
who as he wan and kept it by the sword, so now his
successors in that state liue but as meane capteins,
yelding their twinings to the stronger. This is the
miserie of lawlesse people, resembling the rudenesse
of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer

and power than other, as he was in might and blo-
lence more or lesse inabled. Here began factions of
the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerse sides that
stroue for the crowne of England. For the duke of
Borke, in those ten yeares of his gouernement, ex-
ceedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gen-
tlemen of that land, of the which diuerse were staine
with him at Wakefield; as the contrarie part was
the next yeare by his sonne Edward earle of March
at Apozimers crosse in Wales. In which meane time
the Irish grew hardie, & vsurped the English coun-
tries in sufficientlie defended, as they had done by
like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the se-
cond. These two seasons set them so adre, that
henceforward they could neuer be cast out from their
forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Ul-
ster, and by certeine Irish tenures no small portions
of Mounster and Connagh, least in Metch and Lein-
ster, where the ciuill subiects of the English bloud
did euer most pzeuaille.

Edward the fourth and Edward
the fift.



Thomas Fitzmorice earle
of Kildare, lord iustice till the
third yeare of Edward the
fourth, after which time the
duke of Clarence, brother to
the king, had the office of
lieutenant while he liued, &
made his deputies by sundry
turnes, Thomas earle of Desmond, John Tiptoft
earle of Worcester the kings cousine, Thomas earle
of Kildare, and Henrie lord Greie of Ruthin. Great
was the credit of the Geraldins euer when the house
of Borke prospered, and likewise the Butlers thre-
ued vnder the bloud of the Lancasters: for which
cause the earle of Desmond remained manie yerres
deputie to George duke of Clarence his good bro-
ther: but when he had spoken certeine disdainfull
words against the late marriage of king Edward
with the ladie Elizabeth Greie, the said ladie being
now queene, caused his trade of life after the Irish
maner, contrarie to sundrie old statutes enacted in
that behalfe, to be sifted and examined by John erle
of Worcester his successor; so that he was atteinted
of treason, condemned, and for the same beheaded at
Droghedagh.

James the father of this Thomas earle of Des-
mond, being suffered and not controlled, during the
gouernment of Richard duke of Borke his godceper,
and of Thomas earle of Kildare his kinsman, put
vpon the kings subiects within the countries of
Waterford, Corke, Berrie, and Limrick, the Ir-
ish impositions of quints and liuerie, cartings,
carriages, lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and such
like, which customes are the verie breeders, mainte-
ners, and vpholders of all Irish enormities, wyng-
ing from the poze tenants euerlasting lesse, allow-
ance of meat and monte, whereby their bodies and
goods were brought in seruaice and thraldome, so that
the men of warre, ho:des, and their Galloglasses lie
still vpon the farmers, eat them out, begger the coun-
trie, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, readie to rebell
if their lord command them, euer nuzled in stealth
and robberies.

These euill presidents giuen by the father, the son
did exercise, being lord deputie, to whome the refor-
mation of that disorder speciallie belonged. Not-
withstanding the same fault being winked at in o-
ther, and with such rigo: auenged in him, was ma-
nifestlie taken for a quarrell sought and procured.
Two yeares after, the said earle of Worcester
lost

Lieutenants
and deputies
in king Ed-
ward the
fourth his
daies.

The But-
lers.

The earle of
Worcester.
1467

Campion out
of Sentleger.
in his collec-
tions.

Irish imposi-
tions.

Restitution to
bloud.
1470
Flatsburie.

Richard the
third.

Henrie the
seventh.
Sir Richa-
rd Simon
priest.
Lambert
counterfeit
be the earle
warwicke.

The lord
Donell.
Sir Thom
Broughton

lost his head, whilſt Henrie the ſixt taken out of the tower was ſet vp againe, and king Edward proclaimed blurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteinted, they thought alſo to haue rid, and thoſtly both the earles of Kildare & Deſmond were reſtozed to their blond by parlement. Sir Rowland Cuſace, ſometime treaſuroꝝ and lord chancellor, was laſtly alſo lord deputie of Ireland. He founded ſaint Francis abbey beſide Kilcollen byſge. King Edward a yeaꝛe befoꝛe his death honozed his yong-
er ſonne (Richard duke of Yorke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he inioied till his vn-
naturall vnkle bereft both him and his brother king Edward the ſixt of their naturall liues.

Reſtitution to
blond.
1470
Flatsburie.

Richard the third.

Richard the
third.

When this monſter of na-
ture & cruell tyrant Richard
the third had killed his two
yong nephues, and taken vp-
on him the crowne & gouerne-
ment of England, he prefer-
red his owne ſonne Edward
to the dignitie of lord lieute-
nant of Ireland, whoſe deputie was Girald earle of
Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king
Richard, and a while in Henrie the ſeuenth his daies.

Henrie the ſeuenth.

Henrie the ſe-
uenth.
Sir Richard
Simon
priest.
Lambert
counterfeit to
be the earle of
Warwicke.

In which earle came the wi-
lie prieſt ſir Richard Simon,
bzinging with him a lad that
was his ſcholer, named Lam-
bert, whome he ſeined to be the
ſonne of George earle of Cla-
rence, latelie eſcaped ſorþ of
the tower of London. And the
boie could reckon by his pedegræe ſo readilie, & had
learned of the prieſt ſuch princelie behantour, that he
lightlie moued the ſaid earle, and manie others the
nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the linage ro-
all of Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his
ſonne George their countrieman boꝛne, as alſo ma-
ligning the aduancement of the houſe of Lancaſter
in Henrie the ſeuenth) either to thinke or to ſaine,
that the world might belene they thought verelie
this child to be Edward earle of Warwicke, the duke
of Clarence his laſtfull ſonne.

The lord
Louell.
Sir Thomas
Broughton.

And although king Henrie moꝛe than halfe mar-
red their ſpoꝛt, in ſhewing the right earle through all
the ſtreets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duches
of Burgongne, after to Edward the fourth, his ne-
phue John de la Pole, the lord Louell, ſir Thomas
Broughton knight, and diuers other capteins of this
conſpiracie, deuised to abuſe the colour of this yong
earles name, foꝛ preferring their purpoſe: which if it
came to god, they agreed to depoſe Lambert, and to
erect the verie earle indeed, now priſoner in the tow-
er, foꝛ whoſe quarrell had they pretended to fight,
they deemed it likelie he ſhould haue bene made
aſwaie. Wherefoꝛe it was blazed in Ireland, that the
king to mocke his ſubiects, had ſcholed a boie to take
vpon him the earle of Warwikes name, and had
themed him about London, to blind the eies of the
ſimple folke, and to defeat the laſtfull inheritor of

the good duke of Clarence their countrieman and pro-
tedoꝛ during his life, vnto whoſe linage they alſo
deriued title in right to the crowne.

In all haſt they aſſembled at Dublin, and there
in Chriſts church they crowned this idoll, honozing
him with titles imperfall, ſeaſting and triumphing,
raiſing mightie ſhouts and cries, carrieng him from
thence to the caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that
he might be ſene and noted, as he was ſure an ho-
noꝛable child to loke vpon. Wherewith aſſembli-
ng their forces togiſther, they provided themſelues of
ſhips, and imbarcking therein, they toke the ſea, and
landing in Lancashire, paſſed forwards, till they
came to Netwarke vpon Trent. Therevpon inſued
the battell of Stoke, commonlie called Martin
Stwarts field, wherein Lambert and his maiſter
were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not
erected. The erle of Lincolne, the lord Louell, Mar-
tin Swart, the Almaine capteine, and Maurice
Fitzthomas capteine of the Irith, were ſlaine, and
all their power diſcomſited, as in the Engliſh hiſto-
rie it may further appeare. Jaſper duke of Bedford,
and earle of Penbrooke lieutenant, and Walter arch-
biſhop of Dublin his deputie.

1466
Jaſper duke
of Bedford
lieutenant.

In this time beſell another like Irith illuſion,
procured by the duchesse aforeſaid, and certeine no-
bles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull
king of England, and vndoubted earle of Wiſſer, the
counterfeit Richard duke of Yorke, preferred from
king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the
matter downe) and wiſh this maigame lord, named
indeed Peter (in ſcoꝛne Perkin) Warbecke, they
ſlattered themſelues manie yeaꝛes after. Then was
ſir Edward Poynings knight ſent ouer lord depu-
tie, wiſh commiſſion to apprehend Warbecks princi-
pall parteners in Ireland: amongſt whom was na-
med Girald Fitzgiraldo, whoſe purgation the king
(notwithſtanding diuerſe ſurmizing and anouching
the contrarie) did accept. After much adoe, Perkin be-
ing taken, confeſſed by his owne wiſſing the courſe
of his whole life, and all his proceedings in this en-
terpriſe, whereof in the Engliſh hiſtoꝛie, as we haue
boꝛowed the ſame ſorþ of Halles chronicles, ye may
read moꝛe, and therefore here we haue omitted to
ſpeake further of that matter.

Perkin war-
becke.

1494
Sir Edward
Poynings
lord deputie.

Perkin war-
becke taken.

In the yeaꝛe 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant
of Ireland his ſecond ſonne Henrie, as then duke of
Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the
eight. To him was appointed deputie the ſorſaid
Girald earle of Kildare, who accompanied with John
Blake maioz of Dublin, warred vpon William le
Burgh, Whizen, and Mac Pemarre, Drarroull,
and fought wiſh the greateſt power of Irithmen
that had bene togiſther ſince the conqueſt, vnder the
hill of Knocktoꝛ, in Engliſh the hill of the ares,
ſix miles from Galowate, and two miles from Bel-
liclare Burghes manour toſtone. Mac William and
his complices were there taken, his ſouldiers that
eſcaped the ſword were purſued fleeing, foꝛ the ſpace
of ſixe miles: great ſlaughter was made of them,
and manie capteins caught, without the loſſe of one
Engliſhman. The earle of Kildare at his returne
was made knight of the noble order of the garter,
and liued in woꝛthie eſtimation all his life long, as
well foꝛ this ſeruiſe, as diuerſe other his famous ex-
ploits.

1501
Henrie duke
of yorke, after
king Henrie
the eight, lord
lieutenant.

The field of
Knocktoꝛ.

The earle of
Kildare,
knight of the
garter.

*Thus farre the Irith Chronicles continued and ended
at Henrie the ſeuenth.*



TO THE RIGHT HO- norable sir Henrie Sidneie

knight, lord deputie of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the
garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie
councell within hir realme of
England.



Ow cumbersome (right honorable)
and dangerous a taske it is, to ingrosse & divulge
the dooings of others, especiallie when the parties
registred or their issue are liuing: both common
reason sufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie ex-
perience infallible proueth . For man by course
of nature is so parcialle affected to himselfe and
his blood, as he will be more agreed with the
chronicler for recording a peeuissh trespassse, than
he will be offended with his friend for committing
an heinous treason . Ouer this, if the historian be

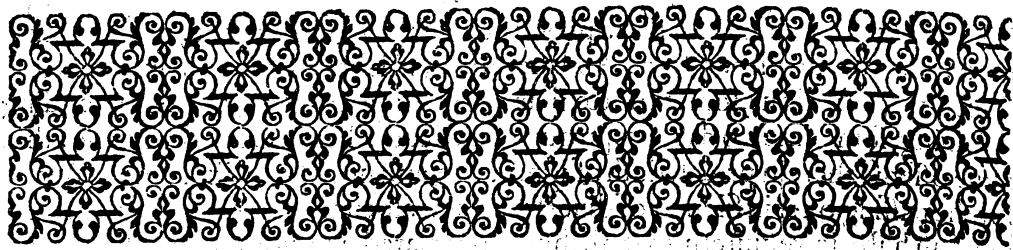
long, he is accompted a trifier: if he be short, he is taken for a summitter: if he com-
mend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprooue, he is holden for a carper: if he
be pleasant, he is noted for a iester: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drooper:
if he misdate, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so
that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conscionable as he
may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more preste to blab forth
his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts . Others
there be, that although they are not able to reprooue what is written, yet they will
be sure to cast in his dish what is forgotten . Heere, saie they, this exploit is omit-
ted: there that policie is not detected: heere this saieng would haue beene inter-
laced: there that trecherie should haue beene displaied. These & the like discom-
modities, with which historiographers are vsuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers
and fundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit slipperie,
the carpers to be manie, would in no case be medlers, choosng rather to sit by
their owne fire obscurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious toongs openlie
abroad.

Others on the contrarie side, being resolute fellowes, and trampling vnder
foot these curious faultfinders, would not sticke to put themselues forth in presse,
and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and rush through the pikes of their
quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both these ex-
tremities, held it for better, not to be so faint and peeuissh a meacocke, as to shrinke
and couch mine head for euerie mizeling shoure, nor yet to beare my selfe so high
in

in heart, as to prance and iet like a proud gennet through the street, not weighing the barking of currish bandogs. And therefore, if I shall be found in mine historie sometime too tedious, sometime too spare, sometime too fawning in commending the living, sometime too flat in reprooving the dead: I take God to witnesse, that mine offense therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of set wilfulnesse. But as for the passing over in silence of diuerse euents (albeit the law or rather the libertie of an historie requireth that all should be related, and nothing whusted) yet I must confesse, that as I was not able, vpon so little leasure, to know all that was said or doone; so I was not willing for sundrie respects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be said or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will sooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chronicled; I cannot deuise in my iudgement a better waie to satisfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his answer: who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault espied by his maister that hired him, Dolie answered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderstood that his master had well obserued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gaue his word at better leisure throughlie to finish the tenth. And truelie so must I saie: I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe discourse, wherof I trust he shall take no great surfet. And when I am aduertised, that he will digest the thin fare that heere is disht before him: it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he shall find my booke with store of more licorous deinties farsed and furnished; leauing to his choise, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to swallow, as much as to his contentation shall best beseeme him. Wherefore my good lord, sith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull, and I doo forecast that the misconstruction may be perilous: the toilesomnesse of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the perill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be sheelded against the sinister glosing of malicious interpretors. Thus betaking your lordship to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcell of the Irish historie that heere insueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRST.





A continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, comprising the reigne of king Henrie the eight.



1514

The occasion
of the dissen-
sion betweene
Kildare and
Dymond.

Dymond Fitz-
gerald earle of
Kildare, son to
Thomas Fitz-
gerald, of who
mention hath
bene made in
the latter end
of the former
 storie, a mightie man of sta-
ture, full of ho-
nor & courage,
who had bene
deputie & lord iustice of Ireland first & last 33 yeeres,
deceased at Kildare the third of September, & lieth
intombed in the quere of Christs church at Dublin,
in a chappell by him founded. Betwixen him & James
Butler earle of Dymond (their owne gelousies fed
with enuie & ambition, kindled with certeine lewd
factious abettors of either side) as generallie to all
noblemen, so especiallie to both these houses verie
incident, ever since the ninth yeare of Henrie the
seuenth, bred some trouble in Ireland. The plot of
which mutuall grudge was grounded vpon the fac-
tious dissention, that was raised in England be-
twixen the houses of York & Lancaster, Kildare
cleauing to York, and Dymond relising to Lanca-
ster. To the upholding of which discord, both these no-
ble men laboured with tooth and nail to ouercroo,
and consequentlie to ouerthrow one the other. And
for somuch as they were in honour peeres, they
brought by hoke and by crooke to be in authoritie
superiours. The gouernement therfore in the reigne
of Henrie the seuenth, being cast on the house of Kil-
dare, James earle of Dymond a deepe and a farre
reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to
strike the harder push, deuised to inueigle his aduer-
sarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able
to overmatch him with stoutnesse or preheminece.
Wherevpon Dymond addressed his letters to the
deputie, speacking a slander raised on him and his,
that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to
withstand his authoritie. And for the clearing of him-
selfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie
his pleasure, he would make his speeche repaire to
Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge
himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was
wrongfullie suspected.

Dymond
marcheth to
Dublin.

To this reasonable request had the lord deputie
no sooner condescended, than Dymond with a pus-
sant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping
in an abbey in the suburbs of the citie, named saint
Thomas court. The approaching of so great an armie
of the citizens suspected, and also of Kildares coun-

celors greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the
latolles soldiers used in the pale by severall com-
plaints detected: these three points, with diuerse o-
ther suspicious circumstances laid and put together,
did minister occasion rather of further discord, than
of any present agreement. Dymond persisting still
in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord de-
putie, declaring that he was prest and ready to ac-
complish the tenour of his letters, and there did at-
tend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And
as for the companie, he brought with him from
Downe, albeit suspicious braines did rather of a
malicious craftinesse surmise the worst, than of cha-
ritable wisdom did iudge the best, yet notwithstanding,
vpon conference had with his lordship, he
would not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points,
wherewith he could be with any colour charged, and
so to stop by the spring, from whence all the enuious
suspicious gushed. Kildare with this mild message
intreated, appointed the meeting to be at saint Pa-
tricks church: where they were ripping up one
to another their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting
the damages they sustained, than acknowledging
the injuries they offered: the citizens and Dymond
his armie fell at some far, for the oppression and ex-
action with which the soldiers surcharged them.
With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a
round knot of archers rushed into the church, mea-
ning to haue murdered Dymond, as the capteine
and belwebder of all these latolles rabble. The earle
of Dymond suspecting that he had bene betrayed,
fled to the chapter house, put to the doze, sparring it
with might and maine. The citizens in their rage,
imagining that euerie post in the church had bene
one of the soldiers, shot hab or nab at random vpon
the roodloft and to the chancell, leauing some of their
arrows sticking in the images.

Kildare pursuing Dymond to the chapter house
doze, undertooke on his honor that he should recue
no villanie. Wherevpon the recluse craving his lord-
ships hand to assure him his life, there was a cliff in
the chapter house doze, pearled at a trise, to the end
both the earles should haue shaken hands and be re-
conciled. But Dymond surmising that this dis-
tress was intended for some further treacherie, that if he
would stretch out his hand, it had bene percase chopt
off, refused that proffer; untill Kildare stretcht in his
hand to him, and so the doze was opened, they both
embraced the storme appeased, and all their quarrels
for that present rather discontinued than ended. In
this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blanche-
field was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a
greene wound, rather hungerlie botch than soundly
cured, in that Kildare suspected that so great an ar-
mie (which the other alledged to be brought for the
gard

The citie in
an uprore

The earles
reconciled.

Blanche-
field
slaine.

The delecty-
son of D-
mond.
The descrip-
tion of this
part.

Boice.

In some repur-
sach had
deputie.

In some poli-
tic in space.

gard of his person) to haue bene of purpose assembled, to outface him & his power in his owne countrie. And Diamond mistrusted, that this treacherous practise of the Dublinians was by Bildeare devised. These and the like surmises lightlie by both the noble men misdeemed, and by the continuall tibatling of stirring clabwacks in their eares whispered, bred and fostered a malice betwixt them and their posteritie, manie yeeres incurable, which caused much stir and vniquietnesse in the realme, untill the confosion of the one house and the nonage of the other ended and buried their mutual quarrels.

The description
of Diamond
The description
of Bildeare

Diamond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomach, and in reach of policie far beyond him. Bildeare was in gouernement mild, to his enemies ferre, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him than for fauor of anie part, they relied for a time to Diamond, came vnder his protection, serued at his call, performed by starts (as their manner is) the dutie of good subiects. Diamond was secret and of great foresight, verie staied in speech, dangerous of euerie trifle that touched his reputation. Bildeare was open and plaine, hardlie able to rule himselfe when he were moued to anger, not so sharpe as thort, being easilie displeased and soner appeased. Being in a rage with certeine of his seruants for faults they committed, one of his hoymen offered master Boice (a gentleman that reteined to him) an Irish hobbie, on condition, that he would plucke an haire from the earle his beard. Boice taking the proffer at rebound, slept to the earle (with whose god nature he was thoroughlie acquainted) parching in the heat of his choler, and said: So it is, and if it like your god lordship, one of your hoymen promised me a choise hoise, if I snip one haire from your beard. Well quoth the earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anie more than one, I promise thee to bzing my fist from thine eare.

Boice.

The branch of this god nature hath bene deriued from him to an earle of his posteritie, who being in a chase for the wozong saluicing of a patridge, arose suddenlie from the table, meaning to haue reasoned the matter with his coke. Having entred the kitchen, bowtowing in obliuion his chalenge, he began to commend the building of the rome, wherein he was at no time before, & so leauing the coke vncontrolld, he returned to his ghests merilie. This old earle being (as is aforesaid) some hot and some cold, was of the English well beloued, a god iustifier, a suppressor of the rebels, a warrior incomparable, towards the nobles that he fanned not somewhat headlong and burrue. Being charged before Henrie the seventh, for burning the church of Cashell, and manie wittenesses prepared to aduouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenlie confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the counsell. When it was looked how he wold iustifie the matter; By Iesus (quoth he) I would neuer haue done it, had it not bene told me that the archbishop was within. And because the same archbishop was one of his basest accusers there present, the king merilie laughed at the plainnesse of the noble man, to see him alledge that thing for excuse, which most of all did aggrauate his offense.

The last article against him they conceiued in these tearmes; If inallie all Ireland can not rule this earle, so: quoth the king: then in god faith shall this earle rule all Ireland. Thus was that accusation turned to a teast. The earle returned to his countrie lord deputie, who (notwithstanding his simplicitie in pease) was of that valour and policie in war, as his name bred a greater terro2 to the Irish, than other mens armies. In his warres he used for policie a retchlesse kind of diligence, or a headie carelesnesse,

His reuerence
and high
deputie.

His policie
in warre.

to the end his souldiours should not faint in their attempts, were the enemy of neuer so great power. Being generall in the field of Knocktow, where in effect all the Irish rebels of Ireland were gathered against the English pale, one of the earle his capteins presented him a band of kerns, euen as they were ready to ioine battell, and wisthall demanded of the earle in what seruice he would haue them imployed: Marie (quoth he) let them stand by and gine vs the gaze. Such was his courage, that notwithstanding his enemies were two to one: yet would he set so good a face on the matter, as his souldiours should not once suspect, that he either needed, or longed for anie further helpe.

Having triumphantlie banquished the Irish in that conflic, he was thortlie after, as well for that, as other his valiant exploits, made knight of the garter: and in the first yeare of Henrie the eight in that renoume & honour he died, wherein for the space of manie yeares he liued. So maruell if this successe were a coise to the aduerse part, which the longer it held alofe, and bit the byde, the more egerlie it followed the course, hauing once got scope and roome at will, as shall be hereafter at full declared. Diamond bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the grauest prelats of his clergie, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, prostrating the reliks, raising downe altars, with barbarous outcries, more like miscreant Saracens, than christian catholikes. Whereupon a legat was posied to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where some after hee was solemnlie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, a graue prelat, for his learning and wisdome chosen to be one of king Henrie the seventh his chapleins, in which vocation he continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be archbishop of Dublin.

1514

The Dublinians accused.

A legat sent from Rome.

Walter Fitzsimons.

The legat upon his arriuall indicted the citie for his execrable offense: but at length, by the procurement as well of the archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caneat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *Ad perpetuam reuerentiam*, the maiors of Dublin should go barefoted throughout the citie in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi daie: which penitent satisfaction was after in euerie such procession duly accomplished. Gerald Fitzgerald, sonne and heire to the aforesaid erle of Bildeare, was thortlie after his fathers decease constituted lord deputie of Ireland, before whome in the seventh yeare of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that all such as bzing out of England the kings letters of priuat seale, for particular causes against anie of the king his subiects in Ireland, should find sufficient suerties in the king his chancerie in Ireland; to be bound by recognisance, that the plaintife shall satisfie the defendant, that purgeth or acquiteth himselfe of the matter to him alledged, for his costs and damages sustained by such wozongfull veration. This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferiour to his father in martiall prowesse, chafing in the time of his gouernment the familie of the Toles, battering Ocarrell his castels, and bzinging in awe all the Irish of the land.

Penance imposed to the citizens of Dublin.

The earle of Bildeare lord deputie.

A parlement holden at Dublin.

This earle of god meaning, to vnite the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitzgerald with Piers Butler earle of Wexford, whome he also helped to reconer the earldome of Diamond, into the which, after the decease of the earle James, a bastard Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifold

Piers Butler and Margaret Fitzgerald espoused.

The citie to an hyppo.

The earles reconciled.

Blanchfield name.

manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret sustained, hir husband Piers Butler being so eagerly pursued by the usurper, as he durst not beare by bed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forests. The noble woman being great with child, and upon necessitie constrained to vse a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) the longer soze for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie servant of his, James White vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able any longer to indure so strict a life. Trulie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossore, thou shalt haue soze of wine within this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.

James white

The bastard Butler slain.

Kildare sent for into England.

Maurence Fitzthomas lord justice. Surtees lord lieutenant of Ireland. 1521 Parliament holden at Dublin.

The Mozes in rebellion.

John Fitzsimons.

Patrike Fitzsimons.

The next date following, Piers having intelligence that his enemy the base Butler would haue travelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers having none but his lackie, did forestall him in the wate, and with a couragious charge gozed the bastard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succeding the former boisterous storme, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall stoutnesse noted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pushes giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their pteuise packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diuerse interrogatores touching the affaires of Ireland.

He left in his roome Maurence Fitzthomas of Lachragh lord justice: and shortly after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, who was after duke of Norfolk, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred peemen of the crowne: before whome, shortly after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, in which there passed an act, that all willfull burning of coyne, as well in rekes in the fields, as also in villages and townes, should be high treason. Item, an act against lading of wolles & foor, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefoze. Item, that any person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the pearlie value of ten markes aboue the charges, in so simple, so taile, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demeane, shall passe in euerie attaint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, he heard newes that the Mozes with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, ready to invade the English pale. Immediatlie men were lenied by John Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow joining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leir.

The Mozes vpon the lieutenant his approach, leuered themselves into sundrie companies, and vnderstanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderly manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdy ponker, kept the enemies such tache, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The next morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunk awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had bene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie; and the Mozes were so manie in company, as it had bene but follie for two to bicker

with so great a number. The lieutenant passed in a rage to the maior his pailison, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor: in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

What am I, my lord (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hande: My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhood, tumbling downe both the heads. Shall thou so Fitzsimons, quoth the lieutenant: I crie the mercie, and by this George, I would to God it had bene my god hap to haue bene in thy company in that skirmish. So drinking to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his pailison, where having knowledge of the more his recule, he pursued him with a troope of horsemen. The lieutenant thus passing forwarde, was espied a gunner of Mozes, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the vertie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and pearced no further, as God would.

This did he (retchlesse in maner what became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he brake the swiftnesse of their following, & advantaged the flight of his captaine, which thing he wan with the price of his owne blood. For the souldiours would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in severall knots ferretted out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedlow of the Roch were faine to mangle and to hew in peeces, because the wretch would neuer yeld. In the meane while, defiance was proclaimed with France and Scotland both at once, which moued the king to call home Surreie out of Ireland, that he might imploye him in those wars. His prowesse, integritie, good nature, and course of gouernment, the countie much commended. Piers Butler earle of Ossore was appointed lord deputie. In the meane time, Kildare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, recovered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Greie he espoused, and so departed home. Now was partaker of all the deputies counsell one Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Giraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to keepe a kalendar of all their doings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, James FitzGirald making the said gentleman beside Ballimore, slue him euen then vpon his iournie toward the deputie to keepe his Christmas with him.

With this despitesfull murder both sides brake out into open enmitie, and especiallie the countesse of Ossore, Kildare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his some in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the root of their griefes: wherein if they found Kildare any thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweate the other lord deputie. Commissioners were these, Sir Rafe Egerton, a knight of Cheshire, Anthony Fitzthetbert, second iustice of the common ples, and James Denton, deane of Litchfield; who having examined these accusations, suddenly took the sword from the earle of Ossore, swore Kildare lord deputie, and for whome Con O'neale bare the sword that day.

Con

Cardinal woulfe came to the Giraldines.

Parson granted.

Kildare accused. The articles.

The earle of Surreie in danger to haue bene slain.

Fitzgirald lord justice.

The earle of Ossore chosen lord deputie.

The Countesse of Ossore.

Fitzwilliams and Bedlow.

1523 Surreie sent for home.

Piers Butler earle of Ossore lord deputie.

1524 Robert Talbot of Belgard.

Margaret countesse of Ossore.

Kildare consented before the counsell.

Cardinall
Wolfe eni-
mie to the
Giraldines.

Pardon gran-
ted.

Kildare ac-
cused.
The articles.

The earle of
Surreie in
danger to
haue bene
slaine.

Fitzgerald
by iudice.

The earle of
Mozie cho-
sen lord de-
putie.

Fitzwilliams
Wedlow.

I 523
Surreie sent
for home.

Piers But-
ler earle of
Mozie lord
deputie.

I 524
Robert Cal-
bot of Wel-
gard.

Margaret
countesse of
Mozie.

Kildare con-
uicted before
the counceill.

Commis-
sioners sent
to Ireland.

Kildare
sworne lord
deputie.

Concerning the murthrer whom they might haue hanged, they brought him prisoner into England, presented him to the cardinall Wolfe, who was said to hate Kildare his blood: and the cardinall intending to haue put him to execution, with more reproch and dishonor to the name, caused him to be led about the streets of London haltered, and hauing a taper in his hand: which asked so long time, that the deane of Aichfield stepped to the king, and begged his pardon. The cardinall was sore inflamed here-
with, & the malice not hitherto so ranke, was thorough-
ly ripened, & therfore henseforth Wolfe brought forth diuerse proses of the deputie his disorder, for that (as he alledged) the deputie should winke at the earle of Desmond, whom by vertue of the king his letters he ought to haue attached. Also, that he sought for acquaintance and affinitie with more Irish enemies, that he had armed them against him, then being the king his deputie; he hanged and headed good subiects, whom he mistrusted to leane to the Butlers friendship. Kildare was therfore presentlie commanded to appeare, which he did, leauing in his come his brother Fitzgerald of Kerp, whom they shortly deposed, and chose the baron of Deluin, whom Deconoe took prisoner, & then the earle of Mozie (to shew his abilitie of seruice) brought to Dublin an armie of Irishmen, hauing captains ouer them Deconoe, Dmore, & Darroll, & at S. Parris abbey was chosen deputie by the kings counceill.

In which office, being himselfe (saue onelie in feats of armes) a simple gentleman, he bare out his honor, and the charge of gouernement verie worthilie, through the singular wisdom of his countesse, a ladie of such a port, that all estates of the realme crouched vnto hir; so politike, that nothing was thought substantiaillie debated without hir aduise: manlike and tall of stature, verie liberall and bountifull; a sure friend, a bitter enimie, hardlie disliking where she fancied, not easilie fawning where she disliked: the onelie meane at those daies whereby hir husband his countrie was reclaimed from Antishynesse and flouentie, to cleane bedding and ciuilitie. But to these vertues was linked such a selfe liking, such an ouertweening, and such a maiestie aboue the tenure of a subiect, that for assurance thereof, she sticke not to abuse hir husbands honor against hir brothers follie. Notwithstanding, I learne not that she practised his vndoing (which ensued, and was to hir vndoubtedlie great heauinesse, as vpon whom both the blemish thereof, and the substance of the greater part of that familie depended after) but that she by indirect meanes lifted hir brother out of credit to aduance hir husband, the common voice, and the thing it selfe speaketh. All this while abode the earle of Kildare at the court, and with much adoe found this to be called before the lords to answer suddenlie. They sat vpon him diuerslie affected, and named the cardinall lord chancelor, misliking the earle his cause, comforted his accusers, and enforced the articles objected, in these words.

The cardinall lord chancelor chargeth Kildare.

I trowt well (my lord) that I am not the maiest at this boord to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your pusellows to report that I am a professed enimie to all nobilitie, & namelie to the Giraldines: but seeing euerie curst boy can say as much when he is controlled, and seeing these points are so weightie, that they should not be dissembled of vs; and so apparant, that they can not be denied of you; I must haue leaue (notwithstanding your stale slander) to be the mouth of these honorable at this present, and to trumpe your treasons in your waie, howsoeuer you take me.

First you remember, how the lewd earle of Desmond your kinsman (who passeth not whom he serueth, might he change his maister) sent his conserats with letters of credence vnto Francis the French king: and hauing but cold comfort there, went to Charles the emperor, proffering the helpe of Mounter and Connagh towards the conquest of Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from our king. How manie letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats haue bin sent you to apprehend him, and yet not done? Why so? Forsooth I could not catch him. Nay nay earle, forsooth you would not watch him. If he be iustlie suspected, why are you parciall in so great a charge? If not, why are you fearefull to haue him tried? Psea, for it will be sworne and deposed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfulkie, shunned his sight, altered your course, warned his friends, stopped both eares and eyes against his detectors, and when soeuer you took vpon you to hunt him out, then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke.

Surelie, this iugling and false plaie little became either an honest man called to such honor, or a noble man put in so great trust. Had you lost but a cow or a horse of your owne, two hundred of your retainers would haue come at your whistle to rescue the prete from the bittermost edge of Ulster: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing so needfull a matter as this was, merced full God, how nice, how dangerous, how waileward haue you bene? One while he is from home, another while he keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the borders, where you dare not venture. I wish my lord, there be shetwo bugs in the borders for the earle of Kildare to feare: the earle nay the king of Kildare; for when you are disposed, you reigne more like than rule in the land: where you are malicious, the truest subiects stand for Irish enemies: where you are pleased, the Irish foe stand for a iust subiect: hearts & hands liues & lands are all at your controuersie: who sauneth not thereon cannot rest within your smell, and your smell is so ranke that you take them out at pleasure. While the cardinall was speaking, the earle chafed and changed colour, and at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

My lord chancelor, I beseech you pardon me, I am short twitted, and you I perceiue intend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, halfe my purgation will be lost for lacke of carriage. I haue no schollie trickes, nor art of memorie: except you heare me while I remember your words, your second processe will hammer out the former. The lords asociat, who for the most part tenderlie loued him, and knew the cardinall his manner of talants so lothsome, as therewith they were inured manie yeares ago, humblie besought his grace to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter, vntill it were examined thoroughlie. That granted, it is good reason (quoth the earle) that your grace beare the mouth of this boy: but my lord, those months that put these things into your mouth, are verie wide mouths; such in deed as haue gaped long for my wacke; and now at length, for want of better stufte, are faine to fill their mouths with smoke. What my cousine Desmond hath compassed, as I know not, so I besetw his naked heart for holding out so long. If he can be taken by mine agents that presentlie wait for him, then haue mine aduersaries betwated their malice; and this heape of heinous words shall resemble a scarecrow, or a man of straw that seemeth at a blush to carrie some proportion, but when it is felt and peised, discouereth a vanitie, seruing onelie to feare crows: and I

Kildare inter-
rupteth the
cardinals
tale.

The lords
tender Kildare.

He answereth
the cardinals
obication.

I J.

verelie

berelie/truff, your honors shall see the pzoofe by the thing it selfe, within these few daies. But go to: suppose he neuer be had: What is Kildare to blame for it, more than my god brother of Ossorie, who notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the kings power, is yet content to bring him in at lease: Can not the erle of Desmond shitt but I must be of counsell: Cannot he hide him except I winke: If he be close am I his mate: If he be freended am I a traitor: This is a doubtie kind of accusation, which they hyge against me, wherein they are stabled and mired at my first deniall. Pon would not see him (saie they.) Who made them so familiar with mine eyesight: Who was the erle within my view: Who stood by when I let him slip: Who were the tokens of my wilfull huddwinke: But you sent him word to beware of you. Who was the messenger: Where are the letters: Conuince my negatiues, see how lose this idle geare hangeth together. Desmond is not taken. Well, you are in fault. Why: Because you are. Who pzooueth it: No bodie. What conieures: So it seemeth. To whome: To your enemies. Who told it them: They will sweare it. What other ground: None. Will they sweare it my lord: Why then of like they know it, either they haue mine hand to shew, or can bring forth the messenger, or were present at a conference, or pzooue to Desmond, or some bodie belwaided it to them, or they themselves were my carriers or vicegerents therein: which of these parts will they chuse, for I know them too well. To reckon my selfe conuict by their bare words or headlesse sayings, or frantike othes, were but mere mockerie. My letter were sone read, were any such writing extant, my seruants & friends are readie to be sifted: of my coufine of Desmond they may lie lowly, since no man here can well contrarie them. Touching my selfe, I neuer noted in them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue gaged on their silence the life of a good hound, much lesse mine owne. I doubt not, may it like your honors to appose them, how they came to the knowlege of those matters, which they are so readie to depose: but you shall find their tongs chained to another mans trencher, and as it were knights of the post, suborned to saie, sweare and stave the bittermost they can, as those that passe not what they saie, nor with what face they saie it, so they saie no truth. But of another side it grieueth me that your god grace whom I take to be wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposition wishesth me well, should be so farre gone in crediting these corrupt inforimers that abuse the ignorance of your state and countrie to my perill. A little know you (my lord) how necessarie it is, not onelie for the gouernor, but also for euerie noble man in Ireland to hamper his vnciuill neighbors at discretion, wherein if they waited for pzoocesse of law, and had not those liues and lands you speake of within their reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues and lands without law. You heare of a case as it were in a dzeame, and feele not the smart that bereeth vs. In England there is not a meane subiect that dare extend his hand to fillip a peere of the realme. In Ireland except the lord haue cunning to his strength, and strength to saue his crowne, and sufficient authoritie to take theues & varlets when they stir, he shall find them swarme so fast, that it will be too late to call for iustice. If you will haue our seruice take effect, you must not tie vs alwaies to these iudiciall pzoceedings, wherewith your realme (thank be God) is inured. Touching my kingdome, I know not what your lordship should meane thereby. If your grace imagine that a kingdome consisteth in seruing God, in obeying the pzoince, in gouerning with loue the common-wealth, in shouldering sub-

In what case stand the noble men of Ireland with rebels.

jects, in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in brideling blind affections, I would be willing to be inuested with so vertuous and roiall a name. But if therefore you terme me a king, in that you are persuaded that I repine at the gouernment of my soueraigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuill liuers, I vtterlie disclaime in that odious terme, marueling greatlie that one of your grace his pzoofound wisdome, would seeme to appropriat so sacred a name to so wicked a thing. But howsoeuer it be (my lord) I would you and I had changed kingdoms but for one moneth, I would trust to gather vp more crummes in that space, than twise the reuenues of my poore earledome: but you are well and warme, and so hold you, and obzaid not me with such an odious terme. I slumber in an hard cabin, when you sleepe in a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the king his cope of heaven, when you are serued vnder a canopie: I drinke water out of my skull, when you drinke wine out of golden cups: my courtois is trained to the field, when your genet is taught to amble: when you are begreaved and belodged, & crouched and kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our Irish bozderers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these girds the counsell would haue smiled, if they durst: but ech man bit his lip, & held his countenance, for howsoeuer some of them leane to the erle of Ossorie, they all hated the cardinall, who perceiving that Kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from the counsell table, committed the erle, & deferred the matter till moze direct probations came out of Ireland. The duke of Norfolkke, who was late lieutenant in Ireland, perceiving the cardinall to be soze bent against the nobleman, rather for the deadlie hatred he bare his house, than for any great matter he had wherewith to charge his person, kept to the king, and craued Kildare to be his prisoner, offering to be bound for his forth comming, ouer and aboue all his lands, bodie for bodie. Whereupon, to the cardinall his great grieve, the prisoner was bailed, and honorably by the duke interteined. During his abode in the duke his house, Dneale and Dconoz, and all their friends and alies, watching their time to auoide the pale, made open insurrection against the erle of Ossorie then lord deputie of Ireland, insomuch that the noble man mistrusting the sicklenesse of Desmond on the one side, & the force of these new start vp rebels on the other side, was halfe amazed, as it were betwene fire & water. For remedie wherof, letters thicke and threefold were adressed to the counsell of England, purporting that all these late hurlie burlies were of purpose raised by the means of Kildare, to the blemishing and staining of his brother Ossorie his gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare commanded his daughter Ellice Fitzgiralde, wife to the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the afoze said traitors to this open rebellion.

The cardinall hereupon caused Kildare to be examined before the counsell, where he pressed him so deepe with this late disolaltie, that the presumption being (as the cardinall did force it) beehement, the treason odious, the king suspicious, the enemie eager, the friends faint (which were sufficient grounds to ouerthrow an innocent person) the erle was repleued to the tower. The nobleman betooke himselfe to God & the king, he was hartlie beloued of the lieutenant, pitied in all the court, and standing in so hard a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comforted other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorow. On a night when the lieutenant and he for their dispozt were playing at Asdegrote or thwoboard, suddenlie commeth from the cardinall a mandatum

The cardinall has presumed monies by the use of the king.

1529 Sir William Shelvington deputie of Ireland.

Edward Staples b. shop of St. Mary.

Thomas Fitzsimon.

Shelvington his answer.

The glasse at the cardinall who taken to the butcher by the sonne.

The cardinall not beloued.

The duke of Norfolkke bound for Kildare.

1528 The Irish in rebellion.

Kildare as fresh imported.

The erle of Kildare some omitted.

A mandatum to execute Kildare.

Shelvington's question.

John Fitzsimon's lowereth. Deth.

mandatum to execute Hildare on the morrow. The earle marking the lieutenants deepe sigh: By saint Bricke lieutenant (quoth he) there is some mad game in that scoll: but fall how it will, this throw is for an huddle. When the word was told him: Now I praise the (quoth he) do no more but learne assuredly from the king his owne mouth, whether his highnesse be witting thereto or not: Soze doubted the lieutenant to displease the cardinall: yet of verie pure love to his friend, he posseth to the king at mid night, and deliuered his errand: for at all houses of the night the lieutenant hath access to the prince upon occasions. The king controlling the fauour of the priest (for those were his termes), deliuered to the lieutenant his signet in token of countermand, which when the cardinall had seene, he began to breath out vnseasoned language, which the lieutenant was loth to heare, & so left him patting & chanting the diuine his *Pater noster*: Thus brake up the storme for that time; & the next yeare Wolfe was cast out of fauour, and within few yeares sir William Skeffington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with him the erle pardoned and rid from all his troubles.

The cardinall
his presumptuous
blasphemy of the
king.

1539
Sir William
Skeffington
deputie of
Ireland.

Edward
Staples bis-
hop of Metch

Thomas
Fitzsimons.

Skeffington
his answer.

He glanctly
at the cardinall
who was
taken to be a
butcher his
sonne.

1538
The Irish in
rebellion.

Hildare as
fresh impe-
ched.

Hildare in-
na-eth the
Toles.

The earle of
Hildare come
mitted.

Metch his
question.

John Fitz-
simons an-
swereth
Metch.

When it was bruted, that Skeffington, the earle of Hildare, and Edward Staples bishop of Metch landed nere Dublin, the maior and citizens met him with a solemn procession on saint Marie abbeys greene, where maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of Dublin made a pithie oration to congratulate the gouernor and the earle his prosperous arrival, to whom Skeffington shapd an answer in this wise: Pastour maior and maister recorder, you haue at length this noble man here present, for whom you sore longed, whilst he was absent. And after manie stormes by him sustained, he hath now to the comfort of his friends, to the confusion of his foes, subdued violence with patience, injuries with sufferance, and malice with obedience: and such butchers as of hatred thirsted after his blood, are now taken for outcast massiues, littered in currish blood. How well my master the king hath bene of his gracions inclination affected to the earle of Hildare: his backe friend, being by his lust desert from his maiestie wedded the credit wherein this noble man at this present abideth, manifestly declareth. Wherefore it resteth, that you thanke God and the king for his safe arrival. As for his welcome, maister recorder his courteous discourse, your great assemblies, your cheerefull countenances, your willing meetings, your solemne processions do so far shew it, as you minister me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to thanke you for your courtesse, than to exhort you to a nie further ceremony.

Having ended his oration, they rode all into the citie, where shortly after the earle of Wolfe surrendered the sword to sir William Skeffington. During the time that Hildare was in England, the sept of the Toles making his absence their haruist, ceased not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore the erle meaning not to wasp up so lightlie their manifold injuries, was determined presentlie upon his arrival to crie them quittance: to the speedinesse of which seruice he requested the aid of the citizens of Dublin: & expecting in Christs church their answer touching this motion, the maior & his brethren promised to assist him with two hundred archers. The late come bishop of Metch being then present, moued question, whether the citizens were pardoned for crowning Lambert contrarie to their dutie of allegiance; and if they were not pardoned, he thought they might advantage the king hereby. Whereat one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named John Fitzsimons, stepped forth and said: My lord of Metch, may I be so bold as to craue what countrie:

man you are? Marie sir (quoth the bishop) I would you should know it, I am a gentleman and an Englishman. My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my meaning is to learne, in what shire of England you were borne: In Lincolnshire god sir (quoth Staples.) Whie then my lord (quoth Fitzsimons) we are no traitors, because it was the earle of Lincoln and the lord Howell that crowned him: and therefore if you be a gentleman of Lincolnshire, see that you be pardoned, for God and our king be thanked we haue need of none. At this answer Metch was set, and such as were present were forced to smile, to see what a round fall he caught in his owne turne.

In the second yeare of Skeffington his gouernement, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant to Benet a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a cart of hate in the high street; and hauing offered boies plate to passengers that walked to and fro, he let a bottle of his hate fall on a souldiours bonet, as he passed by his cart. The souldior taking this knaught knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and hauing narrowlie mist the pincocks, he stiked it in a post not farre off. White leapt dolone from the cart, and thrust the souldior through the shoulder with his pike. Whereupon there was a great vpor in the citie betwene the souldiours and the apprentices, in so much as Thomas Barbie being the maior, hauing the king his sword drawn, was hardlie able to appease the frate, in which diuerse were wounded, and none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell, and came as farre as the pillorie, to whom the maior posseth thorough the prease with the sword naked vnder his arme, & presented White that was the biewer of all this garboile to his lordship, whom the gouernour pardoned, as well for his courage in bickering as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantnesse in telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man maie see how manie bloudie quarels a bralling swashbuckler maie picke out of a bottle of hate, namelie when his bzaines are forebitten with a bottle of nappie ale.

About this time there was a great sturre raised in England, about the king his diuorfe, who thinking it expedient in so sickle a world to haue a sure poss in Ireland, made Hildare lord deputie. Cromer the pimat of Armagh lord chancellor, and sir James Butler lord tresuro. Skeffington, supposing that he was put beside the cushion by the secret calualing of Hildare his friends, conceived therof a great gelousie, being therein the deeper drenched, because that Hildare hauing receiued the sword, would permit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now like a meane pstat person, to danle attendance among other suters in his house at Dublin, named the Carbie. Skeffington plaieng thus on the bit, shortly after sailed into England, upon whose departure the lord deputie summoned a parlement at Dublin, where there past an act against leasers of come: also for the building and appropriation of the parsonage of Galtrim to the priore of saint Peters by Trim. In the parlement time, Dneale on a sudden inuaded the countre of Triell, rising and spotting the king his subiects, at which time also was the earle of Wolfe greatlie bered by the Geraldins, by reason of the old quarrels of either side afresh reuised.

The next yeare, the lord deputie going against Mearroll, was pitifullie hurt in the side with a gun, at the castell of Birre; so that he neuer after inioied his lims, nor deliuered his words in god plight, otherwise like inough to haue bene longer forborne in consideration of his manie noble qualities, great god seruices, and the state of those times. Straightwaits complaints were addressed to the king of these

Henrie white
raised an vpor
in Dublin.

Thomas
Barbie maior.

white pardoned.

Hildare lord
Deputie.
Cromer.
Butler.
Skeffington
offended with
Hildare.

He sailth in-
to England.

1532
A parlement
summoned at
Dublin.
Triell inuaded
by Dneale.

Hildare hurt.

J. g. enoymittes.

Barcace
also.

He is sent for
to England.

Thomas
Fitzgerald.

enormities, and that in most heinous manner that could be devised, boulding out his doings as it were to the last brake of sinister furnises, turning euerie puiant insurie to be the king his quarrell, & making euerie puddings prycke as huge in shew as Samson his piller. Whereupon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England, leauing such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of the land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. Being vpon the sight of this letter prepared to saile into England, he sat in counsell at Dublin, and hauing sent for his sonne & before the lord Thomas Fitzgerald (a yong stripling of one and twentie yeares of age, borne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the earle of Kildare his first wife) in the hearing of the whole boord thus he spake.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to
his sonne the lord Thomas.

Sonne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my soueraigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoever it falleth, both you and I know that I am well kept in yeares: and as I maie shortly die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast decease, because I am old. Wherefore inasomuch as my winter is welnere ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is that you behaue your selfe so wisely in these your greene yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioie the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your haruest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast picking. And whereas it pleaseth the king his maiestie, that vpon my departure here hence, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose gouernement I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not settled, your iudgement not fullie rectified, and therefore I might be with good cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a yong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, forsomuch as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that vpon anie information I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

There be here that sit at this boord, far more sufficient personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazard the losse of one of their owne eyes, to be assured that I should be depriued of both mine eyes. But forsomuch as the case toucheth your skin as nere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, because (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resolu'd date by date to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to liue in the pompe of the world, I thinke you will not be so hyaineficke, as to stab your selfe thorough the bodie, onelie to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) consider, that it is easie to raise, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be scholed by this boord, that for wisdom is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maiestie stifieth my talke: otherwise I would haue grated longer

on this matter. For a good tale maie be swife to lo, and a sound aduise (cistones iterated) taketh the deeper impression in the attentiu hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your god inclination asketh it to be shorter; and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assemblie, I deliver you this sword. & Thus he spake for his last farewell with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he stood, imbraced the counsell, committed them to God, and immediatlie after he was imbarked.

But although with his grane exhortation the frozen hearts of his aduersaries for a short spirt thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned some after all this gale *Gloria Patri* vnto a further fetch; saying that this was nothing else but to dazell their eyes with some fogling knaue, to the end they should aduertise the king of his loiall speeches: adding further, that he was too too euill that could not speake well. And to force the perpered treasons they laied to his charge, with further furnises they certified the counsell of England; that the earle before his departure furnished his owne piles and forts with the king his artillerye and munition taken forth of the castell of Dublin. The earle being examined vpon that article before the counsell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he toke from thence, were placed in his castell to strengthen the borders against the inrodes of the Irish enimie; and that if he intended anie treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he delivered his speeches by reason of his palseie, in such staggering and making wisse, that such of the counsell as were not his friends, perswading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his liuing and dragging answer rather to the gilt of conscience, than to the infirmite of his late maiestie, had him committed, vntill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

But before we waide anie further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie byuted. The first was John Alen archbishop of Dublin, a gentleman of a good house, chapleine to cardinall Wolseie, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a learned prelat, a good householder, of the people indifferently beloued, and more would haue bene, had he not ouerbusied himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins proceeded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the cardinall, inasomuch as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasaring of the one to bind the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after ensued (namelie for that he was displaced from being lord chancellor, & Cromer the pimat of Armagh by Kildare his byists settled in the office) as notwithstanding the cardinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he persist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that se.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen knight, first secretarie to this archbishop, after became maister of the rolles, lastlie lord chancellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onelie of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great reckoning of him, as well for his forecass in matters of weight, as for his faithfulness in affaires of trust, as whatsoeuer exploit were executed by the one, was

Thomas
Canon.

Robert Cow
nc.

Kildare left
into
England.

This oration
misconstruct.

He is accused
for taking the
king his ar
tillerie.

Kildare com
mitted.

Kildare his
chiefe eni
mies.
John Alen
archbishop of
Dublin.

The lord
Thomas in
humbleth the
Alens against
him.

The proper
tie of the
marmoset.

The archbi
shop has tau

The entente
conspire the
ouerthrow
the Giraldin

Thomas
Canon.

Robert Cow-
ke.

forthwith deemed to have bene devised by the other. The third of this crew was Thomas Canon, secreta-
rie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on
Kildare for putting his lord and master beside the
cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to haue an
oie in that boie. The fourth that was suspected to
make the muster, was Robert Cowlie, first bailiffe
in Dublin, after seruant to the ladie Margaret Fitz-
giralde, countesse of Desmond and Mhorie, lastlie ma-
ster of the colles in Ireland, and finally he deceased
at London.

This gentleman for his wisdom and policie was
well esteemed of the ladie Margaret countesse of
Mhorie, as one by whose aduise she was in all hir af-
faires directed. Whereupon some suspicious persons
were perswaded and brought in mind, that he was
the sower of all the discord that rested betwene the
two brethren Kildare and Mhorie: as though he
could not be rooted in the fauour of the one, but that
he must haue professed open hatred vnto the other.
These foure, as birds of one feather, were supposed
to be open enemies to the house of Kildare, bearing
that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not
occasioned (as they thought) either to craue friend-
ship of the Geraldines, or greatlie to feare their ha-
tred and enimitie. There were beside them diuerse o-
ther secret underminers, who wrought so cunning-
lie vnder the thumbe, by holding with the hare, and
running with the hound, as if Kildare had prosper-
ed, they were assured, their malice would not haue
bene in manner suspected: but if he had bene in his
affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their fur-
ther credit should haue bene apparented. Wherefore
the beauiing of his backe friends not onelie surmi-
sed, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Tho-
mas being iustice or vicedeputie in his fathers ab-
sence, setcht both the Alens so roundlie ouer the hips,
as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were
the more egerlie spured to compasse his confusion.
For the lord iustice and the counsell, with diuerse of
the nobilitie, at a solemne banquet discourting of the
anciencie of houses, and of their armes, sir John A-
len spake to the lord iustice these words.

The lord
Thomas tre-
humbleth the
Alens against
him.

The proper-
tie of the
marmoset.

My lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose
propertie is to eat his owne taile. Meaning thereby
(as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to
pill and poll his friends, tenants & retainers. These
words were no sooner spoken, than the lord Thomas
striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one
that was somewhat slipper tongued, in this wise. You
saie truth sir, indeed I heard some saie, that the mar-
moset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue
bene sed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to be-
ware, that your taile eat not you. Shortly after this
quipping gamegall, the lord iustice and the counsell
rode to Drogheda, where hauing for the space of
thre or foure daies sojourned, it happened that the
counsellors awaited in the counsell chamber the go-
uernour his comming, vntill it was hard vpon the
stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin came
digressing the vicedeputie his long absence, said: My
lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie
thus long for a boie? As he offered these speeches, the
lord iustice vnluckilie was comming by the staires,
and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bi-
shop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he
said: My lords, I am heartilie sozie, that you staied
thus long for a boie. Whereat the prelat was appal-
led, to see how vnhappy he was gald with his owne
caltrop. These & the like cutting speeches inkindled
such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could
not anie longer be smouldered, but at one clift or o-
ther must haue fumed. The enemies therfore hauing
weligh kneaded the dough that should haue bene

The archbis-
hop his taunt

The enemies
conspire the
ouerthrow of
the Geraldines

baked for the Geraldines bane, deuised that secret
rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of
Kildare his execution was intended in England;
and that vpon his death the lord Thomas and all his
bloud should haue bene apprehended in Ireland. As
this false muttering due abroad, it was holpen for-
ward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffing-
ton his seruants, who sticke not to write to certaine
of their friends, as it were, verie secret letters, how
that the earle of Kildare their master his secret en-
emie (so they took him, because he got the gouerne-
ment ouer his head) was already cut throt, as his
issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see
their master in his gouernment, after which they
soze longed, as for a preferment that would in short
space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the
hands of a simple priest, no perfect Englishman, who
for haile hurled it amongst other papers in the chim-
nies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it bet-
ter at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentle-
man returning to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or
vicedeputie, as is before specified, took by his lodg-
ing with the priest, and sought in the morning when
he rose for some paper, to draw on his strait stock-
ings; and as the diuell would, he hit vpon the letter,
bare it alwaie in the heele of his stocke, no earthly
thing misdeeming. At night againe he found the pa-
per vnstretted, and musing thereat he began to pore
on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and
the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To horse go-
eth he in all haile, brought the letter to James de la
Hyde, who was principall counsellor to the lord Tho-
mas in all his doings. De la Hyde hauing scanthly
ouerread the letter, making more haile than good
speed, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that
letter, and withall putting fire to flax, before he diued
to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to
swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by low-
thing by the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the
lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious
name of treason with the zealous reuengement of
his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warte
defense of his owne person.

The occasion
of Thomas
Fitzgiralde
his rebellion.

James
de la Hyde

The lord Thomas being youthfull, rash, and head-
long, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the
force of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was
by de la Hyde his counsell so far caried, as he was
resolved to cast all on fir and seauen. Wherefore ha-
uing confedered with O'neale, O'conor, and other
Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabies daie,
accompanied with seauen score horsemen in their
shirts of maile, through the citie of Dublin, to the
Dam his gate, cross ouer the water to saint Marie
abbete, where the counsell according to appointment
waited his comming, not being piniue to his in-
tent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellour excepted,
who was secretlie aduertised of his reuolt, and there-
fore was verie well provided for him, as hereafter
shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue
prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, no-
thing wedded to factions, yet a weltoiler of the
Geraldines, as those by whose means he was aduan-
ced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in
counsell, his horsemen and seruants rushed into the
counsell chamber armed and weaponed, turning
their secret conference to an open parlee. The coun-
cell hereat amazed, and silence with securitie com-
manded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Cromer
lord chan-
celor.

Thomas Fitzgiralde his rebellious oration.



Whoeuer iniuriously we be hand-
led, and forced to defend our selues in
armes, when neither our seruice nor our
good meaning towards our prince his
I. it. crowns

crostone auasteth: yet saie not hereafter, but in this open hostilitie which here we prolesse and proclame, we haue shewed our selues no villaines nor churles, but warriours and gentlemen. This sword of estate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oath, and haue vsed it to your benefit. I should staine mine honour, if I turned the same to your annoiance. Now haue I need of mine owne sword, which I dare trust. As for the common sword, it flattereth me with a painted scabbard, but hath indeed a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Stra'pines blood, and now is netwile whetted in hope of a further destruction. Therefore saue your selues from vs, as from open enemies, I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his fo, I haue more mind to conquer than to gouerne, to meet him in the field than to serue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cause thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then should he some able (as I trust he shall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfullie scorne him by among the ancient tyrants of most abhominable and hatefull memoire.

Having added to this shamefull oration manie other slanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerse respects I spare to pen, he would haue surrendered the sword to the lord chancelloz, who (as I said before) being armed for the lord Thomas his coming, and also being loath that his slacknesse should seeme dilloiall in refusing the sword, or his forwardnesse over cruel in snatching it upon the first proffer, toke the lord Thomas by the wrist of the hand, and requested him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three words the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father spake as inuiceth.

The chancellor his oration.

MY lord, although hatred be commonlie the handmaiden of truth, because we see him that plainelie expresseth his mind, to be for the more part of most men disliked: yet notwithstanding I am so well assured of your lordship his good inclination towards me, and your lordship so certaine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am emboldned, notwithstanding this companie of armed men, freelic and frankelie to utter that, which by me declared, and by your lordship followed, will turne (God willing) to the auaille of you, your friends, allies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wisdom for any man to looke before he leape, and so to wone the water before his ship hull thereon, & namelie where the matter is of weight, there it behoueth to follow sound, sage, and mature aduise. Therefore (my lord) sith it is no malgame for a subiect to leue an armie against his prince: it lieth your lordship in hand to breath longer on the matter, as well by forecasting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by resolving the hope wherewith you are fed. What should moue your lordship to this sudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but secretlie muttered, not manifestlie published. And if I should grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in some respect to be commended: yet reason would you should suspend the reuenge untill the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it standeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good subiect (from whom I hope in God you meane not to dissent your selfe) not to spurne and hicke against his prince, but contrariwise, if his soueraigne be mightie, to feare him:

The subjects
dutie to-
wards his
king.

if he be profitable to his subiects, to honour him: if he command, to obrie him: if he be kind, to leue him: if he be victious, to pittie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: considering that in such case it is better with patience to boly, than with stubbornnesse to breake. For sacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God shielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who so will obserue the course of histories, or weigh the iustice of God in punishing malefactors, shall easily see, that albeit the sunne shineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet such sweet beginnings are at length clasped up with sharpe & soure ends.

The name of
a king sacred.

Rebellion
from Soberte
it springeth.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour against your king, it resteth to discusse whether you be able (though you were willing) to annote your king. For if among incane and priuat foes it be reckoned for folie, in a secret grudge to prolesse open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to shew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordship in so generall a quarell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that apperteineth to the whole commonwelth, to forlesse the king his power on the one side, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to cocke with him, and to put him beside the cushion; and not whilst you strue to sit in the saddle, to lose to your owne undoing both the horse and the saddle.

Hard de
Ireland.

Shilken
Thomas.

King Henrie is knowne to be in these our daies so puissant a prince, and so victorious a warrior, that he is able to conquer forren dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? He tameth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne subiects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not reconer it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your selfe ouer much, repose not so great assistance either in your troupe of horsemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What face sooner they put now on the matter, or what successe sooner for a season they haue, because it is easie for an armie to vanquish them that do not resist: yet hereafter when the king shall send his power into this countrie, you shall see your adherents like slipper changelings plucke in their hounes, and such as were content to beare you up by the chin as long as you could swim, when they eapte you sinke, they will by little and little thinke from you, and percase will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your sailes, doubt not but diuerse will anerre vnto you and feed on you as crows on carion: but if anye storme hapen to blasse, then will they be sure to leaue you post alone striking in the mire or lands, hauing least helpe when you haue most need. And what will then insue of this. The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour diffained, your house at teinted, your armes reuerfed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without shame cannot be confessed. My lord, I poyze not out oracles as a soothsayer, for I am neither a prophet, nor the sonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am some frantike Callandza being partener of his spirit in fortelling the truth, and partaker of his misfortune in that I am not (when I tell the truth) belieued of your lordship, whom God defend from being Pyramus.

Henrie to
Ireland.

Thomas
reuereth
the sword

Callandzas
propheticke.

Alleigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your ancestors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, consider the estate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of curles you shall be laden, when your soul dies

The name of
a king sacred.

Rebellion
from whence
it springeth.

dices shall rife the poore subjects, & so far indamage the whole reime, as they are not yet bozne that shall hereafter feele the smart of this vporze. You haue not gone so far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleaue to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folie. Which I craue in most humble wise of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.

Ward de
Arlan.

Silken
Thomas.

Having ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the ho:smen, namelie such as vnderstood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancelloz ment with all this long circumstance; some of them reporting that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some herotall poetrie in the praise of the lord Thomas. And thus as euerie idot shot his foolish bolt at the wise councelloz his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop pretious stones before hogs, one Ward de Arlan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten shepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tong had run on pattens, in commendation of the lord Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, because his ho:smens iacks were gorgeously imbrodered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingred there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickned, did cast his eie towards the lord chancelloz, & said thus.

The replie of Silken Thomas.

Henrie lord of
Ireland.

Thomas
rendereth by
the sword.

The lord chancelloz, I come not hither to take aduise what I should do, but to giue you to vnderstand what I minde to do. It is easie for the found to counsell the sicke: but if the soze had smarted you as much as it festereth me, you would be percase as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willett me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannic execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue bene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you seeme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will chuse rather to die with ballantnesse and libertie, than so liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshywozme to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch deepele before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled sweeter harmonye than at this instant I meane to sing. ¶ With these words he rendered by the sword, and flung a waie like a heben, being garded with his bzutish droue of bzaineficke rebels.

The counsell sent secretlie vpon his departure to master maioz and his brethren, to apprehend (if they conuenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats. But the warning was so sharrow, the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plage that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seme but vaine and fruitolous. Quier this, the weaker part of the rebels

would not pen by themselves within the citie walls, but stood howering aloofe off toward Dismantowine greene, on the top of the hill where the gallowes stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced; part of the counsell, namelie Alen archbishop of Dublin & Fingall, glasse chiefe baron hied with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof John White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his worthie seruice done in that vporze.

Alen.
Fingall.
John White.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Ossorie, agreed to trie if by any allurements he could be traird to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgiralde in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onfet, who if he were wonn to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Ossorie. Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his couline the lord Butler, couenancing to diuide with him halfe the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterpryse. Whereupon the lord Butler returned Thomas his bzokers with this letter.

The lord Butler his letter to Thomas Fitzgiralde.



¶ Taking pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the verie first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my couline: seeing your notorious treason hath distained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberall in parting stakes with me, that a man would weene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in crauing my companie, as if you would persuade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so vngratulations, as to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be thou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partener. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the end of your letter, the best waie I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue fetcht your feaze, yet to looke well yet ye leape. Ignorance and error, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vnauares to this follie, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your words against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses discover a mischeuous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitzgiralde nettled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Kilkennie, first forcing an oth vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he toke prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preided and spoiled by the Toles, who were therein assisted by John Burnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire living, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was ouertaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made haucke of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bzidge of Bailmainan. And hauing encountred

Fingall
spoiled.

John Burnell
of Balgriffin.

alland
opposite.

The Dublin
mans discom-
fited.

Patricke Fitz-
simons slaine.

Messengers
sent from
Thomas to
Dublin.

red with the Irish néere the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell rate, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the preide not rescued. In this confliat, Patricke Fitzsimons, with diuerse other good householders, miscaried.

This victorie bred so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgiralde, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albe it they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue his passage with his compante to & fro in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late skirmish, or be answerable in iust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would undertake to backe them in such fauourable wise, as the stoutest champion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a fillip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sickenesse was weakened, and by this late overthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the diuell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortly after, the king for his seruice dubbed knight, incomming him with part of Christopher Cusace of Walscutlan his lands, who had braduisedlie a foot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretlie aduertised master John White constable of the castell of this vnlawfull demand.

The constable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willingly thereto, so that he might be sufficientlie stored with men and vittells. John Alen archbishop of Dublin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, brake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his seruants named Bartholomeu Fitzgiralde, whom notwithstanding he were a Giraldine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest counsellor. Bartholomeu undertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, untill he were past the barre, incouraged his master to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were hulling in the channell that evening, they were not warte, untill the barke strake on the sands néere Clontarfe.

The archbishop with his man stole secretlie to Tartaine, there meaning to lurke untill the wind had serued to saile into England, where he scarcelye sir houres sojourned, when Thomas Fitzgiralde knew of his arriual, and accompanied with James de la Hyde, sir John Fitzgiralde, Oliuer Fitzgiralde his vnckles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentieth of Iulie, he posted to Tartaine, beset the house, commanded John Teling and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the archbishop, whome they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted, and bare headed, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinentlie he knoled and with a pitifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice sooner he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enimies mercie, Thomas being stricken with some compassion, & withall inflamed with

desire of reuenge, turned his horse aside, saing in Irish (*air wem e boddeagh*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle. or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be detained as prisoner. But the cattifs that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murdered the archbishop without further delate, brained and hacked him in gobbets, his blood with Abell crieng to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murder. The place is euer since hedged and imbeded on euerie side, ouergrowne and vnfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Wolseie, of depe iugement in the law canon, the onelie match of Stephan Gardiner, an other of Wolseies chapleins, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, deablie hated of the Giraldines for his masters sake & his owne, as he that crossed them diuerse times, and much brydeled both father and son in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his final destruction.

The rebels hauing in this execrable wise imbued their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, toke sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & upon their returne from thence, they apprehended master Nuttrel chiefe iustice of the common places, conueieng him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to pause sent into the castell by night sufficient store of vittells, at which time, John Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to master constable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of beere, two thousand drie ling, sixtens hogsheds of powdered beefe, and twentie chambers, with an iron chaine for the draw brydge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne house for the auoiding of all suspicion. The castell being with men, munition, and vittells abundantly furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgiralde, purporting a consent for the receiuing of his souldiours. Which granted, he sent thither James Field of Luke, Nicholas Waffer, John Teling, Edward Hooks (who was likewise a pirat scotwoyng the coast, and greatlie annoieng all passengers) Broad and Purcell, with an hundred souldiours attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant Nuttrelkins planted néere Persson his innes, right over against the castell gate two or thre falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their compante, as they little weighed the shot of the castle. And to withdraw the constable from discharging the ordinance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for master constable to shoot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the citizens appeared, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats were resolu'd to trie if the lord Butler would stand to his doughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, he should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanied with Dneale, diuerse Scots, James de la Hyde, his principall counsellour, John de la Hyde, Edward Fitzgiralde his vnckle, sir Richard Walfsh parson of Loughfelwdis, John Barnell of Balgriffin, James Gernon, Walter Walfsh, Robert Walfsh, spaurice Walfsh, with a maine armie, invaded the cite of Dublin and the lord Butler his lands burnt and wasted the countrie of Kilkennie to Thomas towne, the

Alen archb-
shop of Dub-
lin murdered
at Tartaine.

The earle
Droghda
The lord
Butler
wounded.

Francis H-
erbert retu-
neth from
England:
Shilling-
forth.

Thomas
Fitzsimon

No leagu-
be kept w-
traitors.
The Dub-
ans break-
with Tho-
mas Fitz-
rald.

Field and
compante
ben.

The youth
Dublin
pillagers

Francis Her-
bert sent into
England.
Cusace of
Walscutlan.

The archb-
shop of Dub-
lin meaneth
to saile into
England.
Bartholomeu
Fitzgiralde.

The lord of
Houth taken
prisoner.
Justice Nut-
trel taken.

John Fitz-
simons.

The castell
of Dublin
besieged.

Field,
Waffer,
Teling,
Hooks.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
nabed the
countrie of
Kilkennie.

1534
Teling,
Waffer.

poore inhabitants being constrained to shunne his
force, rather than to withstand his power.

Fitzgiralde his approach towards these confines
brought the earle of Ossorie, and his son the lord But-
ler, with all the gentlemen of the countrey of Kilkennie,
assembled nere Jeripon, to determine what or-
der they might take, in withstanding the invasion of
the rebels. And as they were thus in parley, a gentle-
man of the Butlers accompanied with sixteen horse-
men, departed secretly from the folkemote, & made
towards Thomas Fitzgiralde and his armie, who
was then ready to encampe himselfe at Thomas
towne. When the chalenger was escried, and the cer-
taine number knowne, sixteen of Fitzgiralde his
horsemen did charge him; and presently followed
them seven score horsemen, with two or three ban-
ners displayed, pursuing them untill they came to
the hill where all the gentlemen were assembled, who
being so suddenly taken, could not stand to bicker;
but some fled this waie, some that waie, the earle
was scattered from his companie, and the lord But-
ler unware was hurt: whom when such of the rebels
knew as favoured him, they pursued him but colde-
ly, and let him escape on horsebacke, taking his waie
to Downemore (nere Kilkennie) where he late at
surgerie.

The earle of
Ossorie fleth.
The lord
Butler
wounded.

Francis He-
rebert returns
hence from
England.
Shilling-
forth.

Thomas
Fitzsimons.

No league to
be kept with
traitors.
The Dublin-
ians breake
with Tho-
mas Fitzgira-
lde.

Field and his
companie ta-
ken.

The youth of
Dublin taken
prisoners.

then was in the towne) namely Michaell Fitz-
simons, Patrike Fitzsimons, William Fitzsimons,
all sons to Walter Fitzsimons late maior, at which
time was also taken James Stanhurst, with di-
uerse other younglings of the citie.

Having marched nere Dublin, he sent doctor
Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Brooke, and Oliver
Grace, as messengers (for I made not rightlie
tearme them ambassadoys) to the citizens, who cros-
sing the Liffie from the blacke friers to the keie, ex-
plained to the maior and aldermen their errand, the
effect whereof was, either to stand to their former
promise, or else to restore to their capteine his men,
whom they wrongfullie detained in goale. The first
and last point of this request flatlie by the citizens
denied, the messengers returned, declaring what
cold intertainment they had in Dublin. Thomas
herewith frieng in his greafe, caused part of his ar-
mie to burne the barke wherein Herebert sailed from
England: which done without resistance, the vessel
road at anchor nere saint Maries abbey, they in-
detozed to stop all the springs that flowed unto the
towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, where-
by they should be destitute of fresh water. Shortly
after, they laid siege to the castell in the Shipstreet,
from whence they were hastilie by the ordinance
feazed, and all the thatcht houses of the street were
burnt with wild fire, which maister White deuiled,
because the enimie should not be there rescued.

Dublin beseg-
ged.

The ships
street fired.

When no butter could sticke on their bread, in
that part of the citie, the greater number of the
rebels assembled to Thomas his court, and marched
to saint Thomas his street, rasing downe the parti-
tions of the row of houses before them on both sides
of the street, finding none to withstand them: for the
inhabitants fled into the citie, so that they made a
long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, conered
all ouer head, to shield as well their horsemen as
their footmen from gunshot. This done they burnt
the new street, planted a falcon right against the
new gate, and it discharged, pearced the gate, and
kild an apprentice of Thomas Stephens alderman,
as he went to bring a bason of water from the high
pipe, which by reason the springs were damd by, was
at that time dyie. Richard Stanton, commonlie
called Dicke Stanton, then gailor of the new gate,
a good seruitor, an excellent markeman, as his va-
lliant seruice that time did approue. For besides that
he gald diuers of the rebels as they would skip from
house to house, by causing some of them with his
peece to carrie their errands in their buttocks; so he
perceiued one of the enimies, leueling at the win-
dow or spike at which he stood: but whether it were,
that the rebell his powder failed him, or some gimball
or other was out of frame, Stanton toke him so
trulie for his marke, as he strake him with his bul-
let full in the forehead vnder the bym of his scull,
and withall turned vp his heeles.

Richard
Stanton.

Stanton not satisfied with his death, issued out
at the wicket, dript the darlot mother-naked, and
brought in his peece and his attire. The desperat-
nesse of this fact disliked of the citizens, and great-
lie stomached by the rebels, before Stanton retur-
ned to his standing, the enimies brought faggots &
fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them.
The townefemen perceiuing that if the gate were
burnt, the enimies would be encouraged vpon hope
of the spoile, to venter more fiercelie, than if they
were incountred without the wals, thought it expe-
dient presentlie to charge them. To this exploit they
were the more egerlie moued, because that notwithstanding
Thomas his souldiours were manie in
number; yet they knew that the better part of his
companie bare but hollow hearts to the quarrell:
for

Faggots laid
vnto the
new gate.

for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those artowes, which were shot over the walles, were br-headed, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters, and forgot to them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

The citizens
buck: & south
the rebels.

Thomas
Fitzgerald
Barth.

De la Hode.
Lime.
Bath.
Trauerse.
Field.

The articles
propounded to
the citizens.

The citizens
answer these
articles.

That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnesse of his souldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant netes, that the king his armie was arrived: and as it had bene so in deed, suddenly to the number of four hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire upon the rebels, who at the first sight of armed men, went no lesse but the truth was so, other wise assured, that the citie would never dare to reencounter them, gaue ground, forsooke their captiues, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, their falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Galloglasses slaine. Thomas Fitzgiralde fled to the graie stiers in S. Francis his street, there coucht that night, unknown to the citie, untill the next morning he stole yssuall to his armie not far off, who stood in wonderfull feare that he was apprehended. Thomas his courage by this late ouerthrow somewhat cooled, and also being assured he told, that a flecte was espied a farre off, bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was sone intreated, hauing so manie irons in the fire, to take eggs for his monie: & withall, hauing no forren succor, either from Paulus tertius, or Charles the first, which daile he expected, he was sore quailed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of souldiours, yet vnfurnished of sufficient munition and artillerie, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Upon this & other considerations, to make as faire weather as he could, he sent James de la Hode, Lame of the Knocke, William Bath of Dollartstone, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Hainstowne, as messengers to the citizens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in at the new gate, repaired to William Kellie his house, where maister maioz and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

- 1 That Thomas Fitzgiralde his men, who were deteined in prison, should be redeliuered.
- 2 Item, that the citizens should incontinentlie deliuer him at one payment, a thousand pounds in monie.
- 3 Item, that they should deliuer him five hundred pounds in wares.
- 4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillerie.
- 5 Item, to adresses their fauorable letters to the king for their captiue his pardon, and all his confederats.

The maioz and aldermen, hauing ripelie debated the tenour of these articles, agreed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer vnto the first, that they would not sticke to let his seruants at libertie, so he would redeliuer them the youth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but tit for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greatlie by his warres impouerished, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond niddicookes, as to offer anie man a rod to beat their owne taitles, or to betake their massines vnto the custodie of the wolues, maruelling much that their captiue would so farre ouerthrow himselfe, as to be taken with such apparant repugnance. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obtaining of his pardon, he ought rather

to make sute for some good bestam parchment for the ingrossing the reof, than for mupition and artillerie to withstand his prince. Wherefore, that three vnlawfull demands reiected, they would willingly condescend to the first and last: as well requesting him to deliuer them the youth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king his mercie: promising not onelie with their fauorable letters, but also with their personall presences to further, as far as in them laie, his humble sute to the king and counsell.

As they parted thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollartstone a student of the common lawes spake: My maisters, what needeth all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup. Which words were hartlie after upon Sheffington his arriuall so crowedlie glofed, as by drinking of a soure cup he lost the best ioint of his bodie. For albeit upon his triall he construed his words to import an vnsofome consent towards the obtaining of Fitzgiralde his pardon; yet all this could not colour his matter in such wise, but that he and Eustace of Balcutlan were executed at the castell of Dublin. The messengers knowing their captiue to be at a lowe, were agreed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be giuen of either part. The messengers deliuered to the citizens doctor Trauerse & others, the citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Alderman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of Danid Sutton of Kabbide, who redeliuered them to the citizens immediatlie after vpon the certaine rumoz of Sheffington his repaire.

Thomas growne to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillerie to be conueied to Houth, marching after with his armie, to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the souldiours vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his iorney vnto Houth, he rode to Hainoth, to see that the castell should be of all sides fortified, where being done to vnderstand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretlie in the dead of the night, and also that another band arrived at Houth, and were ready to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinentlie with two hundred horsemen towards the water side, incountred nere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and courageous gentlemen, hauing in their companie foure score souldiours, where they fought so valliantlie for their liues, as so few footmen could haue done against so great a trope of horsemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgiralde in the forehead. Some report that one of the Pusgranes, who was of kin to Fitzgiralde, was slaine in this conflic, whose death he is said to haue taken greatlie to hart. The rebelles fledd with the slaughter of the English, bled with all speed to Houth, shot at the ships that rode at anchoz, caused them to flee from thence, & to make towards Sherrish, where landed both the Eglesbaes, and the Dacres, with their horsemen. Konks, Fitzgiralde his pirat, was sent to scowze the coast, who toke an English barke laden with verie faire geldings, and sent them to his captiue. After that Thomas had returned with this bottle, and the spoile of such as were slaine to Hainoth, sir William Bereton knight, with his sonne John Bereton, was introyed at Houth with two hundred & fiftie souldiours verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

Lastlie landed at the slip, neare the hydge of Dublin, sir William Sheffington knight lord Dr. putte,

lord Drapton
landeth.

Letters of
thanks from
the king to
the Dublin
ans.
The lord of
Trimle-
stowne sur-
rendreth the
sword.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
goeth to
Connagh.
The castell
Hainoth
sieged.

Sir William
Bereton
summoneth
the castell.

William
Bath.

Eustace of
Balcutlan

Hostages
taken.
Doctor Tra-
uerse.
Talbot.
Rochford.
Kerrie.
Danid Sutton.

The white
cotes landed
at Dublin.

The Hamer-
tons slaine.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
wounded.
Pusgrane.

Eglesbaes.
Dacres.

English ge-
ldings taken.

Sir William
Bereton.
John Bereton.
Salisburie.

Sir William
Sheffington.

Holland
captiue
Salisburie
The castell
taken.

lord deputie
landsh.

Letters of
thanks from
the king to
the Dublin
ans.
The lord of
Trimle-
stowe surren-
dredeth the
sword.

William
Bath.

Embace of
Balcuthans

Thomas
Fitzgerald
goeth toward
Connagh.
The castell of
Dhamoth be-
lieged.

Sir William
Bzereton
summoneth
the castell.

Hollages
taken,
Doxor Tre-
uerle,
Talbot,
Rochford,
Berrie,
David Sout-
ton.

The hottie
cotes landed
at Dublin.

The Hamet
sons lawe.

Thomas
Fitzgerald
wounded.
Wyngraun.

Englebe.
Dacres.

English get-
tings taken

Sir William
Bzereton.
John Bzer-
eton.
Salisbury.

Sir William
Shelington.

Holland petit
captaine to
Salisbury.
The castell
taken.

portie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his master gunner to gouerne them, and that they can euill byoke to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie bozne. The maior and aldermen receiued the gouernoz with shot, and great solemnitie, who yelding them hartie thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered them the king and counsell his letters, purporting the same effect in writing that he before expressed in wordes. Wernwell lord of Trimlestowne, who had the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir William Bzereton, according to the meaning of the king his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitzgiralde hauing intelligence that the whole armie was arrived, warded the castell of Dhamoth so stronglie, as he toke it to be impregnable. And to the end he might glue the gouernoz battell, he rode towards Connagh, to leuie all such power of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewarded of his drift, marched with the English armie, and the power of the pale to Dhamoth, and laid siege to the castell on the north side towards the parke. But before anie peece was discharged, sir William Bzereton, by the deputie his appointment, did summon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to be liberallie rewarded for their god and loiall seruice. But such as warded the castell, scornfullie scoffing the knight his offer, gaue him hartie thanks for his kindnesse which they said proceeded rather of his gentlenesse than of their deseruing, wishing him to keepe by in soze such liberall offers for a dere peece, and to write his commendations home to his friends, and withall, to keepe his head warme, for at their hands he was like to haue but a cold lute. Finally not to take such keepe of their safetie, in that they were assured, that he and his fellowes should be soner from the siege raised, than they from the hold remoued.

Upon this round answer the ordinaunces were planted on the north side of the castell, which made no great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the castell so warlike on ech side inuironed, as the rebellies were imbarred from all egress and regress. Christopher Bzereton fosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgiralde, to whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was chieflie committed, profering his voluntarie seruice (which for the moze part is so thanklesse and vnauorise as it sinketh) determined to go an ale beyond his fellowes, in betraying the castell to the gouernoz. In this resolution he shot a letter indorsed to the lord deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuise means the castell should be taken, so that he might haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a competent staie during his life. This motion by letters to and fro agreed vpon, Bzereton caused such as kept the ward, to swill and boll so much, as they smokted all the night like grunting hogs, little misdeeming that whilst they slept, anie Judas had bene waking within the castell.

The occasion of this extraordinarie exceeding was colored, for snatching into the castell a field peece the daie before from the armie, for which they kept such pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of them could discerne his beds head from the beds feet: Bzereton, taking his time and time, made signe to the armie, betwene the twilight and dawning of the daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse, would not ouerslip the oportunitie offered. Holland, petit captaine to Salisbury, was one of the forwardest in this exploit, who leaping downe from the wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he was by to the arme pits, so stiffelie sticking therein,

and also vnwealdie in his armes, as there could not helpe him selfe neither in nor out. Sir William Bzereton and his band hauing scaled the wals cried on a sudden, saint George, saint George. Whoe drunken swads that kept the castell thought that this sholot was nought else but a drame, till time they espyed the walles full of armed men, and one of them with all perceiuing Holland thus intangled in the pipe, bestowed an arrow vpon him, which by god hap did misse him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellowes, shot at the other, and strake him so full vnder the skull, as he left him spalling. The resistance was faint, when the souldiours entered, some yelding themselves, others that withstood them slaine. Sir William Bzereton ran vp to the highest turret of the castell, & aduanced his standard on the top thereof, notifying to the deputie, that the fort was wone. Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such braue furniture, as trulie it was accounted (for household stuffe and vtenilses) one of the richest earle his houses vnder the crowne of England. The lord deputie entred the castell in the after none, vpon whose repaire, James de la Hyde, and Hailward, two singling men of the earle his chappell, that were taken prisoners, prostrated themselves on the ground, pitifullie warbling a song, named *Dulcis amica*.

The gouernour raniished with the sweet and delicate voices, at the instance of Gerald Almer chiefe iustice, and others of the counsell pardoned them. Christopher Bzereton not misdoubting but that he should haue bene duno knight for his seruice done that daie, presented himselfe before the gouernour, with a cherefull and familiar countenance: as who should saie, Here is he that did the deede. The deputie verie colde & halfe sternelie casting an eie towards him said: Bzereton, I am to thanke thee on my master the king his behalfe, for this thy proffered seruice which I must acknowledge to haue bene a sparing of great charges, and a sauing of manie valiant souldiours liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that he will not let thee lacke during thy life. And because I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee during my gouernement, I would gladlie learne, what thy lord and master bestowed on thee. Bzereton let a gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the moze he recited, the better he should be rewarded, lest not untold the meanest god turne that euer he receiued at his lordes hands. Whoe Bzereton (quoth the deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betraye his castell, that hath bene so good lord to thee? True lie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true to vs. And therewithall, turning his talke to his officers, he gaue them commandement to deliuer Bzereton the summe of monie that was promised him vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off his head. Bzereton at this cold salutation of farewell & be hanged, turning his limping to whimpering said: My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt so freetlie with me, your lordship should not haue wone this fort with so little bloodshed as you did.

Whereat master Wolfe, a gentleman of worthip, and one that retained to that old earle of Kildare, standing in the preesse, said in Irish, *Anragh*, which is as much in English, as *To late*, whereof grew the Irish prouerbe, to this daie in the language bled, *To late* quoth Wolfe, as we saie, Beware of had I wist, or After meat mustard, or You come a daie after the faire, or Better done than said. The deputie asked them that stood by what was that he spake? Master Wolfe willing to expound his owne words, slept forth and answered; My lord, I said nothing, but that Bzereton is seized of a towne nere the water side

Bzereton sca-
leth the wals.

Bzereton ad-
uanceth his
standard.

The lord de-
putie entere
the castell,
James de la
Hyde.

Gerald Al-
mer.

Bzereton con-
uinceth before
the gouernoz.

A notable
indgement.

The prouerbe
To late quoth
Wolfe.

Ba. 112.

Parese beheaded.

The deputie returneth to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiraldo marcheth towards Malin.

Bereton left to defend Dublin. Galloglasles taken and slain.

Edmund Deleine escapeth.

Thomas and his companie sleeth.

Fitzgiraldo his stratagemas.

William Sento. Rice Hanswell. Edward Griffith.

side named Baltra, and I would gladly know how he will dispose it before he be executed. The governour not mistrusting that master Boile had glosed (for if he understood the true signification of the terme, it was verie like that too late had not bene so sharpe to Parese, but too sone had bene as sote to him) willed the monie to be told to Parese, and presentlie caused him to be cut thorow by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time he embraced the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not digest the treacherie of the traitor.

The deputie having left a garrison in the castell, returned with the armie triumphantlie to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiraldo not misdoubting but such as he left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle, lenied a huge armie in Conhur his countrie, and in Connagh, to the number of seven thousand, marching with them towards Malin, minding to have remoued the king his armie from the siege: but being certified, that Parese his fosterbrother pelded by the castell to the deputie, the better part of his companie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding he made with such as would stick to him to Clane. The lord deputie having intelligence of his appoach, left sir William Bereton at Dublin to defend the citie, & marched with the armie to the Paas, where he took seuen score of Thomas his Galloglasles, and lead them all vnarmed toward Johnstowne. The scoutwatch espiong Thomas to march nere, imparted it to the governour, who presentlie commanded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge, which was dispatcht; only Edmund Deleine escaping mother naked by sight to Thomas his companie, leaving his shirt in his keepers hands. Both the armies aduanced themselves one against the other, but the hoisemen of either side could not charge, by reason of a marish or quakenire that parted them. Wherefore the deputie caused two or three field peeces to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his rabblement, insomuch as he neuer in such open wise durst after beare up head in the English pale, but rather by starts and sudden stratagemas would now and then gall the English. As when the castell of Rathangan was wone, which was sone after the surrender of Malin, he caused a droue of cattell to appeare timelie in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a bottie, were trained for the more part out of the castell, who were surprisid by Thomas, that late hard by in ambush, and the greater number of them slain.

Another time he fired a village hard by Trim, and deuised such of his hoisemen that could speake English, being clad and hoised like northerne men, to ride to Trim, where a garrison laie with hue and cry, saing that they were capteine Salisburie his souldiours, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgiraldo was burning a village hard by. The souldiours suspecting no couinage issued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, & a great number of them slain, some chased to the towne, and forced to take sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks vsed Thomas, being for his owne person so well guarded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neither he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him. During this time, there arrived with a fresh supplie of hoisemen & archers, sir William Sento knight & his son, sir Rice Hanswell knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend the countrie from the enemies inuasion. When the heat of this rebellion was in this wise allwaged, the lord deputie finding out no deuise to apprehend the capteine, imploted his industrie to intrap his confederats.

Burnell of Walgriffin percelling all go to wacke fled to Pounder, where he was taken by the lord Butler vicount Hurles, and being conuicted to England was executed at Tiburne. Doctor Trauers, who was left as hostage with the citizens, was by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with Hooks the pirat executed at the gallows on Malin towne greene.

Sir Walter de la Hyde knight and his wife the ladie Gennet Cufface were apprehended, & brought as prisoners by master Bhabson viceretresuro from their towne of Poiclar to the castell of Dublin, because their sonne and heire James de la Hyde was the onelie huzer of all this rebellion: who as the governour suspected, was set on by his parents, & nameilie by his mother. The knight & his wife, lieng in duress for the space of twelue moneths, were at severall times examined, & notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that could be gathered, they were in the end found gittlesse of their sonne his follie. But the ladie was had in examination apart, and insisted by meanes to charge hir husband with hir sonne his rebellion, who being not wone thereto with all the meanes that could be wrought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt; and so with extremitie to be compelled, whereas with gentlenesse she could not be allured to acknowledge these apparent treasons, that neither hir husband nor she could without great shew of impudencie denie.

The gentlewoman with these continuall sorrows heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thence hir bodie was remoued vnto the greie friers with the deputie his commandement, that it should not be interred, vntill his pleasure were further knowne; adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the mother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to be cast out on a dunghill to be carrion for rauens and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie christian graue. The corps lieng foure or fve daies in this plight, at the request of the ladie Gennet Wol ding, wife to sir John White knight, the governour, licenced that it should be buried. Sir William Skeffington a leucare and byright governour died shortly after at Millmain: to whome succeeded lord deputie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediatlie vpon the taking of his oth marched with his power towards the confines of Pounder, where Thomas Fitzgiraldo at that time remained. With Fitzgiraldo sir William Bereton skirmished so fiercelie, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disadvantaged, than either part by anie great victorie furthered. After Bereton therefore perceiuing that rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow with Fitzgiraldo by faire means to some reasonable composition. The deputie liking of the motion, craued a parlée, sending certeine of the English as hostages to Thomas his campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure.

Being vpon this securitie in conference with the lord Greie, he was persuaded to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, with the governours faithfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repaire into England. And to the end that no trecherie might haue bene misdeemed of either side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the campe, as an infallible seale of the couenants and conditions of either part agreed.

Wherevpon Thomas Fitzgiraldo toze against the willes of his counsellors, dismiss his armie, & rode with the deputie to Dublin, where he made short abode when he sailed to England with the fauourable letters of the governour and the councill. And as he would haue taken his tourne to Windsoze, where the

Burnell of Walgriffin taken and executed. Trauers executed. Hooks executed.

Walter de la Hyde and his wife Gennet Cufface apprehended.

Gennet Cufface dieth.

Skeffington deceased.

Leonard Greie lord deputie.

Bereton skirmished with Fitzgiraldo.

Thomas Fitzgiraldo submitteeth himselfe to the deputie.

The sacrament receiued.

Thomas saileth into England.

He is committed to the tower.

Thomas his vices taken.

Innocencie strong for.

The Cow.

1536 Thomas Fitzgiraldo his vices executed. Dominicke Powe.

Charles Be...

He is com-
mitted to
the tower.

the court late, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with hast to the tower. And before his imprisonment was bruted, letters were posied into Ireland, streialie commending the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnckles, and to see them with all speed conuentient shipt into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing feasted thre of the gentlemen at Kilmainan, immediate after their banquet (as it is now and then seen, that sweet meat will haue sowre sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castle of Dublin: and the other two were so roundlie smatcht vp in villages hard by, as they soner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The next wind that serued into England, these five brethren were imbarcked, to wit James Fitzgiralde, Walter Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde, John Fitzgiralde, and Richard Fitzgiralde. Thre of these gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephew Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enemies to the house, incensed the king so fere against it, persuaading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Geraldine breathed in the countie: as for making the pathwaie smooth, he was resolued to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse berries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a king is disposed to sweepe an alleie.

Thus were the five brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgiralde being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, walling his inward griefe, with outward mirth comforted them with cheerfulness of countenance, as well persuaading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbicane, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the fillie mourners sometime with smiling, sometime with singing, sometime with graue and pittie as prophethemes, he craved of the owner the name of the barke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Cow, the gentleman soze appalled therat, said: How good brethren I am in vffer despaire of our returne to Ireland, for I heare in mind an old prophesie, that five earles brethren should be caried in a Cowes bellie to England, and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the rest began a fresh to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pitifull, to behold five valiant gentlemen, that durst meet in the field five as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddenlie terrified with the bare name of a wooden colw, or to feare like lions a fillie cocke his combe, being moued (as commonlie the whole countie is) with a vaine and fabulous old wines dreame. But what blind prophesie soeuer he read, or heard of anie superstitious belidame touching a colw his bellie, that which he foretold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgiralde the third of Febyuarie, and these five brethren his vnckles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinentlie bruted as well in England and Ireland, as in frozen soiles. For Dominicke Powye, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the first, to craue his aid towards the conquest of Ireland (like as Chale in Grauil, otherwise called Charles Keinold, was directed to Paulus tertius) presenting the emperour with twelue great haukes and foureteene

saire hobbies, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came to late, for his lord and master and fine of his vnckles were executed at London the third of Febyuarie: howbeit the emperour procured king Henrie to pardon Dominicke Powye. Which notwithstanding he obtained, yet would he not returne to Ireland, but continued in Portingale, hauing a duket a daie of the emperour during his life, which he ended at Lisbonne.

James de la Hyde the chiefe counsellor of Thomas Fitzgiralde, fled into Scotland and there deceased. To this miserable end grete this lewd rebellion, which turned to the utter vndoing of diuers ancient gentlemen, who trained with saire words into a soles paradise, were not onelie dispossessed of their lands, but also depriued of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countries. As for Thomas Fitzgiralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tiburne, I would with the carefull reader to vnderstand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of error than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, wherefor thought of the yong man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parliament holden at Dublin, as one that was demerred, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgiralde. For this hath bene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, therewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie earle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a choncler moued to declare the truth.

This Thomas Fitzgiralde (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature powred beautie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it bene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had bene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impe worthie to be ingrafted in so honozable stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicatlie in each lim featured, a rolling tong & a rich utterance, of nature flexible and kind, verie soone caried where he sanctied, easilie with submission appeased, hardlie with stubboznesse weied, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuertheless taken for a yong man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a foale had the keeping thereof.

But to returne to the course of the historie. When Thomas and his vnckles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Gerald Fitzgiralde (who was after in the reigne of quene Marie restored to the earldome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirtene yeares of age, laie sicke of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Gerald Fitzgiralde. Thomas Leurolle, who was the child his scholemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vnckles, that all went not currant, wapt the yong patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a clafe with all speed to Dphalie, where sojourning for a short space with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgiralde, until he had recovered his perfect health, his scholemaster caried him to Adon his countie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he travelled to Doren his countie in Mounster, and hauing there remained for halfe a

James de la Hyde.

Thomas Fitzgiralde was not earle of Kildare.

1. St. pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare bare armour at anie time against his prince.

The description of Thomas Fitzgiralde.

The aduencures of the yong Fitzgiralde son to the ladie Grey countesse of Kildare.

Donoare. Thomas Leurolle.

1536

Thomas Fitzgiralde & his vnckles executed.

Dominicke Powye.

Charles Keinold.

Burnell of Walgreidie taken and executed.

Ronks executed.

Walter de la Hyde and his ladie Gennet suffrage apprehended.

Gennet Es face dieth.

Sheddington deceased.

Leonard Greie lord deputie.

Wicreton thirmiter with Fitzgiralde.

Thomas Fitzgiralde submitte himselfe to the deputie.

The sacrament receiued.

Thomas taken into England.

1535

Glenoz Fitzgiral.
giral.

yeare, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Glenoz Fitzgiral, who then kept in Mac Cartie Keagh hir late husband his territories.

This noble woman was at that time a widow, alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir actions vertuous and goodlie, and also in a good quarell rather stout than stiffe. To hir was Ddoneil an importunate suiter. And although at sundrie times before she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the distresse of hir young innocent nephue, how he was forced to wander in pilgrimlike from house to house, eschuing the punishment that others deserved, smarted in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before he was of discretion to insote anie prosperitie, she began to incline to hir womer his request, to the end hir nephue should haue bene the better by his countenance shouldered, and in fine indentured to espouse him; with this caveat or promise, that he should safelie shield and protect the said young gentleman in this calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, the robe with hir nephue to Ddoneil his countrie, and there had him safelie kept for the space of a yeare.

But shortly after the gentlewoman either by some secret friend informed, or of wisdomes gathering that hir late married husband intended some treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, clozing him like a liberall and bountifull aunt with seven score porteguses, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same coine, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Britons vessell of saint Malouse, betaking him to God, and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit, master Leuonise, and Robert Walsh sometime seruant to his father the earle. The ladie Glenoz hauing thus to hir contentation bestowed hir nephue, the expostulated verie sharpelie with Ddoneil as touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause of hir match with him proceeded of an expectall care to haue hir nephue countenanced: and now that he was out of his lath that minded to haue betrayed him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of his danger moued hir to annere to such a clonish curmudgen: so the assurance of his safetie should cause hir to sequester herselfe from so butcherlie a cutthrote, that would be like a pelting mercenarie patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent bloud of his nephue by amittie, and hers by consanguinitie. And in this wise trauelling vp bag and baggage, she forsooke Ddoneil and returned to hir countrie.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arrived at saint Malouse, which notified to the gouernour of Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he sent for the young Fitzgiral, gaue him verie hartie intertainment during one moneths space. In the meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to the court of France, aduertising the king of the arrivall of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir John Wallop (who was then the English ambassadour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue his repaire to France, demanded him of the French king, according to the new made league betwene both the princes: which was, that none should keepe the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie was brother to one, who of late notorious for his rebellion in Ireland was executed at London.

To this answered the king, first that the ambassadour had no commission from his Prince to demand him, & vpon his maiestie his letter he should know more of his mind: secondlie that he did not deteine him, but the Dolphin said him: lastlie, that how

griuouslie soener his brother offended, he was well assured, that the sille boy neither was nor could be a traitor, and therefore there rested no cause why the ambassadour should in such wise craue him; not doubting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet he would not so far swaue from the extreme rigour of iustice, as to imbue his hands in the innocent his bloud, for the offense that his brother had perpetrated. Maister Wallop herevpon addressed his letters to England, specifying vnto the counsell the French kings answer. And in the meane time the young Fitzgiral hauing an inkling of the ambassadour his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one of maister Wallop his men, did not onelie pursue him, but also did ouertake him as he solourned in the said towne.

Wherevpon maister Leuonise, and such as accompanied the child, fled to the gouernour of Valencie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking spie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog their master from place to place, and presentlie pursued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie unpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne countriman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pitied, than for the desert of others so egerlie to be pursued. The gouernour vpon this complaint sore incensed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie examined, and finding him unable to color his lewd practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him vp by the hailes, rewarding his hot pursute with cold intertainment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the young Fitzgiral requiting the prisoner his vnnaturall crueltie with undeserued courtlesse, humblelie besought the gouernour to set him at libertie. This vniunt escaped, Fitzgiral trauelled to Burels, where the emperor kept his court.

Doctor Pates being ambassadour in the low countries, demanded Fitzgiral of the emperor on his maister the king of Englands behalfe. The emperor hauing answered that he had not to deale with the boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to the bishop of Liege, allowing him for his pension an hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined him verie honozable, had him placed in an abbey of monks, & was so carefull of his safetie, that if anie person suspected had trauelled within the circuit of his glébe, he should be streialie examined whether he would, or from whence he came, or vpon what occasion he trauelled that waie. Hauing in this wise remained at Liege for halfe a yere, the cardinall Pole (Fitzgiral his kinsman) sent for him to Rome, wherevpon the gentleman as well with the emperor his licence, as with surrendering his pension, trauelled to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him to his companie, vntill he had attained to some knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing him an annuitie of three hundred crownes, he placed him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinall of Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua. Leuonise in the meane while was admitted through the cardinall Pole his procurement, to be one of the English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his hospitall.

Robert Walsh, vpon his maisters repaire to Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgiral hauing continued with the cardinall, and the duke of Mantua, a yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinall Pole to Rome, at which time the duke of Mantua gaue him for an annuall pension 300 crownes. The cardinall greatlie reioiced in his kinsman, had him

Cardinall Pole his order in training young Fitzgiral.

Fitzgiral fled to Flanders, scantlie reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke pursued him.

Fitzgiral trauelleth to Naples.

Tripolie.

Donnison.

Sherelocke imprisoned.

Crueltie requited with courtlesse.

Fitzgiral returneth to Rome.

The cardinall inhanseth Fitzgiral's pension.

Doctor Pates

The emperor bestowed a pension on Fitzgiral.

He is master of the hosteto the duke of Florence.

He saileth into a dape pit.

Cardinall Pole sendeth for Fitzgiral.

Leuonise placed in the English hospitall.

His great bound bindeth him out.

Crecappan.

The ladie Glenozs liberalitie.

Fitzgiral saileth to France.

Chasteau Brian.

Sir John Wallop demanded Fitzgiral.

The king demeth him.

Cardinal
Bole his op-
ber in train-
ing young
Fitzgerald.

carefullie trained by in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies with exercises of activitie, as he should not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of active gentlemen for a dead and dumpeish meacoke. If he had committed any fault, the cardinal would secretly command his tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle the boie, as though he were not pynne to his punishment; & upon his complaint made, he used to checke Fitzgerald his master openly for chastising so tenderly his prettye darling.

In this wise he rested thre yeaeres together in the cardinal his house, and by that time having slept so far in yeres (for he was picking fast upon nintene) as he began to know himselfe, the cardinal put him to his choise, either to continue his learning, or by travelling to seeke his adventures abroad. The young sipping (as usualle kind doth crêpe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookishnesse, choosed to be a traveller: and presentlie with the cardinal his licence repaired to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thence he sailed to Tripolie (a foyt appertaining to the aforesaid order, coasting upon Barbarie) and there he abode six weekes with Mounbryson, a commander of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

At that time the knights served valiantlie against the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their villages and towne that late nere the water side, toke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them to the chrystians for bondslaves. The young Fitzgerald returned with a rich bottie to Malta, from thence to Rome, having spent in this volage not fullie one yeaere. Proud was the cardinal to heare of his prosperous exploits: and for his further advancement he enhanced his pension of thre hundred crownes, to thre hundred pounds, over and above thre hundred crownes that the duke of Mantua allowed him. Shortly after he preferred him to the service of the duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued master of his house thre yeaeres, having also of the duke thre hundred buckets for a yeaerlie pension during life, or untill he were restored; in like maner as the cardinal Bole and the duke of Mantua in their annuities had granted him.

During the time that he was in service with the duke of Florence, he travelled to Rome a throning, of set purpose to be merrie: and as he rode on hunting with cardinal Fernesse the pope his nephue, it happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit nine and twentie fathams deepe, and in the fall forsa- king his horse within two fathams of the bottom, he toke hold by two or thre roots, griping them fast, untill his armes were to wearie, as he could hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell soddie on his horse, that in the bottom of the pit laie sturke dead, and there he stood by the ancles in water for the space of thre houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good greyhound of his named Griffhound, not finding his master in the company, followed his tract untill he came to the pit, and from thence would not depart, but stood at the bym incessantlie howling. The cardinal Fernesse and his traine missing Fitzgerald, made towards the dog, and surceieng the place, they were verelie perswaded that the gentleman was squised to death.

Having therefore posted his servants in hast to a village hard by Rome (named Trecappan) for ropes and other necessities, he caused one of the company to glide in a basket downe to the bottome

of the hole. Fitzgerald remained with his presence, and willing to be removed from so darke some a dongeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend him his come, whereupon he was haled by in the basket: as well to the generall admiration of the whole company, as to the singular gratulation of the cardinal and all his friends, rendering most hartie thankes unto God his divine maiestie, for protecting the gentleman with his gracious guerdon. And thus surceasing to treat any further of his adventures, untill the date of time traine my pen to a longer discourse, I will retorne to the inhabitants of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitzgerald, through rigour of iustice and the due execution of lawes were greaffie molested. For over this, that such as were knowne for open and apparant traitors in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with round sums fined, or from the realme exiled: certeine gentlemen of worth were sent from England, with commission to examine each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and so according to their discretion, either with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as they could proue to have furthered him in his disloyal commotion. Commissioners were these: sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, sir George Dant knight, master Spille, and master Barnes. Much about this time was there a parlement holden at Dublin before the lord Leonard Grete lord deputie, beginning the first of Maie, in the eight and twentieth yeaere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

Commis-
sioners sent to
Ireland:

Their names
A parliament.
1539

In this parlement there past these
acts following.

For the attainder of the earle of
Kildare, and Thomas Fitz-
gerald, with others.

For the succession of the king &
quene Anne.

Of absenties, wherein was
granted to the king the inhe-
ritance of such lands in Ire-
land, wherof the duke of Nor-
folke & George Talbot earle
of Waterford & Salop were
seized, with the inheritances
of diuerse other corporations
and couents demurrant in
England.

For the repeale of Poynings act.
Authorising the king his heirs
and successors to be supream
head of the church of Ireland.
That no subjects or resiants of
Ireland shall pursue or com-
mence, vse or execute any ma-
ner of prouocations, appeales
or other processe from the see
of Rome, vpon paine of incur-
ring the premunire.

Against such as slander the king,
or his heires apparant.

For the first fruits.
Of sir Walter de la Hyde knight
his lands in Carbeire granted
to the king.

How persons robbed shall be re-
stored to their goods.
Restreining tributs to be gran-
ted to Irishmen.

As. ij. Against

Fitzgerald
fleeth to Flam-
ders.
James Sher-
locke pursueth
Fitzgerald.

Fitzgerald
travelleth to
Naples.

Tripolie.

Mounbryson.

Sherlocke
imprisoned.

Cruelle re-
quith with
cruelle.

Fitzgerald re-
turneth to
Rome.
The cardinal
enhances
Fitzgeralds
pension.

Dontor Bates

He is master
of the house
of the duke of
Florence.

The emperor
bestoweth a
pension on
Fitzgerald.

He falleth in-
to a deepe pit.

Cardinal
Bole sendeth
for Fitzg-
rald.

Leuonise pla-
ced in the
English hos-
pital.

Robert welsh
returneth to
Ireland.

Trecappan.

Against proctors to be any member of the parlement.
 Against marieng or fostering with or to Irishmen.
 Against the authoritie of the see of Rome.
 For the twentieth part.
 For the English order, habit, and language.
 For the suppressing of abbeis.
 For the lading of wooll & flockes.
 For the prowe of testaments.
 Of faculties.
 Declaring the effect of Doinings act.
 Of penall statutes.
 For the weres upon Barou, and other waters in the countrie of Kilkennie.
 For the personage of Dongarlan.
 For leasers of cozne.

An act.

The old earle of Kildare his wife before his death.

His service.

His hospitalitie and devotion.

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this parlement was atteinted for diuerse presumptions, in the preamble of the said act rehearsed, certeine it is, that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgiralde smot him so depelie to the heart, as vpon the report thereof he deceased in the tower, wishing in his death-bed that either he had died before he had heard of the rebellion, or that his brainelesse boy had neuer liued to raise the like commotion. This earle, of such as did not somach his proceedings, was taken for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires verie honorable, a wise, deepe, and far reaching man: in war ballant without rashnesse, and politike without treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his gouernement, as they durst not beare armes to the annoiance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no small reuenues to the crowne, intriched the king his treasure, garded with securitie the pale, continued the honor of his house, and purchased enuie to his person. His great hospitalitie is to this daie rather of each man commended, than of anie one followed. He was so religiouslie addicted vnto the seruice of God, as what time soeuer he travelled to anie part of the countrie, such as were of his chapel should be sure to accompanie him. Among other rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie indued, which were it put in practise by such as are of his calling, might minister great occasion as well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

For if anie whispered, vnder *Benedicite*, a sinister report or secret practise, that tended to the distaining of his honor, or to the perill of his person, he would stricly examine the informer, whether the matter he reported were past, or to come. If it were said or done, he was accustomed to laie soze to his charge, where, and of whome he heard it, or how he could iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the prowe, he would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for being so maliciouslie caried, as for currieng fauour to himselfe, he would laboz to purchase hatred to another. But if the practise were future, and hereafter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the credit, vsing withall such warie secrecie, as untill the matter came to the pinch, the aduersarie should thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best provided. As being in Dublin forewarned, that John Murlahan with certeine desperate varlets conspired his destruction, & that they were determined

The old earle of Kildare his policie when

to assault him vpon his returne to Painoth, he had one of his seruants named James Grant, that was much of his pitch, and at a blinck did somethat resemble him, attired in his riding apparell, and namelie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he vied to be clad. Grant in this wise masking in his lords attire, rode as he was commanded in the beaten high waie towards Painoth, with six of the earle his seruants attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting towards Lucan the coming of the earle, encountered the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had bene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the other amazed therewith, cried that they toke their marke amisse; for the earle rode to Painoth on the further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murderers appalled, fled awaie, but incontinentlie were by the earle apprehended, suffering the punishment that such traitors deserued.

his death was conspired.

John Murlahan. James Grant.

This noble man was so well affected to his wife the ladie Greie, as he would not at anie time buy a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute hir with the same stufte. Which gentlenesse he recompensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he deceased in the tower, he did not onelie euer after liue as a chaste and honorable widow, but also nightlie before she went to bed, she would resort to his picture, & there with a solempne congee she would bid hir lord goodnight. Wherby may be gathered with how great loue she affected his person, that had in such price his bare picture. An other act that did passe in this parlement touching absentees, proceeded of this occasion. Maister Girald Ailmer, who first was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice of the common pless, was occasioned, for certeine his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England. Where being for his good service greatlie countenanced by such as were in those daies taken for the pillars of the weale publike, namelie of the lord Cromwell, it happened that though his lordship his earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailmer chiefe iustice of his bench in Ireland. This advancement disliked by certeine of Waterford and Waterford, that were not frended to the gentleman, they debased him in such despisefull wise, as the earle of Shrewsburie, who then was likewise earle of Waterford, was by their lewd reports caried to challenge the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so light a person, being such a simple John at Stile as he tearmed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord cardinall his sole.

The ladie Greies kindnesse to his husband.

Girald Ailmer.

He will be secret sent for into Ireland.

He will be secret sent into land.

The king herebypon expostulated with the lord Cromwell, who being throughlie acquainted with the gentleman his rare wisedome, answered: that if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to enter into conference with him, he should be sure to find him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong informations of such as labored to thwart or crosse him. Whereto the king vpon further leasure agreed, and shortly after (according to his promise) bestowed two or thre houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the lord Cromwells his forewarning, was so well armed for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his discourse, by answering *Ad omnia quare*, to be a man weightie to supplie an office of so great credit. In this conference the king demanded him, what he toke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland, and how he thought it might best be reformed: Trulie and it like your maiestie (quoth Ailmer) among sundrie reasons that might be probable alleged for the decaye of that your kingdome, one chiefe occasion is, that certeine of your nobilitie of this your realme of England are seized of the better part of your dominion in Ireland, whereof they haue so little

The lord Waterford.

James J. King bar. Shane.

Robert D. pennie.

his death was
conspired.

John Dur-
kan.
James
Gant.

He keeps, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be overrun by rebels and traitors. Wherefore if your highnesse would provide by act of parlement, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and commonaltie granted, you might thereby enrich your crowne, represse rebels, and defend your subiects from all traitorous invasion.

Oneale re-
bellyth.

The king tickled with this plausible denisse, yielded maister Ailmer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parlement had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which rebounded chæstie to the lord of Shrewsburie his disadvantage, as one that was possessed of diuerse ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Some after this parlement, Oneale imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with Odoneale Maggadness, Macaghan, Mac Kiblen, Oghanlan, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden invaded the pale, came to the Pauan, burnt all the townes of ech side confining, after marched to Taragh, mustering with great pride his armie upon the top of the hill: and hauing gathered together the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to haue gone his waie scotfree.

The ladie
Greies kinde-
nesse to his
husband.

Giraldus
mer.

Sir William
Bereton
sent for into
Ireland.

Sir William
Bereton
sent into Ire-
land.

The lord Leonard Greie being then lord deputie, foreseeing the worst, certified the king & counsell of Oneale his rebellion, and withall humble besought a fresh supplie of souldiours to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Bereton (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late seruice was highly commended of the countrie. The king and counsell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir William Bereton to hie thither with speed, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiours of Cheshiremen. In which seruice the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him by to their barke by pulleys, and in such impotent wise arrived in Ireland, suppressing the feeblenesse of his bodie with the contagious valor of his mind.

The lord of
Bellahoa.

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maiors & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thence likewise accompanied with the maiors & townsmen, he marched northward to Bellahoa, where Oneale & his companie on the further side of the water late incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers hereof certified, caused the armie to tranel the better part of the night, inasmuch as by the dawnning of the daie they were nere to the riuers side: where hauing esleried the enimies, namlie Maggadness, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to keepe the streits (for Oneale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselves in battell arrate, as men that were resoluèd with all hast and good speed to supplie the enimie with a sudden charge.

James Flem-
ing baron of
Slane.

At which time James Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garded with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humble besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agreed, the baron of Slane with chærefull countenance imparted the obteining of his sute, as pleasant tidings to Robert Halsepennie, who with his ancestors was standardebearer to the house of Slane. But Halsepennie seeing the fur-

Robert Hal-
sepennie.

ther side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he took it, as likelie an attempt to rase down the strongest fort in Irel and with a fillip, as to rush through such quicke iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather disclame in his office, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certaintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarilie to run to his bitter and vndoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his deniall to basenesse of corage, but to warinesse of safetie, although he knew none of staied mind, but would sooner chuse to sleepe in an whole shepe his pelt, than to walke in a toznelion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certaintie of death assuredlie promised.

Robert Be-
roa.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Downoze, brake with him as touching Halsepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the come of that bastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with god reason, that such as heretofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the sowre in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpassinglie mounted (for the baron gaue him a choise horse) he took the standarde, & with a sudden shot, hauing with him in the fore-ranke Habe of Habelowne (who at the first brunt was slaine) he dong into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and yeomen of the pale, that with as great manhod charged the enimies, as the enimies with corage resisted their assault. To this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie pickèd, in that they had the aduantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constrained to bicker in the water.

Habe of
Habelowne
slaine.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disadvantaged; by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplie, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart vpon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, flue Maggadness their capteine, pursued Oneale with the remnant of his lordes, leauing behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie until it was sunne set. In this hot conflict Matthew King, Patrike Barnewall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Basnet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was swozne one of the priue counsell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Curdiffe, were reposed to haue serued verie valiantlie. Moreover, James Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michaell Curseie maior of Drogheda, Girald Ailmer chæfe iustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

The Irish
vntombed.
Oneale put to
flight.

King.
Barnewall.
Basnet.
Fitzsimons.

The maiors
of Dublin and
Drogheda
dubbed
knights.

Ailmer.
Talbot.
The valiant-
nesse of the
lord Greie.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superiour to them all, so in courage and manlinesse he was inferiour to none. He was noted by the armie to haue indured great toile and paine before the skirmish, by posting bare-headed from one band to an other, debasing the enimies, inhaning the power of the pale, depresting the revolt of rebellious traitors, extolling the god quarell of loiall subiects, offering large rewards, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised. Over this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiours, in vsing them like

friends

friends and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and moving laughter with pleasant conceits, as they were incensed as well for the love of the person, as for the hatred of the enemy, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which conflict the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequitt himselfe as valiant a seruitour as the best.

The gouernour, turning the oportunitie of this skirrmish to his aduantage, hostlie after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling Dneale with his confederats, who by reason of the late ouerthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this iornie he raised saint Patrike his church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patrike, Wigide, and Colme, who are said to haue bene there intombed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact lost him sundrie hearts in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspiring with such of Dounster as were enemies to his gouernment, they booked by diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were these.

The lord Greie accused.

The articles that were laid to his charge.

1 Inprimis, that notwithstanding he were striclie commanded by the king his maiestie, to apprehend his kinsman the yong Fitzgiralde, yet did he not onlie disobey the kings letters as touching that point by playeing bopepe, but also had priuie conference with the said Fitzgiralde, and laie with him two or thre seuerall nights before he departed into France.

2 Item, that the chafe cause that moued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgiralde with such faire promises, proceeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the yong Fitzgiralde to aspire to the earldome of Kildare.

3 Item, that he was so greedilie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subjects, namelie of such as were resiant in Dounster, as the beds he laie in, the cups he dranke in, the plate with which he was serued in anie gentlemans house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt up, and carried with great extortion awaie.

4 Item, that without anie warrant from the king or counsell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrikes in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and thipt the notable ring of bells that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England: had not God of his iustice prevented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessel and passengers wherein the said belles should haue bene conueied.

These and the like articles were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and counsell remembryng his late faults, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be soner for one trespass condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onlie be removed from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the tower hill the eight and twentieth of June. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I moued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor thereof were true or false? His lordship thereto answered *Bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are intowrapped that gouerne prouinces, wherein diligence is twpact with hatred, negligence is laden with tawnts, scurrilitie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thanklesse un-

kindnesse contemned, conference to undermin ing framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open flattering, secret grudging, gaping for such as shall succeed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with tong and pen as soone as they are absent.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) discharged, sir William Bzereton was constituted lord iustice, whose short gouernement was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Dneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namelie Dconhur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subiects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired together, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Fotore in west Meth, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice forthwith accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who upon the approach of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselves in woods and marshes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding invaded Dconhur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriage, were led without let thorough the countrie. Dconhur sone after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Commach to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this fourtie was ended, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Bzereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, trauekking by the lord deputie his appointment to Limerike, to bring in James earle of Desmond, who stood upon certeine tickle points with the gouernour, ended his life in that iournie, and lieth intombed at Kilkenne in the quier of saint Kennes his church. In the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namelie.

Sir William Bzereton lord iustice.

Dconhur submitted himselfe to the lord iustice. Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie. Sir William Bzereton lord high marshall.

Meth.

James earle of Desmond.

Dneale earle of Tiron.

Dneale earle of Tiron.

The Irish sent for to the siege of Wexlongue.

Their policie in purueing for the armie.

That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland, for graie merchants.

That the plantife maie abridge his plaint in assise.

That consanguinitie or affinitie being not within the fifth degree, shall be no principall challenge.

That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his master his casket.

For the aduiliating of precontracts in marriage.

For all lordes to distreine, by on the lands of them holden, & to make their auowzie, not naming the tenant, but their land.

For capacities.

For seruants wages.

For ioint-tenants.

For recouerie in auoiding leases.

For tithes.

For atturnements.

This parlement was prologed untill the fifteenth of februarye, and after was continued at Limerike before

The lord Greie beheaded.

1541

The lord Greie guilty of the first article.

The dangers that happen to gouernours of prouinces.

An act

60

before the said deputie, at which time there passed
for the adiournment of the par-
lement, and the place to hold
the same, and what persons
shall be chosen knights and
burgeſes.

An act for the election of the lord iu-
ſtice.

Touching miſpleading and iſoy-
failes.

For lands giuen by the king.

For the ſuppreſſion of Kilmai-
nan and other religious hou-
ſes.

1543

This parlement was likewiſe prozaged, and af-
ter was continued and holden before the ſaid gou-
ernour at Dublin, the ſixt daie of Nouember, in the
ſoure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie
the eight, wherein there paſſed theſe acts; namelie:

An act for the diuiſion of Meth into
two ſhires.

For perſons ſtanding bound in a-
ny court for their apperance,
and being in ſeruiſe, to be diſ-
charged by writ.

This parlement was further prozaged untill the
ſeuenteenth of Aprill, and at that time before the ſaid
gouernour it was holden and ended, in which there paſ-
ſed an act touching the manour and caſtell of Don-
garuan to be vniſted and annexed to the crowne for-
euer. To this parlement reſorted diuerſe of the Ir-
iſh lords, who ſubmitting themſelues to the deputie
his mercie, returned peaceable to their countries.
But James earle of Deſmond ſailed into Eng-
land, and before the king and counſell purged him-
ſelfe of all ſuch articles of treaſon as were faſſelle
laid to his charge: whoſe cleare purgation and hum-
ble ſubmiſſion the king accepted verie gratefullie.
Shortlie after Deſmond his returne homeward, the
great Dneale was created earle of Tiron, and his
baſe ſonne Mattheu Dneale baron of Dongaruan.
For in thoſe daies John Dneale, commonlie called
Shane Dneale, the onclie ſonne lawfullie of his bo-
die begotten, was little or nothing eſteemed.

James earle
of Deſmond.

Dneale earle
of Tiron.

Obzen crea-
ted earle of
Clencare.

1544
The Irith
ſent for to the
ſiege of Bul-
longne.

Their policie
in purſuing
to the armie.

Dneale hauing returned to Ireland with this
honour, and the king his fauor, Obzen with certeine
other Irith lords ſailed into England, ſubmitting
their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This
Obzen was at that time created earle of Clencare,
in which honour his poſſeritie hitherto reſteth. Short-
lie after the returne of theſe lords to their countrie,
king Henrie being fullie reſolued to beſiege Bul-
longne, gaue commandement to ſir Anthonie Sent-
leger deputie, to leue an armie of Irithmen, and
with all expedition to ſend them to England. To
theſe were appointed capitaine the lord Powze, who
after was dubb knight, Surlocke & ſinglaſſe, with
diuerſe others. They muſtered in ſaint James his
parke ſeven hundred. In the ſiege of Bullongne
they ſtood the armie in verie good ſted. For they were
not onclie contented to burne and ſpoile all the villa-
ges thereto adiointing; but alſo they would range
twenty or thirtie miles into the maine land: and ha-
ving taken a bull, they uſed to tie him to a ſtake, and
ſcorching him with ſaggots, they would force him to
roze, ſo as all the cattell in the countrie would make
towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead
awaie, and furniſh the campe with ſtoze of beſe.

If they tooke anie Frenchman priſoner, leſt they
ſhould be accounted couetous, in ſnatching with
them his entier bodie, his onclie ranſome ſhould be
no moze but his head. The French with this ſtrange

kind of warfaring aſtoniſhed, ſent an ambadaoz to
king Henrie, to learne whether he brought men
with him or diuels, that could neither be wone with
rewards, nor pacified by pitie: which when the king
had turned to a teaſt, the Frenchmen euer after, if
they could take anie of the Irith ſcattering from the
companie, uſed firſt to cut off their genitals, and
after to torment them with as great and as linge-
ring paine as they could deuife.

10 After that Bullongne was ſurrendered to the king, there incamped on the weſt ſide of the towne be-
yond the hauen an armie of Frenchmen, amongſt
whome there was a Thraſonickall Colias that depar-
ted from the armie, and came to the bzinke of the
hauen, and there in ſetting and daring wiſe chalen-
ged anie one of the Engliſh armie that durſt be ſo
hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And al-
beit the diſtance of the place, the depth of the hauen,
the narnelle of his companie imboldened him to
this challenge, more than anie great valour or pith
that reſſed in him to indure a combat; yet all this
notwithſtanding, an Irithman named Nicholl
Welſh, who after retcined to the earle of Kilbare,
loathing and diſdaining his proud bzags, ſung into
the water, and ſwam ouer the riuert, fought with the
challenger, ſtrake him for dead, and returned backe
to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his
mouth, before the armie could ouertake him. For
which exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie
praiſed, ſo by the lieutenant he was bountifullie
rewards.

A French
challenger
banquiſhed.

Nicholl
Welſh.

Such about this time the earle of Lennor, verie
long ſullie inquired in Scotland, and forced to for-
ſake his countrie, became humble petitioner to
king Henrie, as well to releue him in his diſtreſſed
calamitie, as to compaſſe the means how he might
be reſtozed to his lands & liuing. The king his high-
neſſe moued with compaſſion, poſſed the earle ouer
to Ireland, with letters of eſpeciall truſt, command-
ing ſir Anthonie Sentleger then deputie, to aſſiſt
and further the Scotiſh outcaſt, with as puiſſant an
armie as to his contentation ſhould ſeeme good. The
deputie, vpon the receipt of theſe letters, ſent for
James Butler earle of Ormond and Offerte, a no-
ble man, no leſſe politike in peace, than valiant in
warres, made him priuie to the king his pleaſure;
and withall in his maieſties name did caſt the charge
hereof vpon the ſaid earle, as one that for his tried
loialtie was willing, and for his honour and valour
able to attempt and atchiue ſo rare and famous an
exploit. The lord of Ormond as willing to obeye, as
the gouernour was to command, leuied of his te-
nants and reteiners ſix hundred Gallowglaſſes,
ſoure hundred Icarnes, three ſcore hoſſemen, and
ſoure hundred and fortie ſhot: ſo in the whole he mu-
ſtered on Ormantowne greene nere Dublin, ſix-
tene hundred ſouldiours.

1545
The earle of
Lennor aſ-
ſiſted by king
Henrie.

James But-
ler earle of
Ormond.

The lord deputie yielding his honour ſuch thanks
in words, as he deſerued indeed, leuied in the pale
ſixtene hundred ſouldiours moze, to be annexed to
the earle his companie. Ouer them he conſtituted
ſir John Trauers capteine, but the erle of Ormond
was made generall of the whole armie. When the
ſouldiours were with munition and victuals aboun-
dantlie furniſhed, the earle of Ormond and the earle
of Lennor tooke ſhipping at Sheriſe, hauing in their
companie twenty and eight ſhips well rigged, ſuffi-
cientlie manned, and ſtronglie appointed. From
thence they ſailed northwards, and rode at anchoz
without the hauen of Widdſet beyond Katterger-
gus. Where hauing remained hulling without the
mouth of the hauen, contrarie to the aduiſe of the ma-
ſters of their ſhips (who prognostiſicated the ſpedie ap-
proch of a ſtorme, and therefore did with them to
take

Sir John
Trauers
knight.

The earle of
Ormond and
the earle of
Lennor in
danger to be
drowned.

Sir William
Bereeton
lord iuſtice.

Conſtable ſub-
mitteth him-
ſelfe to the
ord iuſtice.
Sir Anthonie
Sentleger
ord deputie.
Sir William
Bereeton lord
high marſhall.

De dieſh.

1543

take a good harbrough) it hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to haue bene ouerwhelmed. The mariners betaking their passengers and themselves to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather driuen to the haven of Dunbrytaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run their ships on ground, and consequently they all should either haue bene plunged in the water, or else haue bene slaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gracious clemencie preventing their imminent calamitie, sent them not onlie a wished calure, but also a prosperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in safetie to the Irish coast, from whence they were scattered.

The earle of Lennor aduertised by certeine of his friends that met with him on the sea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promise) dealt verie double with him (for although they gaue their word to surrender up to him the castell of Dunbrytaine, yet they did not enclie forthie that hold, but also were readie to encounter with his souldiers vpon their arriuall) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Dymond verie loath that so great an attempt should take so little effect, dealt with him verie earnestlie, notwithstanding his counsell were betraied to inuade his enemies, and his lordship should be sure to find the armie so forward in assisting him in so famous an enterpryse, as they would shew themselves more willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without skirmishing to returne to Ireland. The earle of Dymond was of this nature, that as he would not begin anie martiall boyle rashlie or vnuadisedlie, so he would not seeme to put it vp lightlie or easilie.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennor stood in hope, that the lord of the out Isles would aid him, it was thought by Dymond not to be amisse, to expect his comming; and so joining his companie to the armie, there rested no doubt, but that the Scottish enemies would be forced to plucke in their homes, although at the first blash they seemed to set a good face on the matter. Lennor somewhat with this persuasion carried, gaue his consent to expect the lord of the out Isles determination, who notwithstanding all the setth of the enterpryse were descried, would not slip from his word, but personallie failed to the Irish fleet, with three gallies well appointed. The noble man with such martiall triumphs was receiued, as warlike souldiers could on the sea afford him. But of all others, both the earls gaue him heartie intertainment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not seeme to shrink from his friend in his aduersitie. And shortly after as they craued his aduise what were best to be done, either to land in Scotland, or else to returne homeward, his flat resolution was at that time to retire, because their drift was detected, their feined friends fainted, the castles were fortified, and the shoares on all parts with swarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to glue out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to inuade Scotland, but to retire to their countie.

And after that the Scottish souldiers should be dismissed, which would be incontinent vpon their returne, by reason of the excessive charges: then might the earle of Lennor with lesse preparation, and more secrecie giue a fresh onfet, that the enemies should sooner seele his force, than heare of his arriuall. Dymond and Lennor vpon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and appointed the ships to bend their course to Dublin. The lord of the out Isles and his three gallies sailed with the fleet,

for he was not able by reason of the feebleness of his bodie to trauele by land, or far the further to prolong his life, which he ended at Vouth presentlie vpon his arriuall, and was with great solemnitie buried in saint Patricks church at Dublin, vpon whose death this epitaph following was framed:

*Quis manique mea patria dūm reddidit exsul,
Exsul in externa coelo ipse mori.*

Both the earls marched with the armie on foot to Carrigfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennor and sir John Trauers taking as he thought the shorter but not the safer waie, travelled through the Ardes with the number of fine hundred souldiers, where the Irish inhabitants skirmished with them, and put them to such streit plunges (for they would gladly haue seen what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wished they had not parted from the rest of the armie. The earle of Dymond with his souldiers (which were a thousand five hundred, as before is expessed) marched on foot to Belfast, which is an arms of the sea, a quarter of a mile broad or little lesse. And albeit their wether were bitter and ouernipping, and no small parcell of the water were congeled with frost, yet the earle and his armie waded ouer on foot, to the great danger as well of his person, as of the whole companie, which doubtlesse was a valliant enterpryse of so honorable a personage. From thence he passed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he discharged his souldiers, and hauing presented himselfe to the gouernour at Dublin, he rode homeward to the countie of Kilkennie.

Shortly after sir Anthontie Sentleget lord deputie and the earle of Dymond fell at debate, insomuch as either of them laid articles of treason one to the others charge. The chiefe occasion of their mutuall grudge proceeded of certeine new and extraordinary impositions, wherewith the deputie would haue charged the subjects. Whereat the earle of Dymond as a zelous defender of his countie began to kicke, & in no sort could be wone to agree to anie such unreasonable demand. Wherevpon Dymond, perceiving that the gouernour persisted in his purpose, adressed letters of complaint to such as were of the priuie counsell in England: which letters were by one of sir Anthontie his friends intercepted at sea, and presented to him to be perused. Sir Anthontie hauing ouer read the writings, sent master Wasnet in post hault with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Dymond kept his Christmasse, requesting his lordship to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie sort to imbar his writings from comming to the counsels hands.

The earle answered that his quarell was so good, his dealing so open, as he little weighed who toke a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to vniwrite; but in such sort as they came from the gouernour, they should be sent to the counsell: and if their honours would allow anie subiect to be so hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indorsed, he could not but digest anie such insurie that they would seeme to beare. With this answer Wasnet returned, and the earle performed his promise. Wherevpon the gouernour and he were commanded to appeare before the priuie counsell in England, where they were sundrie times examined, and their accusations ripelie debated. In fine, the counsell equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due desert of both their loiall seruices, than the vaine presumption of their mutuall accusations, waped up their quarels & made them both friends, with such indifferencie, as neither part should be

The lord of the out Isles death.

Epitaph.

The Irish skirmish with the earle of Lennor.

Sir John Trauers ch. 10 to the fleet.

Sir William wife knight.

The earle of Dymond his property.

The lord of the out Isles sailth to the earle of Lennor.

The earle of Dymond his toilsome traueill.

The deputie and Dymond at debate.

Dymond his letters intercepted.

The earle of Dymond secretly.

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His description.

Dymond and Lennor land.

The lord deputie and Dymond sent to England.

They are made friends either

either with anie conquest exalted, or with anie foile debased.

Sir John Alen knight then lord chancellor of Ireland, was found to limpe in this controuersie, by plaling (as it was suppoled) more craftilie than wiselie, with both the hands, in that he seemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarels, he was the while sent for into England; and being tript by the countess in his late, was committed to the Fleet, wherein he remained a long time. In this trouble the earle of Desmond was greatlie aided by sir William Wille knight a worshipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deseruing indeed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and stood highlie in king Henrys grace, which he wholie vsed to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoyance of his foes. This gentleman was verie well spoken, mild of nature, with discretion stout, as one that in an byright quarell would beare no coles, seldom in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all affaires to be of a pleasant and present wit. Having lent the king his signet to seale a letter, who having potored erimities ingrailed in the seale; Why hoto now Wille (quoth the king) what hast thou lice here: And if it like your maiestie, quoth sir William, a louse is a rich cote, for by giuing the louse, I partarme with the French king, in that he giueth the flour de lice. Whereat the king hartilie laughed, to heare hoto pretillie so biting a taunt (namelie proceeding from a prince) was suddenlie turned to so pleasant a conceipt.

Anon after the agreement made betwene Desmond and Sentleger, the earle his seruants (which he kept at that tyme in his liuerie to the number of fiftie) besought his lordship to take at the Alnehouse his part of a supper, which they provided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull offer, supped at their request, but not to their contentation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caltise or other did poison the meat, or that some other false measures were vsed (the certeinlie with the reuenge whereof to God is to be referred) the noble man with thirtie and five of his seruants presentlie that night sickened: one James White the earle his steward, with sixtene of his fellows died, the remnant of the seruants recovered. But their lord, whose health was chieflie to be wished, in the flour of his age deceased of that sicknesse at Elie house in Holborne, much about the eight and twentieth of October, and was buried in saint Thomas of Acres his church, whose death bred sorow to his friends, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his countrie, and no small grieve to all good men.

This earle was a goodlie and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged inwardlie in his mind, but also he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as franke & as liberall as his calling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubborne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage when he resisted, than with honorable discretion where he yielded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that procured vniuersall quietnesse before byright troubles, being notwithstanding of as great wisdom in the one, as of valour in the other. An earnest and a zealous upholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather respecting the publike weale than his priuat gain. Whereby he bound his countrie so greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cause wish, that either he had neuer bene borne, or else that he had neuer deceased; so it were lawfull to craue him to be

immortall, that by course of nature was framed mortall. And to giue sufficient proofe of the entire affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did cast thereon, he betooke in his death-bed his soule to God, his carcase to christen buriall, and his hart to his countrie; declaring therby, that where his mind was settled in his life, his hart should be there intomed after his death. Which was according to his will accomplished. For his hart was conueied to Ireland, and lieth ingraued in the quere of the cathedrall church in Bilkerrite, where his ancestors for the more part are buried. Upon which kind & longing legacie this epitaph following was deuised:

*Cor patria fixura vivens iam reddidit illi
Post mortem patria que peracerba venit.
Non sine corde videt mortalis vivere quisquam,
Kis rursus vita permanet absque sua.
Qualicet infelix extincto corde fruatur,
At ameh optato vivere corde nequit.
Ergo quid hec faciat? Quem re non possit amorem
Cordi vram charo reddere corde vobis?*

The effect of which said epitaph is thus Englished:

The living hart where laie ingrauen
the care of countrie deere,
To countrie liuelesse is restord
and lies ingrauen here.
None hartlesse liues, his countrie then
alas what ioie is left,
Whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was
till death his life bereft.
And though the foile here throwds the hart,
which most it wisht to enioie,
Yer of the change from nobler seat,
the cause dooth it annoie.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what wordie rite?
But that edihart with hartiest loue,
his worchieft hart may quite?

This earle was of so noble a disposition, as he would sooner countenance and support his poore well willer in his aduersitie, than he would make or satone vpon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Having bid at London (not long before his death) the ladie Geie countesse of Kildare to dinner, it happened that a souldier, surnamed Potowe, who latelie returned fresh from the emperours his warres, came to take his repast with the earle before the messenger. When the earle and the countesse were set, this roisting Kutterkin wholie then standing on the soldado hoigh, placed himselfe right ouer against the countesse of Kildare, hard at the earle of Desmonds elbow, as though he were halle fellow well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent saucinesse of the malapert souldier (who notwithstanding might be borne withall, bicause an vnbidden ghest knoweth not where to sit) besought him courteously to giue place. The earle, when the other arose, taking vpon him the office of a gentleman byer, placed in Potowe his seat, his cousine Edward Fitzgiralde, now lieutenant of his maiesties pensioners, who at that time being a yong stripling, attended vpon his mother the countesse, and so in order he set euerie gentleman in his degre, to the number of sixtene or sixtene: and last of all the companie, he licensed Potowe, if he would, to sit at the lower end of the table, where he had scantlie elbow room.

The countesse of Kildare, perceiving the noble man greatlie to stomach the souldiers presumptuous boldnesse, nipht him at the elbow, and whispering softly, besought his lordship not to take the matter so hot, bicause the gentleman (the ment Potowe) knew that the house of Kildare was of late attained, and that his children were not in this their calamitie in such wise to be regarded. So ladie (quoth the

This epitaph.

The kindnes of James earle of Desmond to his friends.

Edward Fitzgiralde.

The earle of Desmond described.

1546

This description.

earle with a loud voice, and the tears trilling downe his leres, saie not so, I trust to see the daie, when my yong cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdain the companie of anie such skipiacke. Which prophesie fell out as true as he foretold it, onelie saying that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could see that daie after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Ildare.

Sir Anthonie
Senteleger re-
turneth lord
deputie.

After this noble earle his untimelie decease, Sir Anthonie Senteleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a valiant seruitor in war, and a good iusticer in peace, properlie learned, a good maker in the English, hauing grantie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an excelling god grace he would attaine the one without putting dumplinesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. Where fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to haue that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell,

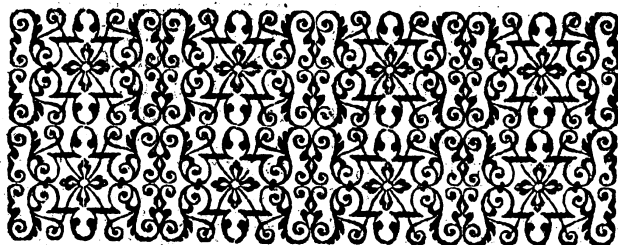
he answered merilie, that he was resolved not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortie shillings, and he that would giue him fortie pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure uttered, than of anie unconscionable meaning purposed to haue done.

Senteleger his
simonie.

His gouernement had bene of the countrie verie well liked, were it not that in his time he began to adde the pale with certeine new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subiects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discourfers of publike estates, and the reformers of the commonwealth, praiesing to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfullie to accomplish the duties of god magistrates, that they gouerne that poore battered Iland to his diuine honour, to his maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the upholding of subiects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in proue to the ruine and vndoeing of the seker.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretched it to the reigne of Edward the sixth. Wherevpon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tollerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue committed, which vpon friendlie admonition I am readie to reforme: tollerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraught with matter, as that I maie emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.

FINIS.





THE SUPPLIE OF THIS
Irish Chronicle, continued from the
death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this
present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties
reigne, *for Iohn Perot residing deputie*
in Ireland.

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie
of Excester, gentleman.



S from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis (the best deserued and exact writer of the conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few or none haue followed and continued any perfect course of that historie vntill the death of king Henrie the eight, and the beginning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in time of warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records, which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due obseruations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie the memoriall, sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogether out of remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one from the others reports, that no man can well therevpon set downe a perfect and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle
and

and undertake the penning, much more the printing of such an vncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauls and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer here- of to intermedle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.

John Hooker, aliàs Vowell.



Mr Anth
nie Gentl
removed.

154
Mr Edw
Bellingh
made lord
gatie.

I mint in
Dublin.

Mr Edw
Bellingh
carefulne
governen

Sundrie
bles of ho
sept.

His ser
in his ser

Reighin
bele trinc
with a w
and made
fort.



THE SUPPLIE OF THE Irish Chronicles extended to

this present yeare of our Lord

1586, and the 28 of the reigne of

queene Elisabeth.

Sir Antho-
nie Sentleger
smoked.



1547
Sir Edward
Bellingham
made lord de-
putie.

Mint in
Dublin.

Sir Edward
Bellingham
carefull in
gouernment.

Sundry sta-
bles of horses
kept.

His secrecie
in his seruice.

Leighlin ab-
beie inclosed
with a wall
and made a
fort.

After the death
of king Henrie
the eight, sir An-
thonie Sentleger
knight, was re-
uoked; who deliue-
red by the sword
at his departure
vnto sir William
Babston knight;
and he was lord
iustice, vntill such
time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to
be deputie. This man was seruant to king Ed-
ward the first, and of his priuie chamber: a man verie
well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout
& ballant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouern-
ment. In his time there was a mint kept in the ca-
stell of Dublin, which being at his commandement,
he was the better able to do good seruice to the king
his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In
the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place lear-
ned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a spe-
ciall eie for the doing of their offices; as he had the
like care for good and expert capteins, to serue in the
martiall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice
to be done therein at all times needfull, he kept sun-
drie stables of horses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler,
and some in one place and some in another, as he
thought most meet for seruice. And whatsoeuer he
had to do, or what seruice soeuer he meant to take
in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priuie,
as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof,
before the verie instant of the seruice to be done; and
for the most part, whensoeuer he took anie iournie
in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what
place he would ride, or what he would do. It happe-
ned that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of
Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Where-
vpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought
good, and without making them acquainted what he
intended to do, took horse & rode to Leighlin bidge.
The abbacie there (being suppressed) he caused to be in-
closed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that
house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horses, and
there he furnished himselfe and all his men with
horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode in-
to spounster, vnto the house of the earle, being then

Christmas; and being vnlooked and vnthought of,
he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by
the fire, and there took him, and caried him with
him to Dublin.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and
in apparell, hauing for want of good nurture as much
good maners as his kernes and his followers could
teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did
so instruct, schole, and informe him, that he made a
new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie
in maners, apparell, and behauiours appertaining to
his estate and degre; as also to the knowledge of
his dutie and obedience to his soueraigne & prince;
and made him to knae vpon his knees sometimes
an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This
though it were verie strange to the earle, who ha-
uing not bene trained by in anie ciuillitie, knew
not what appertained to his dutie and calling: nei-
ther yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king
his soueraigne was; yet when he had well digested
and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe
most hapie that euer he was acquainted with the
said deputie, and did for euer after so much hono-
rize him, as that continuallie all his life time at euerie
dinner and supper, he would praye for the good sir
Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was
so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where
soeuer he travelled, he would be chargeable to no
man; but would be at his owne charge. It happe-
ned that travelling the countrie, he was lodged on
a night in vicount Saltinglases house, where all
things were verie plentifulle provided for him:
which the vicount thought to haue given and bestow-
ed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he com-
manded his steward to paie & discharge all things,
thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused
his intertainment; saieing: The king my master
hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me
therein for my charges and expences: wherefore,
I neither mae nor will be burdalous nor chargeable
to anie other man. He was verie exquisit & carefull
in the gouernment, as few before him the like; as
well in matters martiall, as politike, magnani-
mous and couragious: in the one, to the appalling
of the enimie; and as seuer & vpright in the other, to
the benefit of the commonwealth. For neither by flat-
terie could he be gained, nor by bribery be corrup-
ted;

The earle of
Desmond tak-
en in his
house.

The earle is
rude without
nurture.

The earle the
instructed in ci-
uillitie.

The earle
praieth for
Sir Edward Bel-
lingham.

The lord de-
putie would
be chargeable
to none.

The good go-
uernment of
this deputie.

Sir Edward
Bingham
well beloved.

ted; he was feared for his severitie, and beloved for his integritie; and no gouernor for the most vnuer-
sallie better reported of than was he. But as ver-
tue hath the contrarie to entinie, so he found it true:
for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation
not looking so worthy a man, who travelled all the
waies he could to reduce them to the knowledge of
themselves, and of their duties; and also to reforme
that corrupt state of gouernement, that great prac-
tises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and
matters of great importance informed and enforced
against him. Whereupon, before two yeares en-
ded of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir
Francis Blin made lord iustice. At his coming
into England, great matters were laid vnto his
charge: but he so effectualie did answer the same,
that his maiesties doubtfullnesse was resolved; & he
not onelie clered, but also better liked than euer he
was before, & should haue bene sent backe againe,
had he not alleged his infirmities; the which was a
fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted
for his excuse. Sir Francis Blin had married the
countesse of Desmond, and by that meanes he was
a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in
the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was
but short, & no great matters could in so short a time
be done by him. After his death, sir William Bab-
ston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he conti-
nued lord iustice, vntill that sir Anthonie Sentleger
came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second
time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & ex-
perience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet
there remained some coles of the fire in his first go-
uernement vnto quenched; and within a shorter time
than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir James
Crosses was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill
successes in good attempts did not answer his va-
lour and good deserts.

And albeit the time of his gouernement were
not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king
Edward the first, and then he was called home, and
sir Thomas Fitzwater and sir Gerard Elmer were
appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the
estate, vntill quene Marie sent ouer sir Anthonie
Sentleger; who now the third time was lord deputie.
This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and
vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well ac-
quainted in the courtes of that land, knew how to
meete with the enemies, and how to staie all magi-
strates and others in their duties and offices: for
which though he deserved well, and ought to be be-
loved and commended: yet the old practises were re-
newed, and manie slanderous informations were
made and inueighed against him: which is a fatall
definite, and inenitable to euerie good gouernor in
that land. For the more paines they take in tillage,
the worse is their haruest; and the better be their ser-
uices, the greater is the malice and enuie against
them; being not vnlike to a fruitfull apple tree, which
the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels he hur-
led at him. Well, this man is called home, and the
lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie.
At sir Anthones coming ouer, great matters
were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduer-
saries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same a-
gainst him: wherein he so answered, that he was
not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge
for euer to passe ouer anie more into so vnsanckfull
a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a
short time of his being there, was sent for into Eng-
land. And in his absence, sir Henrie Sidneie
then treasurer at warres, and doctor Coxton, were
for a time ioint lords iustices; but verie shortly af-
ter,

a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to
be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the
lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Sussex, came againe
and resumed his former office of deputie. After
that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to doe with
the Dnele. For the whole north part of Ireland be-
gan to be vniquieted, and for pzeuening of sundrie
inconueniences, which might grow by the Scottish
Ilanders in aiding the said Dnele, the lord depu-
tie made a iourneie and voyage into the said Isles,
to iointe them into his friendship. In his absence,
he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but
after that he had done his businesse, he returned a-
gaine to Dublin, where he remained and continued
in his office vntill the death of quene Marie, and
then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Hen-
rie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time.
And after some time spent there, and quene Eliza-
beth now settled in the imperiall crowne of Eng-
land, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of
Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he
had taken in hand: who did verie great good ser-
uice against the Irishie, and by meanes he took
the Dnele, and kept him prisoner in the castell of
Dublin: but yet before he could or did bring the
same to perfection, he was reuoked into England,
and left the land in a verie broken state; which was
committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made
lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well
liked, those was made by hir maiestie and the
councell of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the
honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place,
who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had bene before a long seruitor in
that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares bene trea-
surer at warres, which is the second office vnder the
lord deputie in that land; as also had bene lord iu-
stice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his
knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that
land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of
the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others
in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue
the gouernement of them. He was therefore called
from out of Wales, where he then resided in his go-
uernement vnto the court: and there after conse-
rence had with hir highnesse, and with the councell;
he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, be-
ing the seventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the
yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he receiued of
hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir
owne hand, dated the first of October 1565, the
seventh yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning
the principall articles for his gouernement & direc-
tion, which chieflie consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councell
established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the
gouernement of the same realme in times of peace
and of warre; and whose names were then particu-
larlie set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of
them should before their admission be sworn by the
said lord deputie, according to the accustomed man-
ner: with an exhortation, that for somuch as hir
maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence
in their wisdomes, aduises, good counsels, and ser-
uices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises,
assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and
consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and au-
thoritie whereunto hir maiestie had called the said
sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold hir place in that realme:
they should yeld that obedience and reuerence vnto
him, as to such a principall officer doth appertene.
And then they both together, to haue a speciall care
and regard to the gouernement, which was compo-
sed

The Dnele
and all the
north be tri-
quet.

1556
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
iustice the
fourth time:
1557
The earle of
Sussex lord
lieutenant,
The Dnele
taken and
kept in prison.

1564
Sir Nicho-
las Arnold
lord iustice.
1565
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
president of
Wales.

A booke of ar-
ticles deliue-
red to sir Hen-
rie Sidneie
for his go-
uernement.

A councell to
be established.

Euerie coun-
sellor to be
sworne.

Gods lawes
to be kept, and
christian reli-
gion to be
viced.

Learning of
the scriptures
to be mainte-
ned.

The church
lands not to
be alienated.

The lawes to
be duly admi-
nistrated.

Shiriffes to
be appointed in
euerie shire.

The garisons
to be looked
vnto.

A muster to be
kept euerie
moneth.

A due regard
to be had of
hir maiesties
reuenues.

That euerie
officer of re-
ceipts do
yearlie make
his account.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie ta-
keth his leave
of the quene
and councell.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie to-
ward

1548
Sir Francis
Blin lord
iustice.

Sir Francis
Blin married
the countesse
of Desmond,
died
and was bu-
ried at Water-
ford.

1549
Sir William
Babston
lord iustice.

1550
Sir Anthonie
Sentleger
lord deputie
the second
time.

1551
Sir James
Crosses lord
deputie.

1552
Sir Antho-
nie Sentle-
ger lord depu-
tie the third
time.

A fatall desti-
nie to euerie
good gouernor
to be slande-
red.

1555
The lord
Fitzwaters
made lord de-
putie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie and
Coxton lord
iustices.

sed in foure articles that do orderlie hereafter fol-
low.

The said foure articles were these.

Gods lawes
to be kept, and
christian reli-
gion to be
used.

Learning of
the scriptures
to be mainte-
ned.

The church
lands not to
be alienated.

The lawes to
be duly admi-
nistered.

Shiriffes to
be appointed in
euerie shire.

The garisons
to be looked
vnto.

Muster to be
kept euerie
moneth.

Due regard
to be had of
hir maiesties
reuenues.

That euerie
officer of re-
ceipts do
yearelie make
his account.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie taketh
his leaue
of the queene
and counsell.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie taketh
his leaue
of the queene
and counsell.

First, that they should faithfullie and earnestlie regard the due and tene-
rend obseruation of all Gods lawes
and ordinances, made and established
for the maintenance of the true christian faith and
religion among his people; and that all meanes
should be used, aswell by doctrine and by teaching,
as by god examples, that deuotion and godlinesse
might increafe, and contempt of religion might be
restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning
in the scriptures might be maintained and increased
among the cleargie, and that for the reliefe of the ec-
clesiasticall state, no alienations nor waiks of the
lands pertaining to anye church or college, should be
alienated: neither anye impropriations of benefi-
ces be put in vze: besides sundrie other articles in-
cident to this effect.

The second was, that the administration of law
and iustice should duly and vprightlie be executed,
without respect of persons: that inquirie be made
what notable faults are in anye of the iudges, or o-
ther ministers of the law: that vnfit persons male
be removed from their places, and some sufficient
persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the
same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in
euerie countie, and to execute their offices vpright-
lie, according to the lawes of England.

The third, that the garisons and men of warre
be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and re-
pressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they
do liue according to the orders appointed, without
oppression of the good and true subiects. That there
shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster
made either by the lord deputie, or by such commis-
sioners as he shall appoint meete and indifferent for
that purpose: who shall make inquirie of the num-
ber of the souldiours vnder euerie capteine; for the
sufficiencie of their persons, their hordes, armors,
and weapons, and other their necessaries: and how
they were paid of their wages, and whether they
were Englishmen or not.

The fourth article was, whether there had bene
had a due care & regard to the preservation of the
reuenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that
which is withdrawne. And whether euerie of the offi-
cers appointed for the receiuing of anye part of the
said reuenues, as nammely the receiuers of rents,
shiriffes, erchetoys, collectors of the subsidies, cu-
stomers, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and
of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and
such others, did yearelie make and answer their ac-
counts; and besides sundrie other articles incident
to euerie of these principals.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his com-
mission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition
he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto
him: which being done, he repaired to his maie-
stie and toke his leaue: and to his farewell, he gaue
him most comfortable speeches and good counsels,
promising his fauor and countenance to all his well
doings, and a consideration for the same when time
should serue. The like leaue he toke also of the
lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the
like farewell: and these things done, he departed
towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long
time for a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and
arrived in Ireland the thirteenth of Januarie, about
foue miles from Dublin, and from thence he traueled
to Dublin; where he was most honorablie recei-

ued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the
whole counsell; together with the maior and his bre-
thren of that citie. And the people in great troops
came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all
the soie that they could deuise.

The next sondaie then next following, being the
seuenth daie of his arriual, and the twentieth of the
moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and
counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie na-
med Christes church; where after that the diuine ser-
uice was done, he toke his oth, receiued the sword,
and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and ther-
with he made a most pithie, wise, and eloquent ora-
tion, which consisted vpon these spectall points. The
first, what a pretious thing is god gouernement,
and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and
countrie do flourish and prosper, where the same
is orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisdom, directed
& gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the

queenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie
for the good guiding & ruling of the realme of Eng-
land, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie de-
sireth, and wisheth to be preferred, as well in peace
as in warre: that she hath made great choise from
time to time of the most graue, wise, and expert
counsellors for the one; and the most valiant, skil-
full, and expert men of armes for the other: that
both in peace and warres, the publike state of the
commonwealth, and euerie particular member
therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in
safetie vnder his gouernement. And for the per-
formance thereof, his maiestie ouer and besides the
reuenues of the crowne of Ireland, did yearelie
far aboute anye of his progenitors, expend of his
owne cofers out of England, great masses of mo-
nie, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All
which his excellencie expenses and continuall cares
she made the lesse account of; so that his realme and
subiects of Ireland might be preferred, defended,
and gouerned.

Lastlie, notwithstanding his maiestie might haue
made better choise of manie others, who were bet-
ter able to hold his place in this realme, both for ho-
nor, wisdom, and experience: yet his pleasure
was now to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon
him. Which he was the more vntwilling to take
vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the
more vnabie & weake he was to susteine the same.
Nevertheless, being in god hope, and well promised
of his highnesse fauor and countenance in his well
doings, and hauing his confidence in them his high-
nesse counsellors associated vnto him, to ioine, aid,
and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is
the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope
that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of
God, the honor of his maiestie, the benefit of the com-
monwealth, and the preservation of the whole realme
and people of the same. And so making his earnest
request to the said lords present, for their confoining
with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in
this his maiesties seruice, he made an end of his
speeches.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the
great value and weight of this his graue and wise o-
ration, did most humbly thanke his lordship for the
same, and promised in all dutifullnesse, faith, and o-
bedience to performe and attend whatsoever to them
in anye wise should appertene. These things done,
they all conduced the said lord deputie in all honora-
ble manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common
people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and
with great acclamations and soie did congratulat
vnto his lordship his comming among them in that
office. Immediatlie after the performance of all
the

The benefit of
god gouerna-
ment.

The queenes
maiesties con-
tinuall care for
Ireland.

The queenes
maiestie ex-
pendeth
yearelie out of
his owne cof-
fers for Ire-
land sundrie
thousands of
pounds.

The congra-
tulation of the
people.

The broken
state of Ire-
land.

The English
pale wasted
and spoiled.

The soldiors
beggerlie and
out of order.

The misera-
ble state of
Leinster.

The fertile
soile of the
countie of
Kilkennie
made wast.

Mounster by
civill war des-
troied.

Thomond all
wasted by ci-
vill warres.

Connagh de-
stroyed by ci-
vill warres.

The gentle-
men all impo-
verished.

Ulster weal-
thie and rich.

the solemnities, pertaining to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which his highnesse had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of his maiesties priue counsell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for repairing of that broken common-wealth and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and biles, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surely if the state of that land was ever miserable and in perill to be overthrowne: it was neuer more like than at these presents; for as for the English pale, it was overwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who daily by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were so poor, and the commons in such extreme penurie, that they had not houses, armour, nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, bittels, nor any other necessities to relieue them; the soldiors so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so roted in insolencie, loosenesse and idlenesse, that vniuersally the remedie were the more speedie, they would be past correction: and so much the worse, because manie of them were alied in marriage, and companies of the Irish: who the more they were affected to them, their truth and seruice more doubtfull to his maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogether most miserable, the Wols, Obzines, Kinelaghes, Odoles, Omoughs, Carenaughs, the Mores, and the residue in their accustomed manners wholly bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of any safetie remaining for the good subject; especially in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

Mounster, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Mounster, made that prouince, and especially the counties of Tipperarie and Kierie, being wealthy and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom his maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recouerie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to become his highnesse loiall and obedient subjects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogether almost wasted by the warres betwene the earle there and sir Donell Obzlen. Mounster likewise by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Desmond and Mounster, and by the daily inuasions and prizes of Piers Grace was almost wasted and inhabited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthy, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betwene the erle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countries all wasted and impouerished, partly by reason of their dissimulations, societies, and conferences with the rebelles, and partly by the particular discords among themselves. Finally, all the gentlemen throughout, wont in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the daily prizes made vpon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and relieue themselves nor their families. The prouince of Ulster for wealth

and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the prizes and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifulnesse, and obedience to his maiestie, they were most disloyall, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane O'Neill by blood and murder had gotten the maiestie, he alone then ruled the roste, who in pride exceeded all the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing any equall. And here it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause whie the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the gouernement of his maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

Con O'Neill, the first earle of Tirone, had two sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con O'Neill, and to reueine and keepe him a good subject, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countie, he made and created him earle of Tirone, and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dungannon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, enuied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarrell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorouslie and vnnaturallie murdered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much more to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuerthelesse, it is not knownen that the said Shane did offer him any violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeed into the earledome, by reason that Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane usurped the name of O'Neill, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whom the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of any house or familie doth succeed his ancestor, unless at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie yers. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclameth himselfe O'Neill, and the captaine of his countie, refuseth likewise all obedience to his maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Sir Henrie Sidneie then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being advertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the counsell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his iorney towards Dundalke, for the fortifying of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane O'Neill, who then late at a lordship of his about six miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieing pardon, and also most humbly requested his lordship that it would please him to chysen a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in seruice for his maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answer at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to do, vntill the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconueniences might insue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordingly vpon the last of Iannarie, one thousand six hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said, Shanes

Shane O'Neill.

The cause of
Shane O'Neill's rebellion.

Con O'Neill
made earle of
Tirone.

Shane usurpeth the name
of O'Neill.
The Irish
custome in
succession.

Shane O'Neill breaketh
into rebellion.

Shane O'Neill praieeth
sir Henrie
Sidneie to be
his gossip.

Shane ex-
cuses himselfe
whie he came
not to the lord
iustice.

Matthew
was Kellales
sonne.

The objection
of Shane
O'Neill against
the title of
Matthew to
be O'Neill.

The wicked
endme of the
Irish.

Matthew
speaketh the
feigning of
O'Neill.

Shanes house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wellingfield were godfathers, and hauing performed the baptising of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his doings, did allege for his defence sundrie articles as foloweth.

Shane excuseth himselfe why he came not to the lord iustice.

Matthew was Kellies sonne.

The objections of Shane made against the title of Matthew to be Dneile.

The wickednesse of the Irishie.

Matthew saith the seigniorie of Dneile.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dunganron was the sonne of one Kellate of Dunsdale, a smith by occupation, begotten and bozne during the spousals of the said Kellate, and one Alton his wife, and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and reputed to be the sonne of the said Kellate, untill he was of the age of firtene yeares or thereabouts: at which time Con Dneile his father, upon the saleng of the said Alton, that he was the father of the said Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to be his sonne, & gaue him the name of Sparbarough. And here vnderstand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman do mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue all such children as were bozne of hir bodie during their abode togither, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man: which man so named shall by their custome haue the said child: and so it should seeme to be meant of this point. Also the said Matthew did vpon this the affirmation of his mother seeke to surpe the name of a seigniorie of the Dneiles, and the dominions appertaining to that seigniorie and surname. Also that there be aboue a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise yield to this the claime of Matthew, although he for his owne part would be contented therewith. Also he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that should intitile the sonne of the said baron to the said lands are vtterlie void, because that Con Dneile father to the said Shane had no other right nor interest to that countrie, but during his owne life: and therefore without the consent of the lords and inhabitants of that countrie, could make no surrender nor conuenance, whereby he might be enabled to take and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie person, be of anie force or value, untill that an inquisition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the letters patents do passe: which in this case neither was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Tiron is no shire ground. Also if the said lands should accorde to the queens lawes descend to the right heire, then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire being mulierlie bozne; and the other not so bozne. Also he saith, that vpon the death of his father lord of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the custome of the countrie did assemble themselves togither, and by a common consent did elect and chose (without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to be Dneile, as the most worthy and ablest of that countrie, which election by the custome of the countrie hath bene alwaies vsed without anie confirmation, asked of the kings and queenes of England. Also he saith that as Dneile he claimeth such authorities, iurisdicions, and duties vpon his men & countrie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors, and which duties for the most part are recorded, and remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at full heard these articles, and considered well of them togither with the counsell, made answer vnto Shane that the matter was of great weight and importance, & which neither he nor his maiestie were made priuie and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto his maiestie, nothing doubting but that he should haue and re-

ceiue at his hands, what should be found meet, right, and iust.

And so hauing vsed manie good and frendlie speeches and exhortations vnto him, the said Shane promised to be and behaue himselfe well and honestly, & as to his dutie should appertaine: they departed in verie frendlie manner. And thus in such wisdome and politike manner the lord iustice handled the matter, that by temporising and gaining of time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntill the coming ouer of the earle of Sussex lord deputie: who then of a newe toke the matter in hand, and he did so frendlie and seuerlie followe the same, that he ouermatched Shane Dneile. But it so grieued the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissimbled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well; yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his haire but neuer changeth his conditions, was one and the same man or rather woise, and therefore tyrannised and vsed most crueltie, and of all others most disloyall and disobedient; to the deputie would he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with him, but at his owne pleasure.

The queenes maiestie in some termes he would hono, but in dedes he denied all obedience, subtil and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but in the residue of the daye verie vncerteine and vnstable, and much giuen to excessive gulping and setting. And albeit he had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dunsun, and had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer satisfied, till he had swallowed by maruellous great quantitties of Uske bagh or Aqua vite of that countrie: wherof so vntimeasurably he would drinke and boufe, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and disordered, he was euermore conuulsed (as the common report was) into a deepe pit, and falling vpright in the same, the earth was cast round about him vnto the hard chin, and there he did remaine vntill such time as his bodie was recovered to some temperature: by which meanes though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions dailye woise. And in the end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannise ouer the whole countrie; greatlie it was feared that his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the whole land. He pretended to be king of Ulster, euen as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the manner of the great Turke, was continuallye garded with six hundred armed men, as it were his Janissaries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husbandmen of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them by in the knowledge of the wars: and as a lion hath in a tree the beastes of the field, so had he all the people to his becke and commandement, being feared and not beloued.

Diuerse meanes and waies were practised and vsed by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifying and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time to time sent vnto him; for and about the same, who sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ireland there was the lesse doubt to recouer them, by reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had consumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be chastised, and with force be reduced to conformities. Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

Shane Dneile promised to be quiet.

Shane Dneile became a tyrant and a rebell.

Shane Dneile a drunkard and a surfeiter.

Shane Dneile buried in the ground after his drunkennesse.

Shane Dneiles force.

The peasants in Ulster trained by in warre.

Shane Dneile.

The cause of Shane Dneiles rebellion.

Con Dneile made earle of Tiron.

Shane vsurpeth the name of Dneile. The Irish custome in successions.

Shane Dneile breaketh into rebellion.

Shane Dneile praier for Henric Shidneis to be his gossip.

Postes set be-
tweene Ire-
land & Lon-
don.

The misera-
ble state of
Ireland.

No God nor
religion in
Ireland.

of him alsoie. And because in these troublesome times, it were meet advertisement should go to and from hir maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to them, order was taken for the more speedie conuenance of letters reciproke, there should be set postes appointed betwene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogether denoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, ciuill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and townes: and yet the one being gentlemen and liuing by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decayed; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselves.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one exceeded all the rest, that there was scarce a God known; and if known, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as sheepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. When where neither God is known, the prince obeyed, no lawes currant, no gouernement accepted, and all things infolded in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdome. Wherefore sir Henrie Sidneie now lord deputie, & the counsell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laie them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, daillie assembled themselves; & deuised the best waie that might be to be taken herein. Wherin his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chieffest of the counsell, then ioined to assist him in counsell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decayed men; and the lord deputie himselfe dyuen to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agreed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the Dneile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue thereunto.

At this present time the earles of Desmond and Desmondes in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betwene them were daillie examined before the lords of the counsell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And because their assertions were so contrarious and vncertaine in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a final end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best known, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the counsell both the said earles submitted themselves to the quenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound each of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad scale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the foresaid examinations. But in the meane time whildest these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disordered manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Desmond, which things were verie thostlie after appealed. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimoze an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Mounster, hauing verie great possessions, and laie still in

peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appearance misliked both their doings.

This man made his humble sute to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognize his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to resume and haue a new estate therof from hir againe, according to the orders and lawes of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to hir crowne, did for the worthinesse of his bloud & stocke, & for the greatness of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that relme; & for his further advancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane Dneile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir highnesse in aduancing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligned him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all god order, bracing out speeches not meet nor seemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimoze, I keepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the quene is my fouereigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir seeking. And where he had required to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Wiron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in bloud and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster. And as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will keepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he intoid not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, wherby he became execrable and hateful vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Now hir maiestie, being grieved and annoied with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie woked out, or chastised: but therein he was stayed, being borne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yeeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now the seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; he gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploye his whole care, consideration, and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be utterly extirped. And seeing the matter also to haue so manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not be well concluded: therefore he sent ouer sir Francis Knolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arrived at Dublin the seventh of Aprill 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. Who when he was arrived, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordingly things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph coronell of the footmen, and sundrie other capitains arrived with their soldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was convenient

Mac Artimoze surren-
deryth all his
lands to the
quene & ta-
keth it of hir.

Mac Artimoze made
earle of Clancare.

Shane Dneile scoffeth
at the earle of
Clancare.

The proud
taunts of
Shane Dneile.

Shane Dneile for his
proud and ty-
rannie becometh
hateful before God &
man.

Shane Dneile
besiegeth
Dundalk, &
is repelled.

Coronell Randolph
arriveth
at the Dneile
where he
intrencheth
himselfe.

The lord de-
putie cometh
to the Dneile
and setteth
things in or-
der for the
seruice.

Dneile in-
carpeth nere
the Dneile
and offereth
himselfe.

The earles of
Desmond and
Desmond
submit them-
selves to the
quenes order.

Sir John of
Desmond
spoileth the
earle of Des-
monds lands.

Sir Francis
Knolles sent
into Ireland,
1566

convenient to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing what preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against his majestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustered all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen. And glorying much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to have conquered all Ireland withall, and that no man durst to adventure upon him: he marcheth unto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besiegeth the same. He was no more busie to give sundrie attempts of invasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and he had the repulse, being with shame driven to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and invasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much stead, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserved commendation: which perforce and maugre of his teeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Julie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputacion of sir Henrie Sidneie, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent over out of England, and arrived at the Dirrie with seven hundred men under his regiment, and he himselfe by the councill in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soon as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of any thing, untill the coming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of his majesties forces, appointed to be joined with the said coronell, for the better service against the arrogant traitour Shane O'Neill.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that service required; he returned backe to Dublin through Odonels countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leaving the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen under the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seven companies of hundreds of footmen under the charges of capteine Robert Cornwell, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisite. Shane O'Neill who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now upon his honor and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, having then in his armie a thousand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. And from daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe ready to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to adventure the same.

The coronell not liking these daillie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour unto him, and all the English nation, which were come over to serve against him, and now would do nothing, but were daillie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sickness in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and unable to serve: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remove him from his so neere a seat. Whereupon he drew out of his companie to the number of three

hundred men, whom he thought most meet to serve, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen under capteine George Heruie, marched toward O'Neils campe, who pretending a great toy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to encounter with them; persuading himselfe that he should that daie be maister of the field, and have a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell made choise of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide their charge. O'Neill in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronels footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so received with the English shot and so galled, that he made some staie. Whereupon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of O'Neill. Likewise coronell Randolph with his few horsemen gaue the charge upon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the service which he desired: but the coronell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonished and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whom the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase above foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell O'Neill was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funeral the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Senthlow was made coronell: under whose gouvernement the garrison lived verie quietlie. For this last overthrow so quailed the spirits and courages of O'Neill and his companie, that they had no desire of any further encountering with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to adventure some peece of service, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels laie were blowne up with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so many of the souldiers as laie sick there were burned in their beds. Whereupon the coronell calling all his capteins together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselves for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, saving capteine George

Heruie: for he rather did chose to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horses (which perforce they must needs have done) for want of shipping. And therefore even almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recovered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about O'Neill, and in all places thorough, out Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best service of his majestie. And yet considering the great

The coronell prepared to fight with O'Neill.

The valiant service of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Randolph is slaine.

O'Neill and his companie, sic, and are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

The lord deputie kept the coronell Randolphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by seas.

Capteine George Heruie returneth by land in great danger.

Shane O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke, & is repelled.

1565

Coronell Randolph arriveth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

The lord deputie cometh to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the service.

O'Neill incampeth nere the Dirrie and offereth battell.

Shane O'Neill more surrenders all his lands to the queen & taketh it of her.

Shane O'Neill made Clancare.

Shane O'Neill scotteth the earle of Clancare.

The proud wants of Shane O'Neill.

Shane O'Neill for his pride and tyrannie becometh hateful to God & man.

Francis Bolles sent to Ireland, 1566

The lord deputie maketh a iournie into Ulster.

1566

The pusillanimitie of the O'Neill.

Donnell restored vnto his possessions. The lord deputie recovereth a great countrie in Ulster vnto the crowne.

The earle of Desmond is in campe and doth no hurt.

The earle of Desmond maketh his repaire to the lord deputie.

importance of the service, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a iournie into Ulster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the councell, and with such capitaines and souldiers as he thought good: he advanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seventeenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Killebegh, & so from thence he travelled through-out Ulster, and passed thence vnto Athlon in Connaught, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

In this iournie the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer any fight at all: saving once at and nere a wood not far from Clogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Strilough Lenough, called the Salmon, but toke his ease and durst not to giue the adventure. In this iournie the lord deputie restored Donnell to the possession of his lands and castles, kept by O'Neill from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselves. By which this his lordships iournie he recovered to his highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and forty miles in bredth, without losse of any man saving Mac Giwer, who being sicke died in this iournie; and saving a few persons which by the waie vpon an occasion would adventure the winning of a certeine Island in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enemies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Immediately vpon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Downshire, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to annoie at his pleasure the earle of Ormonde, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and Sir Poyas Fitzgiralde of the Decies; but he did not hurt any man at all: saving one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloyal savage man. The lord deputie being overladed with the continuall cares to resist O'Neill, could not in person trauell into Downshire, nor yet without great perill diuide his armie: wherefore he sent capteine Herne constable of Leighlin vnto the said earle, whereby he might be aduertised of his intendment and meaning: which appeared to be but a mere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged vpon the earle of Ormonde, although the rumor was, that he would conspire with O'Neill. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delay, toke his horse, and hauing in his companie onelie the baron of Dunboine, and capteine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whom for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships denotion, either to go and attend him vnto Ulster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get; the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serue in Ulster in despite of Shane O'Neill; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine vpon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed vnto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifullnesse to his maiestie,

as was meet for a subject to shew to his soueraigne. The deputie hauing some liking of his offers, and considering the sickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe, and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within foureteene daies: which he did, and with him came Sir John Desmond, his vnckle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Boyse and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, Sir Warham Sentleger, and capteine Herne, did remaine vpon the borders, vntill his lordships returne from out of his iournie in Ulster.

And as the realme at large was much infected with the cruell warres of O'Neill and the troubles in Downshire; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs vnto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against an other. For Oliuer Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certeine booke in writing, containing an information of sundrie notorious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same, and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parlement, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by his maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and councell. Likewise Sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were grievously complained vpon by the labie of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliuer Fitzgiralde, Sir William McCarell, and others; for their daile outrages, robberies, murders, prizes, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appealing of such matters, and for the better ministration of iustice, the lord deputie had bene a long tyme to his maiestie and councell for a chancelor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolved vpon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arrived at Dublin in Iulie 1567, a notable and a singular man, by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuer therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end ensued of his upright, diligent, and dutifull service, as that the whole realme found themselves most hapie and blessed to haue him serue among them. Now he taking vpon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquitted himselfe against his maiestie.

But to returne to the Lord deputie, who immediately vpon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he toke order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such conuenient places vpon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most meet & conuenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing vndone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great sollicitie of himselfe deuised many things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, que mante of his maiesties subjects, and in the end besieged his highnesse towne of Dundalk: where his pride and treason were iustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode vpon him: and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had vnsfethered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last iournie, Mac Giwer, a mightie man in his countrie, forsooke him, and submitted himselfe to his maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull service, and to receiue his lands and countrie at his highnesse hands.

The earle of Desmond serueth in the English pale.

Oliuer Sutton complaineth against the earle of Kildare.

The labie of Dunboine complaineth against the Butlers.

1567 Doctor Weston is made lord chancelor of Ireland.

The O'Neill entereth the English pale with sword and fire.

The O'Neill besiegeth Dundalk the second time, and departed with great dishonor. The O'Neill forsaken of friends.

Mac Giwer forsaketh O'Neill, and doth the Scots.

The lord deputie taketh great pleasure vpon the O'Neill.

The O'Neill distressed all comfort in doubt to do.

O'Neill his owne conscience condemneth him for his subversion.

O'Neill seeth the lord of the Scots.

The Scots do disguise with Dun.

Shane O'Neill is by the Scots brought by capteine Piers.

Shane O'Neill is healed vpon the of the castle Dublin.

Alexander Og and Mac Donell offer to serue hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against the rebell. Con Donell late deliuered from the rebell, offereth seruite against him. Sirlogh Lenough with the helps of his neighbours dailie backed the said Oneile, that his force was quailed that waite. The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments residing nere the English pale, who continuallie as it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogbeda did also issue out, and in one morning toke a preie of two thousand kine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other small beasts and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps and followers, his men, some by Donell, and some by others to the number of three or foure thousand persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his passages stopped, and all places of his refuge presented, and now but one poore castell left wherein he trusted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weakened, and beholding his declination and fall towards, was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe, and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie, and in all humble and lowlie maner to submit himselfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience was so cauterised, and his hands so imbued with in-finit and most horrible murders, bloodsheds, treasons, whoredomes, drunkennesse, robberies, burnings, spoiles, oppressions, and with all kinds of wickednesse, that his heart was overlaid and overlaiden with an bitter despaire to obtaine any grace or fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persuaded by those whome he toke to be his friends, to trie first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that they would iolne and aid him in his most wicked rebellion. Whereupon he toke his iournie towards Clondeboie, where Alexander Og and his companie, to the number of six hundred persons, were then incamped: and for the better gaining of his purpose, he had a little before enlarged Charleie Boie brother to the said Alexander, and who had bene prisoner with him.

The lord deputie taketh a great preie vpon the Oneile.

The Oneile distressed of all comfort is in doubt what to doe.

Oneile his owne conscience condemne-
meth him to
such submission.

Oneile see-
keth for helpe
of the Scots.

The Scots
do disguise
with Oneile.

Shane Oneile
slaine by the
Scots by a
draught made
by captaine
Piers.

Shane Oneile
head set
vpon the top
of the castell of
Dublin.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, pretending and promising him aid and assistance: which they ment not. For as soon as Oneile together with Donells wife, whom he kept, & the small companie which he brought with him were come into the tent, and they assured of him, they called to remembrance the manifold injuries which they had receiued at his hands, and namelie the murdering of one James Mac Conell, & one Mac Guille their neere consins and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious minds to reuenge their deaths, they fell to quarrelling with the said Shane Oneile, and with their slaughter swords helued him to peeces, and slue all those of his companie that were with him: his bodie they wrapped in a kernes shirt, and so without all honor was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and there interred; but after a few daies he was taken vp againe by captaine Piers, by whose deuise this stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in blood, did continue it with blood, and ended it with blood. The lord deputie being then at Drogbeda, and aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same praised himselfe before the high and eternall God, and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the

deliuerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacrileger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made his repaire into Ulster, and incamped himselfe in the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all the noblemen and gentlemen of Eiron being glad that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they which were competitors of the captainie of Eiron, who most humble and obedientlie presented and submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when his lordship had set all things in such order as the time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the countrie, and most pithilie and effectually instructed and perswaded them to obedience, teaching them the great blessings of God which cometh thereby, as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences, miseries and calamities they had felt by the contrarie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he promised shortly to send commissioners amongst them, who should haue authoritie to decide all controversies betwene partie and partie (title of land and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed exercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a good will would giue them: and so publishing peace vniuersallie, euerie man departed home in quiettie. The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who late for an hostage of his father, to be safely kept in the castell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of Iulie 1567. The quenes maiestie being deliuered from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Ulster at hir commandement and disposition, was verie desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, whereby the might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer into Ireland one Robert Leeth, skilfull in that art, and that he should make the perfect descriptions of the same. Likewise also she being aduertised of the outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in maintaining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of warres against the earle of Desmond (whose insolencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle, was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile of the whole countrie, and the oneile cause of great murders, bloodshed, and binding of many people) she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to apprehend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent into England, and there committed to the tower.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good order, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties letters for his repaire into England vnto hir presence, he did accordingly prepare himselfe thereunto, and by a commission vnder hir hode seale of Ireland did appoint doctor Welleson then lord chancellor, and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars, to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them being verie well learned, iust, and vpright; the other verie wise, & of great knowledge and experience, in the affaires of that land. Both which two being like well minded to do hir maiestie seruice, did most loynglie and brotherlie agree therein, each one aduising and aduertising the other according to the seuerall gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by which meanes they passed their government verie well

The quene
aduertised of
Shane Oneile's
death.

The noblemen
of Ulster, be-
ing glad of
Oneile's death,
do submit
themselves.

Orders giuen
by the lord de-
putie to the
noble men of
Ulster.

Oneile's sonne
is committed to
safe custodie.

Robert Leeth
sent into Ire-
land to draw a
true plot of the
whole land.

The earle of
Desmond
committed to
ward, and sent
to the tower,
together with
his brother sir
John Des-
mond.

1567
Doctor Wel-
leson and sir
William Fitz-
williams
made lords
iustices.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie passed into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond.

Ed. Mulineux,

Sir Edmund Butler by reason of his outrages.

The pze of Mac Artie Moe earle of Clancart.

The earle of Clancart maketh warres upon the lord Roch. James Fitzmoris maketh warre upon the baron of Lirennew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

Sir Peter Carew maketh sue to his maiestie for the recone of his lands in Ireland.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of his maiestie, the commendation of themselves, and the common peace of the countrey; and so the said Sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Conno: Sligo, he was with great honoz receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. His maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a windowe, he saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told him that it was Sir Henrie Sidneie his deputie in Ireland. Then it is well (quoth he) for he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before his highnesse, and was welcome to him. Neuertheless, after his departure, the particular grudges betwene some certeine men, brake out into great and outrageous disorders, as Sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgarald, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Conno: and Mmo: proclaimed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Galloglasses, horsemen, and Bernes, threaten to burne the towne of Bilkennie, and spoile Marell of his countrey. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgarald, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuenge, leauing to seeke reuenge by armes, made their reuenges to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The erle of Clancart was puffed up with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Mollian Moe, and others of the Irishie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuadeth the lord Roches countrey, and in burning of his countrey, he destroyed all the coigne therein, seuen hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried abate fiftene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruell warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lirennew, which albeit they were but priuie displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrey: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of his maiesties pleasure here in. About this time one Moeice a runnigate preest, hauing latelie bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arrived into Ireland, and made challenge to the same see: which being denied vnto him by the archbishop which was there placed by his maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenly with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare Sir Peter Carew of Mhonesloteire in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marqueses of Corke, barons of Mazon, and lords of Mazon Twete; and sundrie other seignories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended vnto him: he made the queens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and prayed that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recover the same. Which was granted vnto him, as also he had his highnesse and their lordships seuerall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and assist him with all such his maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other

god meanes they might. Whereupon he sent the writer hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in his maiesties treasure and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of Sir Peter Carew: then the said Sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Mazon, then in the possession of Sir Christopher Chiuers knight, and to the baronie of Mazon, then in the occupation of the Canenaghys.

The first, when it was found good in law, and Sir Christopher Chiuers yielded, and compounded for it: the other was trauesed before the lord deputie and counsell, and vpon good and substantiall euidences, records, and proses; a decree passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of Sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recovered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records doe impart, about the eighteenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marriage of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not settled in any quietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arrived at Crag Fergus, in September 1568: and took the sword of gouernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of Nouember 1568, did aduertise his maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in briefe consisted in these points immediate following.

That Sir Edmund Butler had made a pze in Shileagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgarret, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrey: who was forthwith sent for, and refused to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certeine seruises in the countie of Bilkennie, and Tiporarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwene the earle of Clancart, and Mac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwene Mdonell and Conner Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrey. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Mshaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countrey. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lirennew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and pze the countreies to feed their bellies.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certainte thereof, immediately vpon his landing in Ireland he made a tourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishie to stand in wauering terms: whereupon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh Oneile, who yielding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarmed from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a tourneie vpon Fernete, and in combining with the Scots, of whom he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and verie hardlie obtained, and not until his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Sir Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

Sir Peter Carew by a decree recovereth the baronie of Mazon.

A parliament summoned at Dublin.

1568 Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

The lord chancellor by operation.

The state that Ireland stood in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster out of order.

Turlogh Lenogh breaketh the peace, but submitteeth himselfe.

Stanthurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

Scots had put in for their Isaltie. Odoneille quietlie possessed the countrie of Triceconell, and continued a dutifull subject to his maiestie; saving the old grudge betwene him and Turlogh did rather increase than decate. Ochan lord of the land betwene Loghfoile and the Ban, being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Kenogh, did beare with all iniuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the quenes maiestie. He like did the two principall men, eligible for the capteinrie of Tiron, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in good state and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this iourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the counsell he had disposed all things in good order concerning the gouernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be alwarded out vnto euerie noble man for his apperance; & to euerie shiriffe for choosing of knights and burgeses for their like apperance at Dublin the seventeenth of Januarie, in the eleuenth yeare of his maiesties reigne; at which time and daie apperance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first daie of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing his maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Chisties church, and from thence vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson velvet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancelloz made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby mainteined, and each man in his degree conserued; as well the inferiour as the superiour, the subject as the prince: and how carefull all good common-wealths in the elder ages haue bene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holisome lawes, either of their deuises, or drawn from some other good common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

And likewise, how the quenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer his children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer his subjects, hath bene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie carefull, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the counsell and aduise of you his nobilitie, & you his knights and burgeses, such good lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the honoz of almighty God, the preservation of his maiestie, and of his imperiall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankfull; but also most carefull to do their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgeses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this action: they should assemble them selues at and in the house appointed for that assemble; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adiourned untill thursdaie next, the twentieth of Januarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgeses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Staniburst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing done most humble his

obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling doth appertene: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so seeme good to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuerthelesse, for so much as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruice being done with his best good will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holisome lawes, whereof he was a professor.

And herebpon he toke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancelloz, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good successe there insueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euere most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most godlie prince, as was his maiestie; who not onlie was carefull by the sword to stand in their defense against all enemies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions; but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselves, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please his maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and freedoms of old belonging to euerie assemble of a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue free comming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds frelie to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirde, that if anie of the said house should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndercent manner, or if anie other person should euill intreat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offender should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his speech, and in most humble manner done his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectuall manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing misliking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that dallie experience did confirme the same generallie, so no one nation particularlie could better anouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselves to liue accordinglie, and also to praise for his maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder his might inioie a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested

The request of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The lord deputie answered Stanibursts oration.

Staniburst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemble, to hir honoz, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as the were not impeached, noz hir imperiall state derogated, that they should inioine the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adjourned.

The next date following being fridate the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that companie, in stead of vnitie there began a diuision, and for concord discord was reuelled. For all, or the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especiallie they who dwelled within the counties of Meth and Dublin, who seeing a great number of Englishmen to haue place in that house began to except against that assemble as not good, noz warranted by law. Their vantage was sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and woorthie to haue bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged three speciall causes, whie he and his complices would not yeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie townes, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of townes corporat had returned themselves. The third and chiefest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such townes and corporations, as which some of them neuer knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselves in the lower house for foure daies together, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater boiles; untill in the end, for appeasing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: unto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for townes not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souereignes as haue returned themselves, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong returns. The messenger of this answer, howsoeuer he were liked, his message could not be receiued noz allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not be credited, neither would they be satisfied, vnlesse the iudges themselves would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer noz abide the reading thereof: but rose vp in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that grauitie and wisdom, which was as should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifying of the same, the cheefe iustices of the quenes bench, and the cheefe iustice of the common pless: the quenes sergent, attorneie generall, and sollicitor, the next date following came to the lower house, and there did as firme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawyers who had place in that house, did not altogether like thereof.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euery man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appere in the sequele of that assemble, where euery bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especiallie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quenes maiesties profit or common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices mistaking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a brewing and towards. Which in deed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poynings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seventh, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the impost for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselves verie froward & so vniquiet, that it was more like a beerebaitting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wisse and grame men. Wherevnto a certeine English gentleman (the writer hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athennie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to haue done; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being grieved, stood vp, and prayed libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an vsage in Pithagoras scholes, that no scholers of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, or determine, but give eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom, speake, order, and direct the same. Not withstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue bene altogether silent, is enforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to pate their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the quenes maiestie had most honorablie and carefullie performed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that the neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that beneuolence of the better sort, which for hir great expences spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yelded vnto hir. It appered manifest in sundrie things, and speciallie in this present assemble, namely one bill concerning the repeale of Poynings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without aie of your consents, as she hath already done the like in England; saving of hir courtesse it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that the might thereby haue the better triall and assurance of your dutifullnesse

Sir Edmund Butler misliketh with the parlement.

The repeale of Poynings act.

The act for imposts of wines.

A mutinie in the lower house

Sir Christopher Barnwell excepteth against the choice of the burgesses.

The resolution of the iudges.

The disliking of the iudges opinions.

The selfewill and frowardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

butifalnesse and goodwill towards hir. But as the hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long services in times past, his continuall and daileie trauels, toynes, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat lutes for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserved more than well at your hands: yet as the vniuersall Israelites against Moses, the vniuersall Romans against Canillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vniuersall Atheniens against Socrates, Themistocles, Pellicades, and others; you haue and doe most vniuersall requite and recompense this your noble gouernour: against whome and his doings you doe kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and meet to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat downe, the most part of the house verie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; sauing the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuely as they did digest it most vniuersally, supposing themselves to be touched herein. And therefore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent about the ordinarie houre, being well nere two of the clocke in the afternone, that the speaker and the court rose vp and departed. Wherein such was the present murmurings and threatenings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemblie conducted to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then laie and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued together so long about the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had bene concerning the questions before proponed, and therefore did secretly send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commandement of the speaker, order was giuen to the doore-keepers, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was advertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp vniuersall friends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, as soon as the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher Barnewell, and the lawyers of the English pale, who had conferred together of the former daies speeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderlie manner inueigh against the said gentleman, affirming, anouching, and protesting, that if the words spoken had bene spoken in anie other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne withall. Wherevpon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and willed that if they had anie matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for so much as their dealings then were altogether disorderlie, being more like to a beerebaiting of loose persons than an assemblie of wise and graue men in parliament; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disorderlie behaviours; who not onely promised

so to doe, but also prayed assistance, aduise, and counsell for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements used in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

A booke of the orders of a parliament house impinged for Ireland.

The order and vsage how to keepe a parliament in England in these daies, collected by John Vowell alias Hooker gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Exeter at the parliament holden at Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, & Elizabetha Reg. decimo sexto and the like vsed in hir maiesties realme of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parliament robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parliament ought to be summoned and called.

The king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof doe wholly and onely depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parliament, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parliament can properly be summoned or assembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parliament but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as foloweth.

First for religion, for so much as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediatlie vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth; and the chiefe ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, about all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people doe both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & whatsoever is contrarie to true religion, all disorders and abuses, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes persons, and of their children, their advancement & preferment in marriages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the auoiding or elchewing of warres, the attempting or moving of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifying of ciuill wars and commotions, the lenteng or hauing anie aid or subsidie for the preservation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarcing of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull or preiudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his counsell) may call and summon his high court of parliament, and by the authoritie therof establish and order such good lawes and orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

Sir Edmund Butler mislieth with the parliament.

The repeale of Doings act.

The act for impoising of wines.

The order and maner how to
summon the parlement.

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lordes and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marqueses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addrested to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, and by them they are sent and disperfed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the five ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgeses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be
chosen for the clergie, and of their
allowances.

The bishop ought upon the receipt of the writ sent unto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, vntlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or proce for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or proce.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appere before him, his chancellor or officer, at a certeine date, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or proce for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appealing of schismes, and deuising of god and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leued for the same, according to an old order used among them.

How and what maner of knights, ci-
tizens, and burgeses ought to be chosen,
and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

geses within his countie, that they do chose and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freholder shall come into the court, and chose two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinctlie read. Whereupon the said freholders, then and there present, ought to chose two knights accordingly, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maiors and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgeses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgeses vnder the seuerall common seals of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the date: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but thre shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thence. Prouided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneieeng fir and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgeses, god regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vntlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experfence in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will bolde vter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therefore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cinshi gladio*: not because they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but because they should be such as haue god experfence and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and relme god aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of god fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or pertured, or otherwise infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be doone.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempozalltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do a ny thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he giue at the least fortye daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoever it be kept, the old vsage and manner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniences, and therefore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which eftsones did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freely, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great græfs, did diuide this one house into thre houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempozall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the proctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will by & the subiect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hanged richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and upon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, upon the inner sit the dukes, marqueses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as please the king, who doth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, upon which they do write and laie their booke. In the middle rowe beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergents, and all such as be of the kings learned counsell, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit upon great woolsacks, covered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or ralle, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a bold rowe seruing for the lower house, and for all suits that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancellor or keeper of the great seale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honoz of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waite of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that upon these thre daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration upon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuered vnto the clerks to be safely kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twise before they be ingrossed, and being read thre times he must put the same to question.

If any bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vnlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept untill the end of the parlement.

If any bill be denied, impugned, and clare ouerthrown, the same is no more to be thenceforth received.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtful whether side is the greater, & giueth most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If any bill be vnperfect, or requirith to be amended, he must chose a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make choise of two of the kings learned counsell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receive the same; and being returned to his place, and euerie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to pale their fines, vnlesse they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clerks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command euerie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentleman sergeant ought to attend vpon him, going before him with his mace, vnlesse he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for euerie priuat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall cleark of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be past.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings seuerall courts of records to be inrolled, as namelie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such priuat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

Of the clerks of the parlement.

There be two clerks, the one named the cleark of the parlement, & the other named the cleark of the crowne. The cleark of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiuing the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The counsell of the house he maie not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer vpon into the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, sauing he may keepe a transumpt and a copie

thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for euerie bill whereof he giueth a copie, he hath for euerie ten lines a pence, according to the custome.

The cleark of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and rone of the cleark of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the cleark ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be intained him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the brode seale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clerks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a word before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are past both houses, and the other must read the consent or disagreement of the king.

Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one sergeant, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diuerse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie manner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned counsell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, vnlesse he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seale: for then he hath a sergeant of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergeant hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for euerie daie of the parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill which is enacted, fortye shillings.

Also he hath for euerie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of euerie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, hauing foure rowes of seates one aboute an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table board, at which sitteth the cleark of the house, and there vpon lieth his booke, and writeth his records. Upon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priue counsell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he cometh, sauing that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsell, the Londoners, and the citizens of York do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other, in

in which the under clerks do sit, as also such as be tutors and attendant to that house. And when soever the house is divided upon anie bill, then the come is voided; and the one part of the house cometh downe into this to be numbered.

The office of the speaker of the lower house.

The chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for grauitie, wisdom, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parlement; and is to be presented to the king the third daie following.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, vsages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and obserued.

When he is presented unto the king, sitting in his estate roall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and intioie the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue appertained, and bene vled in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of speeche, and frelie to vtter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to anie bill or question to be proponed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free coming and going to and from the said parlement, as also during the said time of parlement; & that they, nor anie of their seruants or retinue be arrested, molested, sued, imprisoned, or troubled by anie person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or anie other of that companie, being sent or come to him of anie message, and do mislike himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but graunt him pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clearke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bills as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when soeuer he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bills, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clearke.

He ought to cause and command the clearke to reade the bills brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must brieflie recite and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bills brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clearke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be relected and dashed.

If anie bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake: neuertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake

if he list.

If anie speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If anie bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not: saying thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in maner & forme as hath bene read, saie *Yea*: then the affirmatiue part saie *Yea*. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in maner and forme as hath bene read, saie *No*. If vpon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill; then the same is to be dashed out, and to be relected: but if it be doubtfull vpon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the vtter roome, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as vpon the triall the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If vpon this triall the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for other wise he hath no voice.

Also if anie of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If anie foreign person do enter into that house, the assemble thereof being sitting, or do by arresting anie one person thereof, or by anie other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermeddling in anie publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholie to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to anie noble man, counsellor, or other person, to deale in anie of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send anie offender, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to anie other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement. Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both houses, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble maner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humble praiering his pardon, if anie thing haue bene done amisse.

Of the clearke of the lower house.

There is onelie one clearke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, vpon which he writeth & lateth his books: He must make true entrie of the records and bills of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bills appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read;

read : he must read openlie, plainlie, and sensible.
The bills which are to be ingrossed, he must do it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house ; he hath to deliver the same unto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie privat bill passed and enacted, fortie shillings.

He hath allowed unto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

Of the sergeant or porter of the lower house.

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house : and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselfe keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there ; vntil he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person doe come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to do his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carieing his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance during the time of the parlement is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence ; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie privat bill doe passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblie of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons : euen so the archbishops and bishops doe sequester themselves, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and badges ; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function ; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vied in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops doe sit all at a table, and doe discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or

from anie privat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degree, which degrees are knowne by such degrees & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned : for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a serton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops doe not sit at forenone, but onelie at afternone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, doe resort and assemble themselves there at the forenones with the temporal lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie doe obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons doe vse. For being assembled together on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make choise of a speaker for them, whom they call the proloquator : when they haue chosen him, they doe present him unto the bishops : and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onlie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vntil they be confirmed by act of parlement : but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof ; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) doe consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others : these shall suffice for this matter.

Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

Besides the personages of the former degrees, which ought to be summoned to the parlement : the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other ; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namely the two chiefe iudices and their associates of the kings bench and the common ples, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attornies, the solicitors, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceived and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all retained at the kings charges.

Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namely the chancero of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are retained at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is already particularly declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in
parlement.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saving and accepted the fundaies and all principall feasts, as namelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint John the baptists daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the morning, and doth continue untill eleven of the clocke.

They do not sit at after noones, for those times are reserved for committees and the convocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Having declared of all the estates, degrees, and personages of the parlement, it resteth now to speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in all, the beginning and ending, and upon whome resteth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole parlement. For without him and his authoritie nothing can be done, and with it all things take effect. Nevertheless, when he calleth & assembleth his parlement, there are fundie orders which of him are to be observed, and which he ought to see to be kept and executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a parlement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these be the chiefe which do insue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assigning and appointing the time, date, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least forty daies before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and provide all such officers as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens, burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the common house, or proloquutor of the convocation house: but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, orders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont and ought to be, and the kings good advise yet not to be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow to all and everie of the estates, and to everie particular man lawfullie elected, and come to the parlement, all and everie the ancient freedoms, privileges, immunities, and customs, during the parlement; as also during the times and daies, comming and going to and from the parlement: but yet the same humble to be requested of his highnesse by the speaker in his oration at the beginning of the parlement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the parlement three daies at the least, during the time of the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the whole estates according to the summons make their appearance, which is called the first daie of the parlement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the common house is presented, which is counted the beginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which is the last day, when the parlement is prorogued or dissolved: for upon these daies he must be present, unless in case of sickness, or absence out of the realme, for in these cases the king may summon his parlement by commission, and the same is of as good effect as if he were present in person: and as for anie other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propound to the parlement house in writing all such things & matters of charge, as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accordingly as the same shall then by the consent of all estates be advised, concluded, and agreed: so the king either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can (of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but accept the same as it is presented unto him from the estates of the parlement, or else altogether reject it.

Also the king as he doth preferre and assigne the date and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall be prorogued or dissolved: which ought not to be as long as anie matters of charge, weight, or importance be in question, and the same not decided nor determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie
of the parlement, and of the orders
of the same.

The parlement is the highest, cheefest, and greatest court that is or can be within the realme: for it consisteth of the whole realme, which is divided into three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles, and the commons, everie of which estates are subiect to all such orders as are concluded and established in parlement.

These three estates may jointlie and with one consent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, orders, and statutes for the common wealth; but being divided, and one swarming from the other, they can do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons without the king do anie thing of availe. And yet nevertheless, if the king in due order have summoned all his lords and barons, and they will not come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if they come and appeere, yet will not do or yield to any thing, then the king with the consent of his commons (who are represented by the knights, citizens, and burgesses) may ordaine and establish anie act or law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectual, as if the lords had given their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summoned and will not come, or comming will not appeere, or appeering will not consent to do anie thing, alleging some just, weightie, and great cause; the king (in these cases) cannot with his lords devise, make, or establish anie law, the reasons are these. When parlements were first begun & ordeined, there were no prelates or barons of the parlement, and the temporal lords were verie few or none, and then the king and his commons did make a full parlement, which authoritie was hitherto neuer abridged. Againe, everie baron in parlement doth represent but his owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are represented the commons of the whole realme; and everie of these giveth not consent onlie for himselfe, but for all those also for whome he is sent. And the king with the consent of his commons had ever a sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordaine, and establish good and wholesome lawes for the common wealth of his realme. Wherefore the lords being lawfully summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or consent in parlement, can not by their folie abridge the king and the commons of their lawfull proceeding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all in one house, but for the avoiding of confusion they

be not divided into two severall houses, and yet nevertheless they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a p[ar]te of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgeise, is of as great auaille as is the best lord, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called *p[er]s*, as it were fathers, for *P[er]* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, learned, and expert men of the land: for such were the senators of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdome and care that was in them in governing of the common-wealth. They are also called counsellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgeises, ought to be well aduised that they do elect and chuse such as being to be of that assemble, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and careful men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie counsellors) should do that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, other wise they do great iniurie to their p[ri]nce and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his coming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entred, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murder, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person having voises in parlement, hath free libertie of speech to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propose anie matter for the commoditie of the p[ri]nce and of the commonwealth: but having once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgeise, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a layman. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to do all things by rightie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behaviour; none taunting, checking, or misusing an other in anie vnseemlie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to do and endeavour in wise, dome, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requirerh.

Also if anie one do offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, galls, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the tower of London is the prison which

is most used.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be serued, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, at tachment, or minister of the kings bench, Common pleas, Chancerie, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint thereof to the parlement house: then forthwith a sergeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelic aduertising that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the hiest court, all other courts as inferior yeld and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of suites to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leaue obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one coming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entred and cometh in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to do his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensible, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entred, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwards must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie; and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgeise doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparel. For in time past, none of the counsellors of the parlement came other wise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men ready to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to chuse such knights

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and besides their god aduises can well serue in martiall affaires. And thus the Romane senators used, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat alwaies in the Senat house and places of counsell in their gownes and long robes. The like also was alwaies and hath bene the order in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good orders thereof were kept and obserued.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in message or being sent for, doe come: he ought to be brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like order he must keepe in his returne. But if he doe come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead anie matter, or to answer to anie obiection: he shall enter, and go no further than to the bar within the doore, and there to doe his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committees haue not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed unto them, and of their doings they must giue report to the house againe, by whom the bill is to be considered.

Also euerie bill which is brought into the house, must be read three severall times, and vpon three severall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to haue his three readings, vnles the committees haue not altered the bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certaine words.

Also when anie bill vpon anie reading is altogether by one consent reiecte, or by voices after the third reading ouerthrowne, it ought not to be brought anie more to be read, during the sessions of parliament.

Also if anie man doe speake vnto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person doth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reuerence, grauitie, and seemelie speech to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall be tried either for allowances, or to be reiecte: then euerie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, before he doe enter into the parlement, and take his place there, ought to be sworn and to take his oath, acknowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all foreign potentates.

The order of the beginning and ending of the parlement.

On the first daie of the summons for the parlement, the king in proper person (vnles he be sick or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conducted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parlement, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like order be brought to the higher house of par-

ment, and there to take his seat vnder the cloth of estate: likewise euerie lord and baron (in his degree) ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancelor, or he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oration to the whole assemblie, declaring the causes whie and wherefore that parlement is called and summoned, exhorting and perswading euerie man to doe his best indour in all such matters as shall be in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most expedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and burgesse, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they doe repaire to their house; and there according to the old and ancient custome, doe chuse and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them a daie when they shall present him to the king. And these things thus done, the king ariseth, and euerie man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in like order as before) doe assemblie againe in the higher house, and then come by all the commons of the lower house, and then and there doe present their speaker vnto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oration before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is before recited in the office of the speaker; and this done, euerie man departeth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and these things orderlie done, there can no bills be put in, nor matters be intreated of.

Lastlie when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons doe againe assemblie in the higher house in their robes, and in like order as is before recited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is answered by the lord chancelor or speaker of the higher house. Then all the bills concluded and past in both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent or dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the lord chancelor or lord speaker, by the kings commandement, pronounceth the parlement to be prorogued or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last daie or the end of the parlement, and euerie man is at libertie to depart homewards.

The mondaie following, sir Christopher Warne- well and his complices, hauing better considered of themselves, were quiet and contented, and the parlement begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parlement, and after the same, sundrie grievous complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgiralde, sir William Ocarell, and diuerse others the quenes good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to haue done vpon hir maiesties subiects. Wherevpon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the counties of Bilkennie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redressing thereof: but they returned without doing of anie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie,

Commissioners sent to heare the complaints made against the Butlers.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Downster
sent their
messengers
to the pope.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Downster
proclaimed
traitors.

Sir Peter
Carew is co-
manded to
serue against
the Butlers.
Cloughgr-
man taken.

Sir Peter
Carew in
danger to
haue bene
killed.

Henrie Da-
uels sent to
discouer the
enemie.

Sir Peter
Carew and
the English
captains gi-
ueth charge
vpon the re-
bels & haue
the victorie.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and garr, did not agere before the said commissioners, but both he and his brethren combined themselves with James Fitzmorris Desmond, Mac Artie Pope, Mac Donagh, and the seneschall of Imokille and others of Downster, who before (and unwittingly the Butlers) had sent the usurped bishops of Cashell and Emelle together with the youngest brother of the erle of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine, for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing the land from the possession of his maiestie and of the imperiall crowne. Which matter in the end brake out into an open and aduall rebellion, and the lord deputie by proclamation published them all to be traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting. But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew knight then being at Leighlin, to enter into the action of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine 20 Galbitz, capteine Basenet, and others, latelie sent vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his commandement, and first assaulted the castell of Cloughgriman in the Dullough belonging to sir Edmund Butler, and toke it, and gaue the spoile vnto the soldiers.

From thence they removed to Bilkennie towne, where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle of 30 Dymonds, espieng vpon a certeine date sir Peter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell of Bilkennie alone, he charged his pece, and leueled the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the castell. At which verie instant a chapleine of the said earls & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting some euill thing towards, turned by the mouth of the pece, which therewith was discharged, and so no bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for a time thrust him out of the house. Whilist these captiues late at Bilkennie, it was aduertised vnto 40 them, that a great companie of the rebels were incamped about thre miles out of the towne, & were there marching in verie good order. Whereupon sir Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled all the captiues, and taking their aduise what was best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman, who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had married his wife out of that towne, and him they sent out to discouer the matter, who about thre miles off had the view, and espieng a great companie of about two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in battell arate. When he returned with this report, then sir Peter Carew appointed the bolward to capteine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels and twelue other persons of his companie galloped before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie 60 followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew, and then capteine Galbitz, and capteine Basenet, seeing and assured that all things were clere behind them, followed so nere, that all the companie even as it were at one instant gaue the like charge, where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the least, besides others. The residue of the companie were fled into the mounteins fast by, and none or few escaped but the horsemen and kerns. And of his maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of capteine Galbitz was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with

all his companie to the towne of Bilkennie, euerie capteine and souldier carteng two Gallowglasses ares in his hand, but left the spoile to their followers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not in the campe, but was at his vnckles house at dinner. The townesmen of Bilkennie were verie sozie for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet neuertheless not long after, James Fitzmorris came to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being well garonised with certeine soldiers, & they themselves well appointed, did so carefullie and naroblie looke to themselves, that they defended and kept the towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the countrie and other small townes did not so escape, for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Dofore, the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were spoiled, preied, and overrun; and among all others the old Fulco Dumerford a gentleman, of long time seruant to thre earles of Dymond, was robbed in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in monie, plate, and household stufte, besides his corne and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford, which thing had not lightlie bene scene before, and at a faire kept then at Enescoth, there the souldiers committed most horrible outrages, lamentable slaughters, filthie rapes, and desourings of yong women, abusing mens wiues, spoiling the towne, & slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the sword were carted captiues & prisoners. From hence they went into Osserie and into the quenes countie, and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villages, murdered the people: and then they met with the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmorris Desmond, with whom they then combined; and agreed to cause Tirlough Lennough to procure in the Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and to the king of Spaine. Finallie, nothing was left vndone, which might anie waies tend to the subuersion of his maiesties imperiall crowne of England, and to discharge that land from all Englishmen and English gouernement, and by these means (the English pale and the good cities & townes excepted) the most part, if not the whole land, was imbued & infected with this rebellion.

The earle of Dymond himselfe, a man of great honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England: but from time to time was aduertised of the trouble, some state in that land: and whereof no little detriment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a great and most part of all his lordships throughout that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so much graue him as the follies of his brethren. For great were his griefs, & verie much was he troubled therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his brethren, nature moued him, and reason persuaded him, that no such outrageous parts could proceed from them, which in anie waies should either concerne his maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found sound and true. Wherefore, when he heard of anie matter against them herein, he would plead their innocencies, and defend their causes, vntill such time as by credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw apparant matter and manifest proofes of the contrarie. Which reports albeit they graued him verie much, yet (as I said) nothing graued him more, than their dissolaltie and breach of dutie against his maiestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Wherefore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards his highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others, by the sword, or by some other means, to recouer and reclaime them.

Whereupon his maiestie, standing assured of his

The earle
Dymond a
sweeth at
waterford.

The earle
paireth to
lord deputie.

Edmund
Butler
murthered
his wife.

Sir Edmund
Butlers
exiles.

1569

The long
grauntie
earle of
Dymond to
his brethren.

The earle of
Dymonds
lands spoiled.

The good
affection of
the earle of
Dymond to
his brethren.

The earle of
Dymond offereth
to serue
against his
brethren.

The cities
waterford
standing
their libe
refuse to
aid to the
deputie.

The lord
deputie
into Clough-
griman
good spee-
ch vnto the

The earle of
Dymond ar-
riued at
Waterford.

The earle re-
pairerth to the
lord deputie.

Edmund
Butler sub-
mitteth him
selfe.

James Fitz-
moris belie-
geth Kil-
kenne.

Fulco Out-
merford spot-
ted & robbed.

A wicked ma-
sacre at Ena-
scroth.

A wicked
conspiracie &
combining of
the traitors.

Sir Edmund
Butlers
exiles.

1569.

The lone and
graue of the
earle of Dy-
mond to his
brethren.

The earle of
Dymonds
lands spoiled.

The good as-
fection of the
earle of Dy-
mond to his
brethren.

The citie of
Waterford
standing vpon
their liberties
refuse to send
aid to the lord
deputie.

The earle of
Dymond offer-
eth to serue
against his
brethren.

The lord de-
putie went
into Clonmell
& bleth verie
good speeches
vnto them.

his shoelitte, and hauing a specfall trust in him, sent him ouer into Ireland, who arriued at Waterford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Innescooth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertiseth vnto the lord deputie his coming, and with all conuenient speed maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and late nere Limerike: and then and there offereth his ser- uice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open vieto and sight of the whole campe did yeld and submit himselfe simple to his maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and crauing pardon. And then was he deli- uered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to bee forth coming before the said lord deputie at his coming to Dublin: and also promised to doe the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the firste of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and counsell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but Sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord depu- tie did not bmake nor like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, nor against Sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, nor yet against any other person. Then that the said lord deputie had threatened him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his lottie lokes. Wherof, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doe manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and no- thing in prouise falling out as was auouched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which Sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuertheless the earle brought him againe. And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought al- so his two other brethren, for whome he had under- taken, and presented them before the lord deputie and counsell, where the matter being heard at large, the counsell conferred hereof among themselves, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe cal- led before the lord deputie and counsell, and then and there kneeling vpon their knees, did confesse their fol- lies, and submitted themselves in all dutifullnesse and simplicitie to the quens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturalie as a brother made humble peti- tion for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, repproved them of their outrages, and coun- selled them to their duties: and in the end confes- sed in the due consideration of his maiesties totall estate. And therevpon they were committed to safe keeping within his maiesties castell of Dublin, at his highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the mat- ter againe.

The lord deputie followed his first begun hosting, who when he was incamped nere Clonmell, where it was thought he should haue bene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Waterford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie inso- lentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with his maiesties prero- gatiue, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they thewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disolualtie to his high- nesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within halfe a mile of Clon- nell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thence went into the towne, where the souereigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour

they could, and gaue him a banquet in these towne house, where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speech, teaching them the dutifullnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the con- trarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laicng before them their pre- sent estate for example, did moue and persuaue them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to his maiestie, and not to be dismayd at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whome all kings and princes doe rule, hath bene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: even as of the contrarie he sendeth his man- fold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing vsed sundrie and notable sentences and examples to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thence he remoued and marched to- wards Cashell, which lieth in the countie of Tippe- rarie, nere vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie appro- ching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselves to defend the pile. The lord deputie ta- king the same as a defiance, approached therevnto and besieged it: and whilst the assault was in preparing, it was yelded by composition, and after ressoied to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thence by iourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by Sir Cormac Mac Teger: and being aduer- tised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Trimhillie, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitz- moris, had spoiled and preied the whole countie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Ba- lie marty, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end toke it full of vittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was given to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was given to Jasper Dorsete, & so he returned to Corke, and from thence he toke iourneie to Killmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and na- med Humfreie Gilbert his maiesties seruant to be colonell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horsemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine Bernes there to remaine. And there he did knit and conioine vnto him by oth, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Wexis, with the lord Potoye, the lord Courcie, Sir Cormac Mac Teger, Sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Oge, and the most part of the freholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this done he passed by iourneies to Limerike, and from thence he went to Gallewaie, and there established a president and a counsell, and placed Sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clancard, and all the noble men & lepts of gentlemen of that prouince yelding to the same.

Thence he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Roscomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horsemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by iour- neies trauched and came to Dublin, and there re- mained. Capteine Gilbert in the meane time, ha- uing a specfall respect and regard to his charge, his valiancie and courage was such, and his god hap so well answering his worthie and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Balie marty a castell of the seneschals besieged and taken.

The sen- schall escaped out of his castell.

Humfreie Gilbert made colonell of the prouince.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connaught.

Capteine Gilberts good service.

the courages of all the rebels in Mounster, and no rebell knowne left in effect, which dare to withstand and make any resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countie, that none did or would refuse to come unto him, if he were sent for but by a horse boy: for all yielded unto him, some by putting in recognisances, & some by giving of pledges, and all in seeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitted himselfe to captaine Gilbert.

The good service of sir Edward Fitton lord president in Connagh.

The Caenagh's submission.

Carlogh shot through with two bullets.

Dragheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

The description of sir

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before usurped this name to be king of Mounster; even he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike unto him, and there falling upon their knees acknowledged their treasons, and most humbly desired his maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chiefeest freholders for pledges and hostages. Likewise the president of Connagh in such wisdom, courage, & brightness, directed his government, that he was obeyed of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he spareth not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these meanes hauing rid awaie the most notable offenders and their followers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes.

The Caenagh's, the ancient enemies to the English government, and who in the rebellion were confained with the Butlers: these bordering upon the frontiers appointed to sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselves simple to his maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid upon them. Carlogh Kennogh in Ulster, being at supper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caluer, by a feather or rimer of the Donloghs. Whereupon the Scots whome he retained were in a maze, and the countie standing upon the election of a new captaine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recovered to quietnesse. Whereupon captaine Gilbert, when he had settled Mounster in outward apperance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his doings at full.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteously receiue; but also most thankfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, vpon Belweares date in the church at Dragheda, he did bestow vpon him the order of knighthood; which he well deserved, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to his highnesse, and to the lords of the counsell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maie, after the maner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vse of noble gouernors and captains in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of worthy persons, do attribute to such as do deserve well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensive to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, what maie be said of these two worthy personages, sir Peter Carew, and sir Humfreie Gilbert: both which were of one countie and birth, borne in the countie of Devon, and of nere blood, kinned, and consanguinitie.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and borne of a great parentage, whose ancestors

came and descended from the earle of Cornwall, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, & of complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leaving him verie yong, and he conceiuing some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, prouided some portion of liuing to mainteine and keepe him to schoole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schoole to Eton college: from thence, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the use of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Ashleie, who was attendant to the quenes maiestie, after that she saw the yong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him unto his maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behaviour, that his maiestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarly discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by his highnesse to sir Henrie Storie then lord deputie: who gaue him interteinement, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred horsemen: wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made colonell of Mounster; and had appointed vnto him, besides his owne band of one hundred horsemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & vpon his oath of loyalty and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might seeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his deuout mind to serue his maiestie, and so effectually to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine vnto. For in seruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and courageous as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appere in the ouerthrow giuen nere Bilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelue persons gaue the onset vpon a thousand men, of which sir hundred were armed halloboglaes, who then were ouerthrowne: and likewise in Mounster, which was altogether vp in rebellion; and he colonell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but foure hundred against sundrie thousands; and inforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humbly vpon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and overcome them, did most brightness order and direct his government, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the causes of euerie sutor. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not euidently and daillie experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good success thereof; and in what quiet state he left the countie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance,

The balliades in seruice, and the wisdom in gouernment of sir Humfreie Gilbert.

*Hamfrere
Gilbert, and
his descent.*

which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to his maiestie, and the lords of the counsell, he departed. As soon as he had presented himselfe before his highnesse, his good countenance and favour, in respect of his good service to his maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie about all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a young gentlewoman, and an inheritor; and therefore he gave himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of government, and to navigations. He had an excellent and ready wit, and there with a tongue at libertie to utter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notable discourse any matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwealth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in navigations; and finding out by his studies, certaine nations and unknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made his maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of his a licence to make a navigation, which he took in hand. But before he could compass the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Dwelt he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giving a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their virtues, and in the memory of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall live in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

*Sir Hamfrere
Gilbert is
drowned.*

*Curlogh Le-
nough prepa-
red to invade
the English
pale.*

*The earle of
Thomond re-
volteth.*

*The earle of
Diamond fol-
loweth the
earle of Tho-
mond, and
burch him
out of the
land.*

*Lucas Dil-
lon made chief
baron.*

*The battan-
nes in service,
and the dis-
cords in go-
vernment of
Sir Hamfrere
Gilbert.*

Curlogh Lenough thinking to invade upon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and driven to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wicarie of the other; and his wife and he not agreeing, they were upon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond revolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Diamond so hardlie pursued, that he drove him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thence into England. For the discoverie of whose treasons and rebellions to his maiestie & to the lords of the counsell, one Mase Rockelcie chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long tate made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receive according to his deserts: his maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

This yere the queenes maiestie, considering the good service of Lucas Dillon his generall attorneie in Ireland, was upon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capteine Piers for his good service at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by his maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, suites, and requests made to his maiestie for a president and counsell to be established in Hounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sicknesse and inability of Sir John Pollard, appointed to be the presi-

dent, it was lingered and deferred, is now renewed and renewed: and Sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a counsell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, intertainment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Denbroke shire in South Wales, and one of great revenues and worship, baliant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to governe and tame so faithlesse and unrulie a people, as ever whome he was now made ruler. They heard no sooner of his coming, but as a sort of walps they sing out, and resulting from their former feined obedience, became open rebellies and traitors under James Fitzmorris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

*Sir John
Perot ap-
pointed to be
lord president
of Hounster.*

*The rebelling
of Hounster
against the
president.*

*The nature of
the Irishmen.*

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, extrenated, barbarous, and unfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and perverse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies unfaithfull, and true in that they be alwaies trecherous and untrue. They do nothing but imagin mischief, & have no delight in any good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the god, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of unrighteousnesse, and their tongues speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbrued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of righteousness they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie upon among them. Their queene and soveraigne they obeie not, and his government they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist his imperall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much about a yere past, that capteine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselves, craved pardon, and sware to be for ever true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them under, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the mice were at play; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they slipped out, and cast from themselves the obedience and dutifullnesse of true subjects. For such a perverse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebellous. Such is their stubbornnesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be bydoled; and such is the hardness of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with severitie, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection, but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much unlike to Spercure called quicke silver, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while untouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And even so dallie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For with the sword, and for beare correction, deale with them in courtelle, and intreat them gentlie, if they can take any advantage, they will surelie slip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the swine to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irishie and savage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are under their Abysian government, the lesse dutifull to their naturall sovereigne and prince. But concern-

*The nature of
quicke silver.*

P. J. ing

lug the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is daily done.

The generall
ment of Sir
John Perot.

His seruice
against the
rebells.

James Fitz-
morris taketh
for peace, and
submitte th
himselke.

The ciuill go-
uernement of
Sir John
Perot.

The quietnes
and safetie in
Mounster.

Sir John
Perots as-
sistants.

George Bur-
cher his
birth and
seruices.

Well, this worthy knight knowing that he should haue to doe with a sort of netles, whose nature is, that being handled gentle, they will sting; but being hard crushed together, they will doe no harme: euen so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did preuaile in the latter, before he had ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebells, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besieged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, vntill he had tired and wearied them out, and at length inforced James Fitzmorris and his complices to come vnto Killmallocke vnto him, and there simple to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disloyalties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though vntill his maiesties pleasure knowne he did forbear, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted by the fields from these thornes, he entred into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he trauelled and kept his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redresseth their græfes, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his castle into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white sticke onelie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew it to be true) and the white sheepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beastes laie continuallie in the fields, without anie stealing or pceing.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and settled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their maners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no gibes nor like vsages of the Irishie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptianall rolles vpon womens heads to be woene. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat græued, yet they yielded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Boucher esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of blond than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chualtrie and matters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in manie places doe make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the value and valiantnesse of his ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chualtrie, and especially to the seruice in the warres, wherein he proued

a verie good souldior, and an expert capteine, both as an horsman, and as a footeman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in pastures, and in streets whatsoeuer; and neuer leaue them, vntill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his daile seruice can witnes sufficientlie how much, and how often he preuailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whome he would encounter if he might by anie meanes.

Notwithstanding, as courageous and circumspect as he was, that he would not be lightlie intrapped in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parlee, and vpon a truce taken, he was invited to a supper: and little thinking that anie breach of the truce should be made, he went in to the castle, whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and handfasted, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welsh borne in Wiltshire, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was byright and iust, being not affected nor knowne to be corrupted for anie mans pleasure. In iudgement byright, in iustice seuer, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to anie; by which meanes he did marvellous much good in that seruice, and happy was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, Sir Henrie Sidneie had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and received his maiesties letters dated the thirtieth of December one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, & in the thirtieth yeare of his maiesties reigne, for the placing of Sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by tourneies came to the court. He was verie honozable received, and by his highnesse well commended, there being sundrie noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where his maiestie then late, who (as time conuenient serued) did recount vnto him the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which his maiestie liked verie well.

But this Sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares vntill he was reuoked, which was to some for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that extrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happy was that prouince, and happy were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most happy, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same maner. Which if it had bene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the decay of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

George Wilt-
cher taketh
prisoners.

George Welsh
a lawier, well
learned, and
byright.

1571
Sir William
Fitzwilliams
made
lord deputie.

The point
of Sir Will-
iam Fitzwill-
iams deputie
gouernment
in Ireland.
The com-
passe.

The fault
of expen-
se.

Laws
repealed.

Souldiers
kept
their dis-
cipline.

William
Fitzwilliams
warres
deputy.

William
Fitzwilliams
the bid-
ding
men.

Thomas
Baker.

may appere.

Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a speciall care and respect to his charge and office, disposed all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the counsell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, fanning Mounster, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he being a wise and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he drew with the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by euerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, imbraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Thirdlie, that his maiesties great and excellent charges to the consuming of his treasure might be hastened, and his reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to his sundrie commandements tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should vprightly minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteineth.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole counsell, and well liked of euerie good subject, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places began to plaie their pagents. The first was Brian Mac Kahir of Knocking in the countie of Caterlough Caenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Biotone of Malrenham, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages and spoiles, preyed the countrie, & burned sundrie towne. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being greiued with the death of Robert Biotone, who was his nephew, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Kahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Kahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage, that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and overthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about or about thirtie persons.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer bene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnlought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two

yeares after, Brian Mac Kahir made humble intes to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his foule disorders and outrages; and yet firme lic auouching that the quarrell did not begin by him no; by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did thenceforth live and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Caenagh, and the sonne of Charles, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the countie of Wexford & Caterlough. And this Brian Mac Kahir Mac Arthur was a younger sonne to Charles, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdom, and none of all the sept of the Caenaghs, though they were manie and ballant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Now he being assured of them, and also being assured by marriage vnto Helwen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the obitnes and of the Omroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great stead aswell in matters of counsell, as of anie seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfully he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace.

The Omroughs, notwithstanding the earle of Kildare was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without anie resistance or impediment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They invaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie towne and villages, and carried the preyes and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogether in actual rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their hearts were altogether imbued in blood and murther. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would undertake to bring in his sons, and to quiet the countrie.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the counsell enlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectually performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Oshonniers and the Omozes, accompanied with a rabble of like rebels, fell into open rebellion, spoiled the countrie, deuoured the people, and made all wast and desolate. Although Lenough in Ulster was readie to revolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fines and marches in Ulster, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set Odoneile in open warres against him. Mounster was likewise in open rebellion. But sir John Perrot then president so courted and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

Brian Mac Kahir his submission.

Brian Mac Kahir what he was.

The strength of Brian Mac Kahir.

Brian Mac Kahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

The Omroughs rebell.

All Connagh in actual rebellion.

The false dissembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The Oshonniers and the Omozes rebell.

The points of sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement. Religion. The common peace.

The taxing of expenses.

Lawes to be executed.

Souldiers to be kept in their discipline.

Brian Mac Kahir his warres in Wexford.

Brian Mac Kahir hath the victorie of the Wexford men.

Thomas Mafferson.

George Wexfordier taken prisoner.

George Wells a lawier, well learned, and vpright.

1571 Sir William Fitzwilliams made lord deputie.

George Wells a lawier, well learned, and vpright.

The distressed
mind of
the lord de-
putie.

The death of
doctor Weston
lord chancellor.

was betwene James Fitzmoris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so Harpelle pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor any followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue appalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancellor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currents of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of counsell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and incorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in prayers and exhortations.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the counsell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the counsell, persuaading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembryng their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be valiant, carefull, and studious to performe the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectuallic, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being seruent in his prayers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and christian like.

The earle of
Desmond
breaketh
prison.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would insue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause miffers to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if any occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatlie doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in Mounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt any disorder that waie.

The reuoca-
tion of the earle
of Ulster.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Essex, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole prouince of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was cashed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterprise dissolued. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed vpon any man in the gulfe of despair, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most grationlie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his renocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted, and immediatlie therevpon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice)

Sir William
Fitzwilliams

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Many good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for ever to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot be had, and the imprinter cannot staie his impression any longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of this honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidneie, who now the third time entered into the gouernment of this cursed land, and arrived at the Skirries the twelue of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispeted, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And even as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no sooner knowne to be entered into the land, but for a bien venen to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make preie of the towne, & so proudlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortye of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the preie was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the events and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand prevented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delates be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old sauing *Principijs obsta sero medicina paratur, &c.*) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priue counsell, as could in that quesse time be assembled, he took order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisdom, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, took his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the Ipetrie, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Kouts which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killultagh.

Now in all that iourneie few came to submit themselves, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Gwier, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife, and the being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie shortly after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simple & without any condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like suites as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vnto himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifullnesse, satisfaction,

discharged at
the deputie.

1575
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie the
third time.

The pestilence
great in the
English pale.

Serlo Boie
assaulteth
Knockfergus

The lord de-
putie maketh
a iourneie into
Ulster.

Tirlough
Lenough sub-
mitteth him
in all humilitie

The form
of the lord
deputie in
Leinster

Rorie
on the
the earle
Dunmore
vnto the
deputie
submitte
himselfe

The lord
deputie in-
ned ver-
in Kilk

Sir P
Carew
death.

Sir
Carew
Wolfe
buried
terfo
honour

Sir
Carew
life, I
condem-
his
Car

and reuerence, did in like maner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconell, and Mac Gwiler lord of Farmanaugh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them appertained to yeld, making request that they might onelie serue vnder hir highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

After that the lord deputie had performed this Iourneie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like Iourneies towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamlie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and queenes countiees were all spoiled & wasted by the Oconnors and the Omoors, the old native inhabitants of the same, and of them Kozie Dg had gotten the possession and the feeling of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. Deuenterlesse, vpon the word of the earle of Oymond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedrall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witness.

The lord deputie at his comming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best maner they could, and the earle of Oymond himselfe seased and intreated him most honourable, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want ante thing. At this towne the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceased, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentleman who had bene his agent in all his causes within that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceased knight, and of his countie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new recitall thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthy a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and counsellor. And then he toke order therein, shewing most honourable not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two yong gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corps was removed from Kosse where he died, and caried to Waterford against his comming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable maner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthy gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomerie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he married the ladie Elisabeth daughter to Roelins prince of Southwailes, by which marriage he was aduanced to honour, and made baron of the castle of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time toke their surnames, being called Carews. And some of them passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marqueses of Cork, barons of Wexford and Bernew, lords of Passon, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And

likewise in England they were men of great credit, seruice, and honour, and by waie of marriages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholerike, from his childhod vponwards bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he seruied vnder, and was page to the prince of Deneg beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had good knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and queene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his yonger yeares a great traveller, and had bene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vicenna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euerie of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular god gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed even from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie exiled man in the Marian daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countie, vpright in iustice, politike in gouernement, and ballant in armes, skillfull in the Italian and French tongues, and a great student in such booke as those tongues did yeld; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in anie matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, god to euerie man, hurtfull to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhoyring couetousnesse and vhoridome: a great housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if ante fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be some warlike, but without gall, and against his enemie most stout and ballant: finally such was his vpright dealing, honest conuersation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he bethought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted hir highnesse therewith; and obtained hir fauour and god will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recouerie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proofes of his title, as well by records as by evidences, that he recovered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Passon, of which he had bene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chiuers knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Wexford then in the possession of the Canenaughes, the ancient enemies of the English gouernment, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourablie used himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yielded vnto the lands, and submitted themselves to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioiced of him, and counted themselves happie and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first comming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gaue some peeces in free hold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue euerie of them what he had before, he toke it againe vnder writing by lease. He diuided the baronie into certaine

The Iourneie of the lord deputie in Leinster.

Kozie Dg vpon the word of the earle of Oymond came vnto the lord deputie, and submitted himselfe.

The lord deputie intereined verie well in Kilkennie.

Sir Peter Carew his death.

Sir Peter Carew died at Kosse, & was buried at Waterford verie honourablie.

Sir Peter Carew his life, birth and conditions. His descent. Baron of Carew.

1575 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie the third time.

The pestilence great in the English yale.

Serlio Bots as faulteth in Knockfergus

The lord deputie maketh a Iourneie into Wexford.

Enough submieth him in all humilitie

His stature.

His disposition.

His skill and seruice in the warres.

His trauels.

His religion.

His qualitties.

His learning.

His conditions.

His anger without measure.

His zeale.

His title to his lands in Ireland.

He recouereth some part of his lands in Ireland.

His good dealing with his tenants.

His houseke-
ping and hos-
pitalitie.

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betwene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he heare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not bene to fore knowne among them; and for which he was maruellouslie beloued, and his fame spred through out that land.

Readie pay-
ment for
all things.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboue or nere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for his hostes well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simple to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all needs. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staid and was intertained according to his calling, for his cellar dore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them intertinement, and bittelled them at his owne charges, and paid readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present payment he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning his maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for his highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves hapie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experiance: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

His seruice in
the Irish
warres.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Palbeie, and capteine Basnet, and Henrie Danels, and their bands, assaulted the castell, toke it, and gaue the price to the souldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole arme of sir Edmund Butler: which being about thre miles from the towne, gaue them the ouerthrow, and put all the Gallologladies and the rest to the sword, sauing the hostesmen and kernes which fled into the woods: and then meeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres vntill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to his maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Essex, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter
Carewes ser-
uice in Ulster.

His title to
his lands in
Downier.

The same and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdom, valiantnesse, experiance, bypighnes, housekeeping, bountifullnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

men. And certeine gentlemen in Downier, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Cozke) was their lawfull lord, and to whom they ought to yeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie truelie to instruat and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Cozke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselves, and yeld by their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his frends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made his highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained his letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Parret then lord president of Downier, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuaide them with all quietnesse to yeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the witer hereof to Cozke, there and before whom there came Mac Artie Riogh, Cozman Mac Toge, Barrie Og, the Omalions, the Dorsicots, the Dballies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, thre thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and cozne, as according to that proportion; and would also yrelie giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and good liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Cozke for him: the said sir Peter did set the house of Leighlin to his kinsman and consine Peter Carew, who afterward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stiffe to Cozke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Kosse, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honourable and in warlike manner at Waterford, the fiftenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degree appertained, there being then present sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, and the counsell. And thus much concerning that worthy knight sir Peter Carew.

The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Downe vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourable receiued at his entrie into the citie, by the maiors & his brethren, and an oration congratulatorye made vnto him in the Latine tong by a yong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of ioye and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And whiles he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the intertinement of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in god part; as also aduertised it to the lords of his maiesties honourable priue counsell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sitiracus one of the thre brethren, which came out of Nozwaie, called Casserlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuer of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Blandina, named in Irish Slough blomic:

The offer of
the gentlemen
to be his te-
nants.

A controu-
ersie betwene
the earle of
Bildare and
the waterfor-
dians.
The water-
fordians re-
fused to ac-
knowledge
Perkin to be
their king.
The water-
fordians in
saue with
the kings of
England.

The com-
mune of the
uer.

Larga porta.

The riuer
waterford

The death of
sir Peter
Carew 1575.

His buriall.

The recei-
uing of the
lord deputie at
waterford.

A controu-
ersie betwene
the water-
fordians and
the towne of
Kosse for
riuer of
Barrow.

A veridic-
ted in the
halle of
waterfor-
dians.

The pri-
ues of wa-
terford vpon
water.

The descrip-
tion of the ci-
tie of water-
ford.
The situa-
tion.

blome : and stæth by Thurles in Tipozarie, where of the earles of Dimond are vicounts : from thence to the Holie crosse, Ardmale, Cabir Dowleske, Ard-finan, Anisouagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pyle, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (upon occasion of warres) enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seventh and inclosed with a strong wall : when Lambert (named Berkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great controuersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Wiltshire. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his letters to the said maioz & his citizens, requiting them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other good cities had done : who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he threatened them that he would take their citie perforce and hang the maioz. Whereupon hot words grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne to hand fight : the Waterfordians offering to wage the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their truth at that time auailed them much afterwards, and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the seventh and king Henrie the eight, by whom their liberties and franchises were enlarged.

A controuersie betwene the earle of Wiltshire and the Waterfordians.

The Waterfordians refuse to acknowledge Berkin to be their king. The Waterfordians in fauour with the kings of England.

The commodities of the river.

Larga porta.

The river at Waterford.

A controuersie betwene the Waterfordians and the towne of Kille for the river of Barrow.

A verball passed in the behalf of the Waterfordians.

The priuileges of Waterford upon the water.

The description of the citie of Waterford.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hills and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good manurance and husbandrie : but what faileth in the land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities which the riuer yeeldeth, which is not onlie plentifull and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but also it is a goodlie haven and a receptacle for all sorts of ships : & for this it is called *Larga porta*, The great or large haven. The resort of merchants from out of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that yonaine. Great be the priuileges which the kings of England gaue to the maioz & citizens, as well concerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the mouth of the seas, betwene Windowan where Hoke tower standeth upon the east side, and Rodibanke upon the west side, and from thence vnto Caricke upon Suire : and so farre beyond, as the said riuer ebbeth and floweth that waite : & from the said mouth vnto the Inostage upon the riuer of Dore, and so far as the same water ebbeth and floweth; and likewise from the said mouth, vnto saint Polins upon the riuer of Barrow; and so farre beyond the same, as the water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great controuersies haue bene betwene this citie and the towne of Kille, which lieth upon the riuer of Barrow, concerning the bounds and limits that waite, because they of Kille doe claime a priuilege upon that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod earle marshall : who married Isabell the eldest daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in his right was lord of Kille and of the riuer of the Barrow.

Whereupon certeine inquisitions were taken in the time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard the second : and then at Clomnell upon the othes of six knights and eightene esquires, it was found for the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of the port or haven of Waterford; within the which bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue these priuileges : That no ship shall be laden nor vnladen, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to paie all such customes and duties as belong and are due for their merchandise : Also that they haue the passage wines and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie, within the limits of the said riuer.

The citie it selfe was first incorporated by king Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with augmentations. The maioz hath the sword borne before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth, and king Henrie the seventh, by the name of the sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all manner of pleas as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iustices of oier and determiner, & maie sit upon triall of treasons, murders, and felonies, without anie speciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenes of England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the citie and liberties, but onelie the maioz & officers of the same. Also they haue a maioz and officers of the staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not onelie within their owne towne & concerning themselves, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Wiltshire, Wiltford, and Tipozarie. Also they haue libertie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie a waite coyne, vittels, wool, hoxles, & hawks; and to licence anie other within the limits of their iurisdiction to doe the like. Also all forfeitures, amerçaments, fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of their charters should be expounded to the best sence, and if then there were anie further doubt, the same should be determined and decided by the king or his counsell in the realme of England. Also that they should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of his sonnes were present in person.

These and manie other like priuileges of the kings of England from time to time, of their bounteous liberalitie, and in consideration of their dutifull and good seruices, did giue and bestow upon them. All which, you the inhabitants of Waterford, the offspring of so good ancestors, ought to be lessons and presidents vnto you, for your continuance in the like offices and duties : that you maie thereby shew your selues to be as were your predecessors, faithfull, loiall, and obedient : and that your apophthegme maie be for ever found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. Whereby you neuer so much of your worthinesse, & glorie neuer so much of your values (as the Jewes did of their father Abraham) yet it shall so little auaille you, that their honour shall be your reproch, and their glorie your shame, if you doe not also the like; and in the end your bitter confusion. For as the holie scripture saith : If you be the children of light, then as children walke you in the light; otherwise that light which is in you shall be darkened. If you be the children of Abraham, then doe you the workes of Abraham : otherwise God, who is able and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to Abraham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar people, the Jewes, whom for their disobedience against himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did after sundrie punishments and no amendment giue them ouer vnto their enimies hands : who put their young men to the sword, & their priests to slaughter, their virgins were defiled, their widows defiled, their citie utterlie destroyed, and not one stone left vpon an other; and all the people which escaped the sword, carried a waite captiues, & made bagabonds, euen to this daie upon the face of the earth. If he did this to his owne peculiar people, doe not you of Waterford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke that

The incorporation of the citie. The priuileges of the citie of Waterford. The sword of iustice.

An admonition vnto the citizens of Waterford.

Waterfordia semper manet intacta.

In exhortati-
on to the citi-
zens of Wa-
terford.

The princes
prerogative.

The earle of
Desmond
humble offer-
eth his ser-
vice to the
lord deputie.
The lord de-
putie receiued
honorable in-
to Corke.

All the noble-
men in Moun-
ster repaire to
the lord depu-
tie.

Executions
at Corke.

Euerie noble
man and gen-
tleman to an-
swer for his
men.

The lord de-
putie honora-
ble receiued
at Limerike.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements. Wherefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your selues in all dutifullnes & obedience to God and to your prince. Examine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your priuileges with his authoritie, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your priuileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugn the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods owne ordinances, when he first created and establi- shed a king, who gaue him so high and so absolute au- thoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humblenesse obied: because he is Gods minister especiallie when it concerneth the interest of his ma- iesties imperfall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the deliuerie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And do not you thinke that this digression is im- pertinent to the historie. For as your ancestors good doings are set downe to their praises and commen- dations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your re- proch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had giuen thanks to the maior and his brethren for his good intertainment, he departed thence by iournies towards Corke, and by the waie at Dungarvon the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and verie humble offered him all the seruice he was able to do to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thence vnto the citie of Corke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humblenesse, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifullnesse as they could giue, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldiers. To this towne resorted vnto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancar, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Mounster, and their wiues, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, mur- ders, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that pro- vince; whereupon daile sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which thre and twentie verie nota- ble and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarms and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that euerie noble- man and gentleman should giue and deliuer in the names of euerie seruant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found vnboked and not re- gistred, that he should be vsed as a felon where so ever he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gaue their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all ioy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gaue in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in good and quiet order, he toke his iour- nie towards Limerike, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in any place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and toke the like order for registring of euerie noble and gen- tlemans follower, as he had done at Corke. Which

when he had done, he rode thence vnto Thomond, where he was complained vnto of manie great murders, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, in error he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed thoroughlie to do iustice and iudge- ment therein, he referred the same to certeine com- missioners appointed for the purpose: sauing that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, 10 vntill further order were taken for them.

From thence he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decayed and almost desolated, sundrie of the good householders hauing sought new habitati- ons vnder Mac William Cughter, and the countie thorough out altogether spoiled and denoured by the Mac an Charles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopeles) sonnes of the earle of Clancar- card, whose outrages were most heinous and horri- ble. But when these gracesles impes persecuted of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequele if some waie were not ta- ken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a sundaie at the publick seruice, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knees confessed their faultes, submitted themselves, and most lamentable cra- ued pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt moze from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moured herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of his maiesties counsell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he toke his iourne towards Du- blin, where he came the thirteenth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countie, and placed his garrisons in places con- uenient.

In this his iourne he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill government were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the pa- rish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no seruice said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeared, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbezelled. A lamentable case, for a more deformed and a more overthrotene church there could not be among christians. The de- putie considering and beshinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in those some wrath and indignation for this de- filing of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestlie praised his princelie 60 authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humble requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancelor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likewise with all speed be sent over. When his maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a red- dresse was taken forthwith: and the matters con- cerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to arch- bishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the government one William Gerard esquier a professor of the lawes was sent to be lord chancelor, & sir William Dru- rie to be president of Mounster, which arrived at Dublin,

Thomond is
cleanse out of
order.

The towne of
Gallewaie in
great decay.

The earle of
Clancard
sonnes sub-
mit them-
selues.

1576

The ruine of
the ecclesiast-
icall state.

Manie in Ire-
land not
christened.

The spoile of
the churchs.

An order for
the reformati-
on of reli-
gion.

William Ge-
rard to be lord
chancelor.
Sir William
Druarie to be
lord president.

1576

The earle of
Clancard
sonnes by
outrage ex-
trillion.

The earle
consented to
his sonnes
disobedience.

Therrie
spoiled.

Selfe wil-
lause of
rebellion

Punish-
ment of the
maketh
quiet co-
wealth.

1576

Dublin, the one the twentieth of June, and the other the thirte and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his roome. And then his lordship prepareth to take a tourne towards Waterford, to doe the like with sir William Dzurie. But when he was passed a daies tourne, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Deth, who laie then upon the confines of Deth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the maior of Galleswaie, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crying out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that baserlie had, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firmitie protested and swoorne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

The earle of Clanricard's sonnes by this out into rebellion.

The earle consented to his sonnes disloyaltie.

Shennon spoiled.

Shennon will cause of the rebellion.

Punishment of the wicked maketh a quiet commonwealth.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stolen ouer the riuer of Shennon, and there cast awaie their English apparell, and clothed themselves in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come awaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasses, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat awaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. Bad and wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than euer they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth unto the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other seven wicked spirits, and entred and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these bascardie boies, and of their fier, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie resolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing borne so countenance, so gently entertained, so friendly countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pitifully persuaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surely nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For bascardie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the good tree onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, & which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman be so neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a pearre vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie pearre; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clesed from thornes, brambles & briers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrat into the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the good are preferred and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallowses) according to their deserts are punished.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the discorde of that one marreth and disgraceth

all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subject is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be unpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden overgrown with weeds) in perill and danger to be overthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murderer, a traitor, & such malefactors doe neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallowses, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended tourne, and returneth to Dublin, bring such expedition, that within three daies following he was entered into Connagh. The brute thereof when it was blowne abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they afraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mountains, saving certeine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castles were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and crauing of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thence to Galleswaie, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the towne men, who stood much dismayed of their estate, and in feare to be surprised and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limericke, where he settled sir William Dzurie (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so brightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and manners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the evil men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subjects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, untill he had either taken him, or driven him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betwene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their manners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did marvellouslie refoyme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, saving the countie palatine in Kerie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the most

The lord deputie altereth his course, and entred into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Dzurie placed to be lord president in Munster.

The gouernment of sir William Dzurie.

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palatine.

Thomond is cleane out of order.

The towne of Galleswaie in great decay.

The earle of Clanricard's sonnes submit themselves.

1576

The ruine of the ecclesiastical state.

Wente in Ireland not chastened.

The spoile of the churches.

In order for the reformation of religion.

William Gerard to be lord chancellor. Sir William Dzurie to be lord president.

The countie palatine a sanctuary of sinne and wickednesse.

The lord president purposed to do justice in Kerrie.

The lord president entresth into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrapied the lord president.

The lord president giueth the charge vpon the earle of Desmond.

most loose and dissolute life there vsed, and that it was a sanctuary for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a sholow for all licentiousnesse: he purposed and was fully determined to make a iourneie into that priuiledged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, euen as he had tofore done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed shepe, nor god for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The erle, when he perceiued this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and vsed all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compass, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could do to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waite; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblinglie and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of sixe score, or seven score persons: and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euerie mans complaint: and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his clowes, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretlie; had appointed in a readinesse seven hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intrapied his lordship; and in fied of a bien venu into the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer committing more there. Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and understood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonour to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie together, and with verie good and pithe words incourageeth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwarde, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seuen to one of the other: yet being as it were affronted at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land: both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselves into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorow and heavinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigaell went and met the lord president, fell vpon his knees, held by his hands, and with trilling teares praised his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could hir husbands follie, saying that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be perswaded to make anie state: and so praised his lordship to take it. And herein she so wiselie and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporised with the earle. But he followed his determination, and vsed his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palatine of Kerrie. This grieved the earle to the hart, who hauing no

ther waie to be reuenged, he deuised certein articles against the president, which he with great exclames exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Cork, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Earle Charles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actiual rebellion. Wherevpon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were by in campe and in outrageous maner spoiling the countries. But before his coming they had besieged Ballie Kioogh which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thence, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capteine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselves of sufficient strength to reconquer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not preuaile; but the garrison within did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and due at sundrie times fir of their principall capteins, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not preuaile, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especiallie vpon Earle William Eughter, from whome they took sundrie of his castles, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slackening nor slowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who slipped to and fro in such sort, that in no case could he find them at any aduantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursue to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not make with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet manie times he met with some of them, due them, hanged and executed them, took their prizes from them, and gained a waie their holds and castles. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Earle William Eughters countrie: and therevpon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship resorted the said Earle William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recovered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castles, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselves, and the most of them, being werie of their abode and intertainment, fled into the rout in Ulster. The residue like vnto the bare armed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the galls of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iourties returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before receiued hir maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Malbie hir seruant, whome he commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the encouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; hir pleasure was to commit vnto him the chiefe charge and gouernment

The earle came plaineth against the lord president.

The Earle Charles in Connagh rise in rebellion.

The earls sons lay siege Ballie Kioogh.

Earle William Eughter his countrie spoiled.

The lord deputie followeth the rebels.

The Scots incamped in Connagh.

Earle William Eughter cometh with all the force he could make vnto the lord deputie.

The Scots forsake Connagh and returne home.

Sir Nicholas Malbie appointed gouernor of Connagh.

The de the earl Eler.

Dysen

The su opinion his deat poison witch

Sorrow grie

Poppy against forow mind.

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The case came
plainly a-
gainst the lord
president.

The Mac
an Earle in
Connagh rise
in rebellion.

The earle
sings to be
singe toadie
Kilogh.

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eth the rebels.

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The lord de-
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uernement vnder the said deputie in Connagh, and
willed that he should be forthwith established in that
office, & to be sworne one of his priue counsell, & to
haue that countenance, authoritie, & interteinement
as was meet, conuenient & agreeable for the place, of-
fice, & person. Which the said deputie most willinglie
& gladlie perfozmed, dubbed him knight, and made
him gouerno: by the name of a cozonell of Con-
nagh: thinking himselfe most happie, that he was
assisted with such a man, as who for his experience
in iudgement, his discretion in gouernement, and
his painefulnesse and skill in martiall seruice was
sufficient and compleat; and best able, partlie by
force, partlie by perswasion, and chieslie by mini-
string of iustice, was (as I saie) best able, and would
frame the rude and barbarous people of that pro-
uince to ciuilitie and good order. And thus much he
aduertised vnto his maiestie by his letters, with
thanks for his choise of so meete and apt a man.
During the time of this seruice and being of the
lord deputie in Connagh, the earle of Ulster, a man
of great nobilitie and parentage died in Dublin.
Great doubts were made of his death; some thin-
king that he should be poisoned, because he was
then in the best time of his age, of a verie good con-
stitution of bodie, and not knowne to haue bene
sicke anie time before his death. But the matter
examined by all the meanes that could be deuised,
there was no such thing then found: but supposed,
that for so much as he had a flux, which was a spise
of a *Dysenteria*, and wherewith he had bene often-
times before troubled, by the inspection and iudge-
ment of such physicians & others who were present,
it was iudged and found that it was some cause of
his death. Some thought rather that he should be be-
witched, as that countrie is much giuen to such dae-
lie practises. But how far is that from all christi-
anitie, all wise and godlie do know, and euerie good
christian should vnderstand. It is against the word
of the Lord and all christian religion; and therefore
not to be credited. It was thought and so affirmed
by the most part of all men, that some inward griefe
of the mind and secret sorow of the hart had haste-
ned that, which no infirmities of the bodie nor anie o-
ther deuises extraordinarie could compasse. For
where that maladie is once entered, and hath seized
and taken possession, and which by no physicke can be
relieved or cured: it is but in vaine to minister
the same to the bodie, which can not indure when the o-
ther faileth, no more than can an accident remaine,
when the substance is gone; or else as the imbers or
ashes giue heat, when the wood is burned and consu-
med.

He was no more honorable of birth and paren-
tage by his ancestozs, of whome some descended out
of kings loines; but as singular a man for all the
gifts both of mind and bodie, as that age had not
manie better. Towards God he was most deuout
and religious, whome he serued according to his ho-
lie word in all truth and sinceritie, and his whole
life according to his vocation he framed after the
same; being not spotted with drunkennesse, coue-
tousnesse, whoredome, incontinencie, or anie other
notorious crime: a great fauourer of the godlie, a
friend to the possessors of the gospell, & an extreme
enemie to the papists & enemies of the true religion:
to his prince & soveraigne most dutifull and humble,
faithfull & obedient: his superiours he honored, his el-
ders he reuerenced, his equals he loved, his inferiours
he fauored: to his countrie trustie, to the common-
wealth zealous, to all men courteous, and to the
poore and oppressed bounteous and liberall.

In matters of policie he was verie prudent, and
of a great reach; in causes of counsell sound, and of a

deepe iudgement: in martiall affaires most valiant
and of great courage, and of so heroicall a mind, that
if his abilitie had answered his good will, he had not
bin a second, neither to Lacie, nor to Courcie, nor to
anie the first conquerors of Ulster to the crowne of
England. For such a plot he had laid for the regain-
ing thereof, that it could not be denied, but if the same
had bene followed, great good would haue ensued in
procelle of time to his maiestie, in obedience and re-
uenues, and a great succitie to that estate, and the like
increase of benefit to the whole commonwealth. The
more noble were his god and worthy attempts, the
more he was crossed and contraried: but by such se-
cret meanes, as which he did rather for the most part
conjecture amisse, than hit aright: but yet such was
the great valour of his mind, and the magnanimitie
of his stomach, that his good meanings & attempts,
for the honor of his prince, and the benefit of the com-
monwealth, being so contraried and ouerthwarted,
he whome no trauels, no paines, no seruice, no hard-
nesse could breake; the verie griefe of mind and sor-
row of heart (as it was thought) did onelie consume
and ouerthrow. He was also verie learned, and of
great reading, and sometimes a scholer in the uni-
uersitie, and had verie good knowledge in all kind of
letters, as well theologicall as humane, and of a ve-
rie quicke wit to conceiue, of a good capacitie to vn-
derstand, and of a readie tong to utter and deliuer in
a verie good order what he had conceived; and so well
he would discourse and argue anie matter, as few
scholers better, and not manie so skillfull in anie one,
as he was generallie in all good vertues. A more
noble man euerie waie, not England, nor anie other
nation hath lightlie afforded. And certeinlie, if it
had pleased God that Lachesis had bene idle, or had
spun a longer thread, that he might haue liued to
haue bene imployed according to his excellent ver-
tues, either in matters of counsell, of policie, or mar-
tiall, no doubt he would haue proued a most worthy
and beneficall member vnto his maiestie, and his
whole commonwealth. As his life was, so also was
his death most godlie, comfortable, and vertuous, the
one answerable to the other, euen as *S. Augustine*
writeth; Vix male moritur qui bene vixit. In all the
time of his sickness, which was about twentie or one
and twentie daies, although he were manie times
tormented with grieuous pangs in the bellie: yet
was he neuer heard to grudge or murmur, nor to
speake anie angrie or idle word, but most patientlie
and meekelie toke all things in good part. After he
perceined that nature began to faile and defect, he
yelded himselfe to die, and was verie desirous that
his friends and wellwillers should haue access vnto
him, and to abide by him at their pleasure. And by
that meanes he had continuallie about him diuerse
men of all degrees, as well of the clergie, as of the
laitie, both men and women, gentlemen & seruants,
before whom he did shew most apparant arguments
of a goodlie and vnfeined repentance of his life past,
and of a most christian and perfect charitie with all
the world, frellie forgiuing euerie offense done vnto
him, and asking the like of all others. His faith he o-
penlie confessed, and witnessed a most vndoubted as-
surance of his saluation in Christ Iesus, purchased
for him in his blood and death: and manie times he
would with a lowd voice saie; *Cupio dissolui & esse cum*
Christo. He spent most part of the time, when the ex-
tremities of his sickness did not let him, in praiers,
and in hearing the word read vnto him, and would
use such godlie admonitions, such pithie perswasions,
& so graue instructions, as he neuer did, nor thought
he could do in all his life time: for he neuer seemed
in all his daies to be halfe so wise, learned, and elo-
quent. The nearer that death drew, the more fervent
he

A plot for the
regainning of
Ulster.

The earle of
Ulster contra-
ried in all his
attempts.

The earle be-
rie well lear-
ned.

A godlie life
hath a godlie
end.

His patience
in his sickness

His repen-
tance and cha-
ritie.

He confesseth
his faith.

His praiering
and hearing
the word.

The death of
the earle of
Ulster.

Dysenteria.

The sundrie
opinions of
his death.
Poisoning.
witchcraft.

Sorrow and
griefe of mind.

No physicke
against the
sorrow of the
mind.

The vertues
of the earle of
Ulster.

The Scots
incamped in
Connagh.

The Scots
incamped in
Connagh.

The Scots
for sake Con-
nagh and re-
turne home.

Sir Nicho-
las Malbie
appointed go-
uernor of Co-
nagh.

he was in prier, and requested all his companie to do the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Iesus. And when his tong gaue ouer to speake anie moze, he lifted vp his hands & eyes to the Lord his God, untill most swættie, mildie, and godlie he did yeld vp his ghost, which manie times before he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man upon the two and twentieth date of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his freinds, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaue of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndoubted faith, doth assure vs of his everlasting iote, and eternall felicitie.

See moze of this earle of Essex in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

This letters to the lord deputie.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

About these daies before his death, he wrote his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good freinds ships past betwene them, and wished that the god and faithfull dealings betwene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a spectall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his freinds, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his burfall, and herewith he sent into his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memorfall of the loue and goodwill past betwene them. And now leauing this honorable earle in his heauenlie iote and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrenated nation.

The disagreements betwene the earles of Desmond and Thomond.

The psonice of Spounser was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betwene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which upon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeye, untill *Volens nolens* he were pressed thereunto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie willfull man, notwithstanding he had at Corke yielded himselfe (of his owne free consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withhelden from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie cels; and wrote his letters to the lords of his maiesties priue councill in England, complaining much, and pmooning nothing, and aggranating the taking of the cels, with most manifest vntruths. And so far he was carried in mistaking the gouernment, because he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forlorne sonnes of the earle of Clancard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue joined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Spounser, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which caried the moze likelihood, because his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue matched himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Dwackes wife, & of late forsaken by him. Neuer thelesse, the erle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espie out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and upon their houses if they started out neuer so little, that he kept

The earle of Desmond repineth against all good orders, and complaineth against the cels.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir J. Desmond putteth away his wife and marrieth another mans wife.

himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which before he denied, being verie notorious malefactors and practisers of vnquietnesse.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward thew moze quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whose least suspicion of anie euill was thought, they begin verie inconsideratlie to repine against the cels: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue mainteined it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselves, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowledge, and experience, when he considered the sickle state of that wauering and rebellious nation of the Irishie, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworn, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to his maiestie: yet vpon euerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would sling out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appealing thereof, and the preservation of his god subiects, his highnesse was driuen to enlarge his garrisons, and to increase his armie to his excessive charges, and all which companies were bittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributoze to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the moze græued, & the greater burdened, to their impouering, & the hinderance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a thorough search to be made in his highnesse court of the exchequer in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofoze bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoeuer: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were blarped, or by statute repealed.

The gentleman in the pale begin to repine against the cels.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the cels.

The records searched for liberties.

Whereupon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be bozne moze vniuersallie, and so moze indifferencie; and for the better furtherance of his highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and freedoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are græued, and therefore doe repine against cels; and with open mouths crie out, that they were so poze that they could not beare anie cels, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what cels is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogative of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horste, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the quæns price, to all and euerie such souldiours as he is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be percelle rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiours may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his intertainment.

Liberties dissolved by proclamation.

what cels is!

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselves græued, because they should also now beare a portzion, and

lord deputie counsell to be discharged of the cels.

The prerogative of prince by law of God.

lord deputie & council to be discharged of the celsse.

be contributaries: first they draw their heads togither, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and counsell, which was receiued verie willinglie, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there griefes, & not to charge the quene. Whereupon at a time appointed they all met, and came in persons before the deputie and counsell, where the said malecontents first opened their griefes, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to yeld to an unreasonable celsse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them at full, they appointed a date, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered of the matter, and resolued themselves vpon an answer. And when the date came and they appeared, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancelor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in his highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the celsse, the burden wherof they had alleged to be unreasonable and not to be borne, because they said & aouched that it was ten pounds & twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but five markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in deniall of the paying of the celsse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie his maiesties prerogative which may not be impeached; but also to be proued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of celsse by the deputie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent for and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. Neuertheless, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yeld to anie celsse, saying and alleging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore praised that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint his highnesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them to go. Whereupon they assembled themselves togither againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawyers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to conioine themselves to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselves, for the charge of the said lawyers, namely Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Peteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with Littletons tenures, thought themselves so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becommeth dutifull subjects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it written there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogative, that all inferiours and subjects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselves vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: because so is it the will of God, without sitting of his

authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God, & they are ordeined of God; wherefore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherefore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all manner of ordinances, being not against God, not onlie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in matters being well considered, & which doe concerne their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogative with their Littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for them, & more to their commendations, if they had (as the scholers of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better studied in their owne lawes: and then they should haue found it written that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes doe attribute vnto him all honor, dignitie, prerogative, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogative doth not onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subiects. And the lawyers themselves doe so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefit of holie church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *salua in omnibus regis prerogatiua*; and that nothing shall be intended to be preiudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some pelting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these great lawyers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted; & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Whereupon they made by their supplication and letters to his maiestie, with the like letters to his honorable priuie counsell, dated the tenth of Ienuarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount of Balinglas, Ed. of Deluin, Christopher of Hoth, Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellew, and Patrike Paugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Thomas Pugeat, sir Christopher Chincers, and sir William Searesfield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Paugle, Patrike Husseie, George Plunket, Francis Pugeat, Laurence Pugeat, Nicholas Caste, James Pugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expenses as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they pass ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time convenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to his maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which in effect consisted in these points.

First, that where there was a celsse imposed by the lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for his maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves grieved therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redresse, and could not be heard.

The kings prerogative by the lawes of the realme.

The impeled gentlemen send into England their agents to complain.

The effect of the letters & complaints exhibited to his maiestie and counsell.

2 Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed vpon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vlags of that realme.

3 Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grieuous burden, there being exacted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

4 Fourthlie, that in the leuieng and exacting, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter is referred to the council.

When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, the forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priue counsell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselves, and hauing read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse thereof, did by hir highnesse commandement call before them the earles of Rildare and Dymond, the viscount of Gormanshone, and the baron of Dunsanie, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the manner of these mens proceedings both here and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder coloz to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogative, which hir maiestie & predecessors haue alwaies inioied, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preserved.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be forie, and to mislike of their vnadvised proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subiect, who would denie or impugn the same: although they wished and did praye, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarcitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the counsell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered by their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the dowings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers of the council to the articles of the complainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogative, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecessors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vnlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extremities could or might in anie wise be tolerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and counsell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redresse thereof

to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vnadvisable to be handled by hir subiects, commanded by the aduise of hir counsell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the flæet, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and counsell, finding hir selfe grieved with the said hir subiects of the pale, that the relieving of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed therevnto, in prejudice of hir prerogative, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therefore he did not onelie mislike, & was greatly offended with these their presumptuous and vnadvisable manner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir counsell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogative in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bene remedied. And therefore as hir highnesse had alreadye given order for committing them to the flæet, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their insubing and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogative and rofall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auow the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogative, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auowing to be likewise committed.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the manner of the leuieng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all severitie. And herewith also he was contented, and had given order for some qualification to be yielded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought meet: considering the scarcitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselves simplie, and vnder their handwritings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbear (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogative, to be displayed and discharged out of hir sê, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringleaders, and procurors of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedom from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogative, and affirming boldlie in plaine speeches and without anie sicking, that no cesse

Hir maiestie offended with the complainers.

The agents of the complainers sent to the flæet.

Hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and counsell for suffering the complainers unpunished.

The malcontents are all committed to prison.

The agents for their forwardnesse sent to the Tower.

The lord chancellor of Ireland sent into England.

The agents submit themselves.

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to ward.

The complainers acknowledging their faults to be gentlie bled.

The lawyers of hir maiesties for maintaining the complaints, to be displayed.

The malcontents & their abettors sent for.

The proud answers of the malcontents.

The false accusations made against the lord deputie.

celle could be imposed but by parlement or a grand counsell; and whatsoeuer was otherwise set downe, was against the law: and so stubbornlie they were bent therein, that they would not yeld to anie conference: whereupon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better aduised themselves) yelded a submission and praied mercie.

Which doings when the lord deputie and counsell had forthwith aduertised to hir highnesse & the counsell in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and disloyall parts of these impaled malecontents, sent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie forward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were removed from the Fleet to the Tower: a place appointed for the offenders in capitall causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogatiue) as be supposed to offend in the nextest degree to the highest. These things when they were notified vnto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouslie grieved; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, untill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuincid, and condemned: for which the lord chancelor of verie purpose was sent ouer into England, who so fullie, effectuallie, and discretly did resoluue hir maiestie and counsell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

Now in the end they considered better of themselves, and sent their humble submission in writing vnder their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, confessing that they had disloyallie and insolentlie, both in wordes and writings offended most greuouslie; professing yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogatiue, to vse the same as occasion should serue, but onelie to redresse certeine abuses; and therefore most humbly praied they might find some mercie, and that the hard and painfull imprisonment which they had sustained, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Whereupon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within five daies they should depart homewardes into Ireland; and after their transportation & arrivall thither, should make their immediat repaire, without staie or lingering, to the lord deputie and counsell, and there to giue their attendance, untill by them they should be licensed to depart. At their coming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humbly in like order submitted themselves to the lord deputie and counsell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the counsell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and counsell in Ireland) the same was after long trauesse ended and determined. But herre to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecontents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subiects from loiall obedience, that he had farmed all the whole reine, that he had wasted hir maiesties treasures and revenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subiects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the course of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imbolde-ning of manie which offended the more.

These and manie such other like vntruths they spread. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their ouerthrow was his credit, and his ppearance was to their reproch

and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward griefes, which for a time by the meanes of their false suggestions he sustained, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great ioy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of this their resistance, and repining against the cels, which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtfull state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond forwardly kicked at the like, and all the lords in Mounster had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale, to paie anie cels; when James Fitzmozis being furnished with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was daillie looked for to come and invade the land; and when the great ones hauing hollow hearts, and addicted to papistrice, did daillie gape and expect for the same; when the disloyall Irishie in Mounster and Connaugh were combined and ioined in these conspiracies; when Rozie Og, Mmore, Connoz Mac Cozmacke, Mconnoz & others, animated by the foresaid conspiracies, were by in open rebellion, and bled most execrable outrages; when some of the best townes in Leinster did aid, comfort, and mainteine these rebels, and besides manie other circumstances concurring herewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better bearing? And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect. For the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arrivall into this land, it hath not bene lightlie knowite that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; sauing as now in respect to saue their purses, rather than meaning anie breach of dutie, had ouer shot themselves: which vpon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their submission were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promise that they would neuer themselves offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the trauesse about the cels, manie things happened in the land worthe to be reprehended (as great and sundrie were the aduertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imployed) of an intention of James Fitzmozis to invade Ireland, who had bene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thence with a good masse of treasure, making his retourne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified vnto the cheefest of all Mounster his secret confederats, and they being papists both in bodie & soule, desirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne superstition, did daillie languish and expect his coming. Wherefore hir maiestie and counsell, hauing the like intelligences, did also prepare monie, munitions, vittels, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

Rozie Og, Mmore, and Connoz Mac Cozmacke, Mconnoz, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began aneiu to gather their friends and confederats out of seuerall places, to the number of a hundred swordes, which with his owne made aboute seauin score; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens D. g. baggards,

Hir maiestie offended with the complaints.

The agents of the complainers sent to the Fleet.

Hir maiestie offended with the lord deputie and counsell for suffering the complainers unpunished.

The malecontents are all committed to prison.

The agents for their forwardnesse sent to the Tower.

The lord chancelor of Ireland sent into England.

The agents submit themselves.

The complainers which subscribed to be sent and committed to sword.

The agents were released vpon their bonds to appear before the lord deputie and counsell.

The complainers acknowledge their faults to be gentle bled.

The lawyers of hir maiesties for maintaining the complaints, to be displaced.

The false accusations made against the lord deputie.

The malecontents & their abettors sent for.

The proud answers of the malecontents.

The fidelitie of the English pale to the crowne.

The burning
of the Haas
by Rozie Dg.

haggards, poze mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he took such encouragement of his successe, that leaving poze villages, he went to great towns, as to the Haas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same date that he came thither at night, was the patrone daie of the said towne, commonly called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much unlike the festiual daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Venus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkenness, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, having forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put any watch to ward them. Which thing Rozie Dg when he knew, and having intelligence that euerie man was in his bed asleep, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flannes of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead slees, suddenly awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogether unfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he taried verie little in the towne, saying that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuinely an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he preyed and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him, he came verie shortly vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

Rozie Dg
burneth the
towne at
Leighlin
bridge.

George Carew
with
two hundred
persons against
240 scottish
vpon them &
druneth them
to flie.

The castell
in danger to
be taken.

But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, having then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart vnslought withall: he issued out vpon him, having with him onelie seven horsemen and five foot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and forty, with such a courage and valiantnesse (and they assented because it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flie. But at last when they perceived his force to be but small, and too weak to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell; where if he and his small companie had not like valiant and good souldiers acquitted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driven out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost sixtē men, and one of their chiefe captaines named Piers Poynagh, who died verie shortly after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this intertainment, presently retired and departed, by

which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saved. After their returne from hence, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines a borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie eagerly followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so maintained, and his watch and spall was so good, that partlie by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partlie by meanes of the water bogs and fastnesse in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursute made vpon him, it happened that a parlee was appointed betwene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Rozie Dg swore and promised most faithfullie to yield himselfe to some consoimtie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtill promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Rozie took aduantage, and perforce took him and Alexander Colbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted together, and carried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorrow and greife was conceived of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and daily practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Rozie: for he knowing where the said Rozie was wont to hunt, and by good espials learning where his coach and cabine was, he being accompanied with Barker lieutenant to capteine Furse and sixtie of his band, earlie in the morning, about two houres before date, he went and marched to the verie place where Rozie late, and beset the same. Rozie hearing an vnwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddenly vpon Harington and Colbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and getting in the darke to the place where they lay, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doore of the cabin, he took as manie as were within prisoners: but Rozie himselfe and one other priuile in the darke stole away and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saved capteine Harington and Colbie.

Rozie Dg albeit he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great griefe for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuile with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earlie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of cozne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue hundred which he had in a readinesse, and at a ford not far off he ouertooke them, and killed sixtē or seventē of his best men, and Rozie himselfe escaped verie narrowly; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intrapped and taken by a deuise of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of June 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunningly framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrick lord of Upper Osserie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secrecie, that Rozie Dg had bene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other household stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would adventure

The enimie
is driven to
retire and flie
away.

Rozie Dg by
sight and de-
ceipt taketh
capteine Ha-
rington pri-
soner.

A draught
made vpon
Rozie Dg by
Harepole.

Capteine Ha-
rington is
hurt.

Rozie Dg
escapeth.

Capteine Ha-
rington is
deliuered.

Rozie Dg
burneth Ca-
therlough.

1578

A bait laid for
the lord of Up-
per Osserie.

The crime
is byuen to
retire and flee
away.

Korie Dg by
slight and de-
ceit taketh
capitaine Har-
rington pris-
oner.

Dzwarke
made byon
Korie Dg by
Harcrope.

Capitaine Har-
rington is
hurt.

Korie Dg
escapeth.

Capitaine Har-
rington is
delivered.

Korie Dg
burneth Ca-
therlough.

1578

A batt laid for
the lord of by-
per Dierie.

Korie Dg is
daine.

The lord de-
putie maketh
a iourne byo
Korie Dg.

The earle of
Desmond sent
for to come to
the lord depu-
tie to Kilkenn-
ie.

The earle of
Desmond and
the lord pres-
ident of Houn-
ster are recon-
ciled.

The earle of
Desmond dis-
poureth to

ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Korie himselfe and all his compa-
nie, which as he said (but vnturlic) that they were but
few in number. The lord of byper Dierie, neither
belieuing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet
forecassing the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse
to follow the occasion that was offered; and taking
with him a good companie of horsemen and foot-
men, went towards the place where the batt was
laied; and being come nere vnto it made staie, or
else he had bene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his
men into the woods to serch for Korie. But the baron
himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and foot
staied in the plaines, to attend the issue of the mat-
ter. The companie were no sooner entered into the
woods, but Korie the rebell shewed himselfe with a
thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was
of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so
great, and of such value among the Irishie, that no
man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw
his presence. But he was deceived. For at the first
sight and view of him, the lord of Dieries Kerne
gaue the charge vpon him, and at their encounter
one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword
presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was
no sooner done, but two or thre hacked vpon him,
& gaue him such deadlie wounds that he fell downe
and died, the same being the last daie of June be-
foresaid; and so this bloudie caittife, deliting all in
bloud, perished and died in his owne bloud.

But before Korie Dg was thus brought to de-
struction, the lord deputie made a iourne to the bor-
ders of Offallie and Ler, to haue met with the fore-
said Korie Dg & his companions the O'Connors for
the suppressing of their insolencie, who were grow-
en into such a pride by taking of capitaine Harin-
ton, and their strength so increased, that with most
vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous
speeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to
be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie
& confines as he thought best, to stop their passage
and to annoie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and
there by sundrie examinations found people of all
degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Ko-
rie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his fee-
ding and defense, with whome he took order accor-
ding to their desert. At his being there he sent for
the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, because he
had refused to come to the lord president when he sent
for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said
lord president was there to complaine vpon him,
as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without
anie warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewd and
vnrulie followers, which harried by and done the
countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, con-
trarie to all good orders, and which was not to be suf-
fered.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said
letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and
there being examined of those his vnseemlie parts,
confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and
much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he
would haue staied him, and haue vsed him hardlie, for
which he was blam'd and reprim'd by the lord depu-
tie. But in the end, when they came together, they
were reconciled and made good friends, and then he
promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad
his companions, and to obeie the president as hir
maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to
come vnto him at all commandements, and which
things he performed. For not long after he vntered
and belated to the said lord president the praides
of James Fitzmoris, who by the arrivall of certeine
Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of

saint Malowes, did what he could to stirre & make a
rebellion in Dounster and Connagh, whereby a plot
was laied for the staie of those Frenchmen, and the
apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good de-
monstrations to the oiter shew of the obedience and
loyaltie of the said earle, but in truth were dissimu-
lation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connagh was in some part troubled, by means
of Dzwark capteine of his surname; in whose
countrie there were certeine coiners of monie, and
maintained by him. The coronell vnderstanding
hereof, he sent vnto Dzwark for them, and who de-
nied to deliuer anie of them: wherefore to correct
that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a
prinat band of footmen, who distressed Dzwark, and
his men, took his castell, and put all the ward to the
sword. Whereupon he came with all humilitie, and
submitted himselfe, and craued pardon. All the res-
idue of Connagh was verie quiet, and increased hir
maiesties reuenues to the yearelie summe of eigh-
teene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good con-
tentation. And now when it was thought that all
things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold
sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto hir
maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord
deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukeleie was ar-
riued out of Italie vnto Cadix in Spaine, with cer-
teine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him
by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine
strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the
seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ire-
land, in traitorous maner to invade the same, and to
prouoke the people to loine with him in rebellion. All
things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and
all other things necessarie were provided and pre-
pared for the preventing of them, as well by sea as
by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen
from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was di-
uerterd another waie, and to another purpose, and so
all things were quiet. Neuerthelesse, it appeared that
he was in great fauour with the pope, and was ap-
pointed to some spectall seruite against hir maiestie,
if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things
had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the inco-
raging of him, the pope besides great treasures libe-
rallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie ti-
tles of honour, and made him knight, baron of
Kosse and Idron, vicount of the O'rough & Kents-
lagh, and earle of Welford and Catherlough, and
marquesse of Heinsler, and general to the most ho-
lie father Gregorie the seuenth Pontifici maximo.

In the middle of these boiles, the vicount Bal-
tinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malecon-
tents against the celsse, wrote his letters to the earle
of Dymond, then attendant at the court of Eng-
land, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles
to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, be-
sides numbers of sheepe and kine, done vpon him
and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir
Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, when they were
lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the
time that they serued vpon the rebell Korie Dg.
Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir ma-
iestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priue
counsell. Vpon which complaint, because it seemed
somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie
partlie perswaded (as a matter verie likele to be
true) that such greuous extorsions suffered vncor-
rected, made hir gouernement more hatefull to that
nation, than did anie of the Irish exactions: letters
were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all
diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfide,
and the offenders also be punished, according to the
quantities and qualities of their offenses.

D. iij.

The

lord president
James Fitz-
moris his
praides.

Coiners in
Connagh.

Dzwark re-
fusing to deli-
uer & coiners
his castell is
taken, and he
submitteeth
himselfe.

Tho. Stukeleie
suspected to
come into
Ireland.

Great prepa-
ration made
against
Stukeleie.

The pope his
fauour to
Stukeleie.

Stukeleie his
honour and
titles.

The vicount
Baltinglasse
complaineth
to the earle of
Dymond a-
gainst sir Ni-
cholas Bag-
noll.

The earle of
Dymond ad-
uerteth the
complaint of
the vicount to
hir maiestie
and counsell.
Hir maiestie
senteth letters
in the behalfe
of the vicount
Baltinglasse.

The vicount
Saltinglaffe
complained
to the lord de-
putie against
sir Nicholas
Wagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained unto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Wagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And upon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the same, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proved to any purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first coming to that towne, had given great charge to every capitaine, to foresee that no iniurie should be offered, no spoiles committed, nor any thing to be taken by any souldier or other person without present payment, protesting and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, upon such as should do the contrarie.

The vicount
Saltinglaffe
complains
are untrue.

Likewise at his departure from thence, he made the like proclamation, that if there were any which had any cause of complaint for any wrong or iniurie done, or that any thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the same were made rather to aggravate his greivance conceived against the imposition of the ceste, than for any good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices prevailed little in the one, no more had he success or credit in the other. For the matter was fullie certified unto the lords of the counsell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be reproued, and also terrified to profer or practise any such untrue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practices of the said vicount, that because he did not brooke nor like of the ceste, he thought by waie of exclames to aggravate his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of his maiestie, and be out of favour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reproche and discredit.

The whole
land in peace

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now belivred from inward and civil warre, and from the feare of Stukeleies invasion, he prepared (according to his maiesties former letters of the six and twentieth of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repaire to his highnesse. And so when all things were accordingly prepared, and the wind & weather serving, he delivered up the sword according to his maiesties commandment, the six & twentieth of Aprill 1578, unto sir William Dzurie, then lord president of Hounster. And then being conducted by the said now lord iustice and counsell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he embarked himselfe, taking his leave in most honourable, loving, and courteous manner of every man. And at his verie entring into the ship for his farewell unto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the trouble some state of Spottes in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisdome, care, and policie governed the stiffnecked people of Israell, had done many miracles and wonderful works to their comfort, had delivered them from many great perils and dangers, had preserved and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharaon, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had given them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and perverse genera-

The depar-
ture of sir
Henrie Sid-
neie, and of his
last sayings.

The notable
works of
Spottes, & yet
he not ac-
cepted.

tion, a stiffnecked and an ungratefull people: even no lesse as this noble man, and most worthy gover-
nour hath found of the people of this most cursed
nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie pain-
full traveller both by day and night, in soyle and in
faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in
troubles and in dangers, in scarcitie and in penurie,
in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet
continuallie studieng, deuising, travelling, toiling,
and labouring to do the will of god (as he did full manie
and often times) which so long as they felt the ease &
comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but
otherwise most ungratefull and unthankfull. And
offering unto him the like reward as Licurgus re-
ceived of the most unthankfull Lacedemonians, who
when he had recovered that savage nation to a civil
life, and a politike government, and in the end redu-
ced them to that order and maner, as they became to
be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense
evill intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake
out one of Licurgus his eyes. But these men for
thousands and infinit commodities, would not one-
lie have bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also
done him a further inconvenience (if success had
happened) according to their malice.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offen-
sive to set downe somewhat of much concerning this
worthy and noble man for the course of his life. He
was borne and descended of a noble house and pa-
rentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a
knight of great reputation and credit in the countie
of Kent, and in great favour with king Henrie the
eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking,
he and others lustie yong gentlemen of the court
travelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and
to see the maner of the emperours and other prin-
ces courts: his mother descended of the house of
Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, unto whom the
was verie nere allied. This yong gentleman, his
father being deceased, and he of verie tender and
yong yeeres, was brought up in the court under the
same maister as was king Edward the first, and pro-
fited verie well, both in the Latine and French
tonges, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie
forward in all good actions, and thereof was concei-
ved some good things would come of him: his coun-
tenance was verie amiable, and his behaviour verie
gentle and courteous, in whose king Henrie the
eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking,
and made him be attendant and plaisefellow with
prince Edward.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and
good liking of him, that he used him not onelie as a
companion; but manie times as a bedfellow, and
so delighted in his companie, that for the most part
they would never be asunder, neither in health, nor
in sicknesse, untill the dieng daie of the prince: who
then departed his life in this gentlemen arms. Somewhat
before his death, the king gave the order
of knighthood to this gentleman, for a memorie and
a recompense of his good will and love: upon which
daie also he did the like unto sir William Cecil,
now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all
England: by meanes of which their continued ad-
vancement, there entred a verie fervent affection
and good will betwene them, with a reciproke an-
swering of beneuolence each one to the other, untill
their dieng daies. This noble gentleman for his for-
warde in all good actions, was as it were the pa-
ragon of the court, by reason of the manie good gifts
which God had bestowed upon him everie waie. For
concerning the bodie, he was goodlie of person and
well compact, and well besene; he was comelie
and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and
of

The painfull
travels of the
lord deputie
not considered.

The ingrati-
tude of the
Lacedemoni-
ans to Li-
curgus.

The paren-
tage of sir
Henrie
Sidneie.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie was
brought up in
the court.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie the
king his com-
panion and
bedfellow.

The king de-
ced in sir Hen-
rie Sidneies
arms.

The king
dubbed sir
Henrie Sid-
neie and sir
William Ce-
cil knights in
one daie.

Edm. Moli-
neux.

Sir Hen-
rie Sidneie
ambassador
to France

Sir Hen-
rie Sidneie
president
of the
counsell
and knight
of the
garter.

Sir Hen-
rie Sidneie
treasurer
of the
armes.
He was
in France
several
times.
The ph-
ysician
of Sir Hen-
rie Sidneie
was
named

Religio

Man
in Ire-
land
never
died.

Sho-
ne

of his good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so goodlie, so discret and so sober, as he to us another Scipio, being but young in years, and old in behauiour, and finally so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent good gifts, he was made ambassadoz into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and twice in one yeare after that into Scotland: and by queene Marie joined in commission with others to attend king Philip his coming into England, for the marriage betwene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassadoz into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

Sir Henrie Sidneie an ambassadoz sundrie times.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord treasurer at armes. He was lord iustice foure times.

The plot of Sir Henrie Sidneies gouernement.

Religion.

Marie bozne in Ireland neuer christened.

Shane O'neill name.

a superior, by a draught was brought to his desired confusion: whose head for a trophie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied upon him, was set upon a pole upon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Ulster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the queenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he took and imprisoned, and his untamed springalls he drew to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The unconstant earle of Desmond and all his Giralduines and followers, and the proud and ungratefull earle of Clancar, and all the Irish of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselves, and to craue pardon. The Catiennaghs, the Abboles, the O'birnes, the O'mores, the O'mores, and a rable of other like septes, together with Rorie Og, Theon Mac Hew, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subiection. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cesse in the end cried *Pecconi*, and conformed themselves in all dutifullnesse. And when he had travelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other meanes might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pitthe persuasions, found arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to hir maiestie and counsell, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and found, learned, and by right iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestie most gratioullie granted, and he most iustlie obtained.

In Mounster therefore first he placed a coronell to breake the ise; namelye sir Humfreie Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Dzurie, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a verie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and verie wise and of good knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie exactlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made coronell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their captains, and how vprightlie they ministred law and iustice by the aduise of the counsellors in their seuerall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings doe at large witness and set forth. The like order he took also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all suitors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kinred, affinity, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to hir maiestie, procured them to be reindued, and their names to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, attornies, and solicitors. And farther also, whereas there were manie good lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid by and shrowded in filth and cobwebbs, and vtterlie vnknowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

The Ulster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned. The mightie earles in Mounster brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cesse reformed.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert coronell in Mounster. Sir John Perot, Sir William Dzurie lord presidents in Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawiers placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be reuewed and printed.

The painfull traucels of the lord deputie not considered.

The ingratitude of the Lacedemonians to Alcibiades.

The parentage of Sir Henrie Sidneie.

Sir Henrie Sidneie was brought by in the court.

Sir Henrie Sidneie the king his companion and bedfellow.

The king died in Sir Henrie Sidneies armes.

The king dubbeth Sir Henrie Sidneie and sir William Cecil knights in one daie.

Edm. Molineux.

noztant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a through view, and a review to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in use and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set vp in places convenient.

The castell chamber bulle kept.

Edm. Molinoux.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

The castell of Dublin repaired.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Molengar builded.

The towne of Athenrie re-edified.

The bridge of Athlon new builded.

And likewise for the records, which were verie well kept, not fenced or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heape, without anie regard; he caused to be viewed and sorted, and then prepared mote rooms, presses, and places for the keeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fee for the keeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lord, as it is in the star chamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of hir maiesties learned counsellors. Peruerthelasse, he himselfe had a marvellous head to conceive, a deepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tong to viter whatsoeuer was requisite to be spoken, either in that place, or in anie other assemble, which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pisthie reasons, sound arguments, and effectually discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaue the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his brightness, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide anie long sutes in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie sutor should haue access vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irish, who thought themselves the more happie, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their vnto his law, & to embrace the course of the English lawes. Whereupon he deuised, and consequently with great policie and wise dome erected the diuision and distribution of the wild, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are vled to be in all other counties: by which means hir maiesties wit had passage amongst them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouernement, which neuer before was heard or knowne among them.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernement by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthy, and greatlie decayed. This he repaired, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Molengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restraining and safe keeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlon vpon the deepe and great riuier of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and free stone, and raised by the walles & battlements verie faire.

By building of which bridge a passage (neuer before had) was made open & free betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, appalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his foresaid doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to hir maiestie. And for easing whereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also 10 promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and hir highnesse be releued of the great and intollerable charges which the daillie was at in that land, he did by good means enlarge and increase hir reuenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staied there but a short time longer than he did.

The quantity great charges to be relieved.

Hir maiesties reuenues increased.

Thus much brieflie of his generall actions, and 20 concerning his priuat dealings and conuerfation. He was goodlie disposed, & a zelous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent speeches, such pisthie sentences, such perswasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor attaine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all 30 men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, feldome or neuer in anie dissempered or extraordinarie choler, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberall to euerie deserving person, a bounteous housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whom he would honor and esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most 40 loving maister to all such as serued him, whom he loved fall dearlie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do anie thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were priuie to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawyer, and yet not ignorant in anie thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill 50 gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experiance in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Mens fidelis Lucas*, and the other *Mens fidus Schates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partly by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for euer amongst them: yet most vnnaturallie and vngreatfullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not 60 much vnlike the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturalles saie) it is done by the month, he immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroyeth him; and likewise the yong, conceived with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and readie now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturallie do gnaw out hir wombe and belie to hir confusion; and so they are conceived with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngreatfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the daillie purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and safetie,

The good vertues and disposition of sir Henrie Sidmore. Religious, eloquent.

Affable.

Temperat.

Liberall. A householder per.

See more of this sir Henrie Sidmore in the English chronicles, An. Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Molinoux.

The ingratitude of Ireland.

The nature of the viper.

This is a troublesome parliament.

The cells pugged.

The corn and bngt full naturall the Irish men.

The fate of the Irish in Ireland.

The fate of the Irish in Ireland.

This was a
troublesome
parlement.

The queenes
great charges
to be relieved.

Hir maiesties
revenues in-
creased.

The cesses im-
pugned.

The corrupt
and vngrat-
full nature of
the Irish-
men.

The good be-
nefits and dis-
position of
Henry Shu-
ane.
Religious,
eloquent.

Stable.

Temperat.

Liberrall.
household
etc.

Of more of
his fir Hen-
ric Shidne in
the English
chronicles,
in Dom.
y86, noted
p Edm. Mo-
ncux.

The fatal de-
struction upon all
gouernors
in Ireland.

The ingrati-
tude of Ire-
land.

The nature of
the viper.

The death of
fir Henric
Shidne.

safetie, could ne would be ener thankfull. As besides
manie examles it appeared at the parlement hol-
den in the eleuenth yere of hir maiesties reigne,
where then lawes were to be established for their be-
nefit, and the abolishing of certeine wicked and
letted vsages, which were among the Irishye, they
not onlie did impugne and resist that assemblie, as
much as in them laie: but recompensed the good
things (for their benefites established) with open war
and rebellion against hir maiestie. Also, when a rea-
sonable and a vned cesse was to be let and lenied for
the benefite of the inhabitants and dwellers in the
English pale; and for the repress of their enemies
which thirsted after their confusion: they immediatly
repine and do resist the same. For this is their cor-
rupt nature, that if he did at anie time pursue the e-
nemie for their peace and quietnesse, and did aduen-
ture neuer so great dangers for them, were his suc-
cesse neuer so good, yet would they enuie at him. If
he by the aduise of the counsell did determine anie
thing for their behofe, yet would they mislike it. If
anie thing well meant had euill successe, they would
like it; and upon neuer so little occasion offered they
would make their complaints, libels should daile
be exhibited, and accusations be deuised, with open
mouths they would exclaime, and nothing would
they leaue vndone which might turne to his discredit
and impediment of his gouernement. But truth the
daughter of time, which in the end was manifested;
and when he had yelded before hir highnesse and
counsell a true and a perfect account of all his do-
ings, and had trulie manifested the course of his go-
uernement, then their glittering gold was found to
be worse than copper, not abiding the hammer; he ac-
cording to his desert receiued thanks, and they re-
proch and ignominie. Wherefore great god canse
had he to be glad and ioyfull, that he was to be deli-
uered from so vngratfull a people and vnthankfull a
nation. But shall a man saie the truth? It is a fa-
tall and an inescapable destinie incident to that na-
tion, that they cannot bryoke anie English gouernor;
for he neuer so iust, byright, & carefull for their be-
nefit, they care not for it: let him be neuer so be-
neficall to their commonwealth, they account not of
it; let him be neuer so circumspect in his gouerne-
ment and aduised in his doings, they will discredit
and impeach it. If he be courteous and gentle, then
like a sort of nettles they will sting him; if he be se-
uere, they will curse him; and let him do the best he
can, he shall neuer auoid nor escape their malice and
spite.

This noble and worthy man, who aboue all o-
thers had best triall thereof, thought himselfe most
happie when he was deliuered from them, and gone
out of their Egypt, and now returned to his owne
natiue countrie of Chanaan, who therefore some-
times attended the court, and serued hir maiestie as
a most faithfull, graue, and wise counsellor: some-
times he followed his charge and calling of president
in Wales, which office he did most honorablie vse
and discharge. In the end, when Lachess had spun
out the thread of his life, and Atropos readie to ex-
cute hir office, he fell sicke at Worcester: and fel-
ling a decate of nature, and that he did daile war-
weaker and weaker, he yelded and humbled him-
selfe to die; and holding vp his hands, and lifting
vp his eyes, he continued in most hartie and inces-
sant praiers vnto God, craving with a most penitent
hart, pardon for his sins, and commending his soule
into the hands and mercie of God, thorough the
bloud of Iesus Christ. And when his hands gaue o-
uer, his tong ceased, and his sight failed, he yelded
vp his spirit, and departed this life in a most godlie
and christian manner the first daie of Aprill, one thou-

sand five hundred eightie and six. His bodie was in-
bowelled, and his entrails were buried in the deans
chappell of the cathedrall church in Worcester: his
hart was carried to Ludlow, & there intombed in the
tome that his welbeloued daughter Ambrosia was
buried, which he had builded in the collegiat church of
the same towne, wherein he had created a certeine mo-
nument for a perpetuall remembrance to that towne
& to Wikenhill, to which he was verie much affected,
& made his most abode during the time of his presi-
dencie. And from thence his bodie by easie iournies
was verie honorablie carried to his house of Here-
thurst in Kent, & in his parish church there he was in-
terred in all honorablie maner, as to his estate did a-
grae vpon the one and twentieth of June, in the yere
one thousand five hundred eightie and six, he being
then about the age of seauen and fiftie yeaeres. And
thus this noble and worthy knight, who had spent
the whole course of his life in the dutifull seruice of
his prince, and to the great benefite of the common-
wealth, is now deliuered vnto the everlasting ser-
uice of the eternall God, in whose celestiall heauens
he resteth in blisse and ioie with the foure and twentie
elders, who there are now beholding the face of God,
and praising his holie name for ever.

But to returne to the lord iustice, who being en-
tered into the gouernement, and finding it in some
quiet state, did by the aduise of the counsell follow
that course as nere as he could, as which was left
vnto him; and by that meanes kept the whole land
verie quiet and in peace. For almost a yere after his
entrie into that office and gouernement, vntill that
Romish cockatrice, which a long time had set abroad
vpon hir eggs, had now hatched hir chickens, which be-
ing benemous as were their sire, raised, wrought,
and bred great treasons, open warres, and hostilitie
throughout that land. For James Fitzmoris a Ci-
raldine & conline germane to the earle of Desmond,
who not manie yeaeres before had bene an archtrai-
tor, and a principall capteine of the warres and re-
bellion in Downe; and wherein he was then so fo-
lowed at inches and pursued by sir John Perot, then
lord president of Downe; that after manie and
sundrie confits, he was in the end compelled and
inforced to yeld and submit himselfe, and to craue
hir maiesties gracious pardon: insomuch that he
came in simple into the towne of Kilmallocke, and
there in the church before all the people did humble
and prostrate himselfe before the said lord president,
and asked pardon, swearing and promising then all
dutifullnesse, truth, & obedience for ever to hir high-
nesse, and to the crowne of England.

Then this perturbed cattife, who for his treasons
and great outrages, villanies, and bloudsheds, had
deserued a thousand deaths, and yet in hope of a
mendment hir maiestie gaue him his pardon, and
sent it vnto him by hir seruant Francis Agard es-
quier: euen this man (I saie) most traitorously fled
into France, and there comming into the kings pre-
sence, did offer to deliuer into his hands the whole
realme and land of Ireland, if that his maiestie
would giue him aid, and furnish him with men and
monie, and such furniture as he should haue need of
in such an action. The king at the first gaue him god
countenance, great rewards, & liberall intertaine-
ment, and accepted his offer: but when he had well
considered the matter, and had further looked into
the same, he changed his mind. James Fitzmoris,
who had staid there in the French court about two
yeaeres, and saw nothing go forward, & the French
king waxed cold; who in the end gaue him no other
answer, but that he would commend him by his let-
ters to his sister the queene of England, for obtai-
ning of a pardon for him, and for hir good coun-
saunce

Edm. Mo-
ncux.

Sir William
Durie the
lord iustice for
loweth the
course of his
predecessor to
rule in peace.

James Fitz-
moris an
archtraitor.

James Fitz-
moris submit-
teth himselfe
and sweareth
obedience.

James Fitz-
moris hath
his pardon
sent vnto him.

James Fitz-
moris fleeth
into France
and offereth
the crowne of
Ireland to the
French king.

The French
king mis-
teth to deale
in Ireland
matters.

James Fitz-
moris maketh
to king Phi-
lip and to the
pope.

James Fitz-
moris his
promise to
king Phi-
lip and the
pope.

The pope is
glad of
James Fitz-
moris offer.

James Fitz-
moris saileth
acquainted
with doctor
Sanders and
doctor Allen.

James Fitz-
moris is fur-
nished with
ships and all
necessaries.

James Fitz-
moris landeth
at Saint
Marie weke
in Ireland
with foure
score Spa-
niards.

James Fitz-
moris ships
are taken as-
sured by one
Thomas
Courtneie a
gentleman of
Denon.

Sir James
and sir John
of Desmond
the earles
brethren come
to James
Fitzmoris.

nance towards him : he forsooke France, and made a iourne into Spaine unto king Philip. The king who had receiued the gift of Ireland of the pope by means of the bishop of Cashell, being not wil-
ling to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmoris made his iourneie from thence to the pope, unto whom he declared that he had bene with king Philip, as doth appeare by his letters of credit to his holinesse; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland vp into their hands, and reduce the same againe to the holie church of Rome, if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessities as should be requisite in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this sute, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer, as also gaue him good countenance and interteinement. And in the end vpon sundrie conferences betwene the pope and king Philip, it was agreed betwene them, that Fitzmoris should be furnished with men, monie, and all things neces-
sarie for this seruice. James Fitzmoris during his being in Rome, he fell acquainted with doctor Sanders an English Jesuit, & doctor Allen an Irish Jesuit, and both traitors to hir maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a sute, & they in great fauor with the pope, folowed the sute verie earnestlie, and promised to follow it to the bittermost in their owne persons.

Now when all things were concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Allen, and James Fitzmoris made their last repaire to the pope, who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost, with authoritie to blesse and curse at his will and pleasure; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing: and there-
with his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwene them both, he was furnished with all things meet and necessarie for them. Whereupon when time ser-
ued they imbarked themselves, and their companie in three ships well appointed for the purpose, and ar-
riued at Smereweke, alias saint Marie weke, in the beginning of Iulie 1579, nere the Dingle a cuse in Herrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his com-
panie, being about the number of foure score Spa-
niards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the baie for their safetie: and drew their ships close vnder the said fort.

The two doctors, when they had hallowed the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuertheless they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in Kinsale a Deuonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtneie, and he hearing of the landing of this James Fitzmoris, and of the popes traitorous le-
gats, was contented, and by the perswasion of Hen-
rie Dauels, being then in those parts; and hauing a good wind, did come about and approached the point, came into the baie of Saint Marie weke or Smer-
weke; and finding the three ships of James Fitzmor-
is at anchor, was so bold in the waite of good speed to take them. And after that he had staid there a while in that seruice, he toke them all along with him: whereby James Fitzmoris and his companie lost a peece of the popes blessing; for they were alto-
gether destituted of aie ship, to ease and releue themselves by the seas, what need sooner should hap-
pen. As soon as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abrode forthwith to James & John brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequen-
tie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arrivall of this their cousin,

and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, solow-
ers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire vnto him: whose commings and companie he accepted verie thankesfullie, saying that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousin sir John of Desmond. Which when sir John perceiued, he deuised how he would salue that soze, as most wic-
kedlie afterwards he did.

The earle of Desmond at this time was in recdi-
feng of a castell, which he had in the confines of
10 Bzenne Agonesis countrie, who as soon as he heard of the arrivall of his cousin James Fitzmoris, he forthwith did discharge and dismisle his whole com-
panie of workemen and labourers, pretending in
outward shew what he neuer meant, that he was to
withstand and resist his cousin and all his compa-
nie, and forthwith maketh his repaire into Herrie,
and there assembleth all his followers and force, as
though he would do great things and worke mira-
cles. And forthwith likewise he sent his letters to
20 Mac Artie Moore earle of Clancar, & willett him in
all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and
to make his speedie repaire to him, for vanquishing
(if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Ma-
rie weke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time
had receiued a peece of the popes blessing, and his
heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned
his answer, that he would come vnto him with all
speed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as
nere to the Dingle as he might: and accordingly
30 he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond se-
med to like well though it were against the sple-
ne, neuertheless when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open
sermes fall out with him, yet he deuifeth matters
whereupon he might haue some occasion to dislike
with him, & to make him wearie of his companie.
Which when Clancar perceiued, and saw the vnwil-
lingnesse of Desmond to do aie seruice against the
rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he toke
40 the best opportunitie he could, and departed awaie
from him, and dismissed his companie.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soon as
he was aduertised of James Fitzmoris landing, he
maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with
all the quenes force towards Mounster, dispatch-
ing also a messenger to hir maiestie of these toward
boyles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all
things, as to such a great action did appertene, he
sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before
him, that he being verie well acquainted with the
earle of Desmond and his brethren, should praatle
with them to prepare themselves to be in a readi-
nesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against
those enimies. Who being accompanied with one
Arthur Carter yrouost marshall of Mounster, made
his speedie repaire to the earle of Desmond & his bre-
thren being in Herrie, and aduertised vnto them the
lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him late
did perswade them to the like, who as then had all
his force and souldiers about him. From thence he
departed to the fort, wherof when he had taken the
view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might
be easilie as yet ouerthrowne; he returned backe to
the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force
and companie towards the fort, perswading him to
assail it while it was but weake, of small force, and
easie to be taken, and that in so doing it should be
greatlie to his honour. But the earle being not of so
good a mind, or bent to do so good a peece of seruice,
answered; that he would not aduenture to take so
great an enterprize in hand with so small a compa-
nie as he then had. When Dauels went to sir James
and to sir John of Desmonds the earles brethren,
and

The erle hear-
ing of the
landing of
James Fitz-
moris giveth
ouer his build-
ings.

The earle of
Desmond
pretending
some seruice
against the
rebels sendeth
to the earle of
Clancar to
come with
him.

The earle of
Clancar at-
tendeth the
earle of Des-
mond.

Desmond li-
keth not
Clancars
readinesse.

Clancar de-
parteth from
Desmond.

The lord ius-
tice prepareth
to march into
Mounster.

Henrie Da-
uels seat to
the earle of
Desmond.

Henrie Da-
uels perswa-
deth Desmond
to serue a-
gainst the
rebels.

Desmond
refuseth to
give the oyle
vpon James
Fitzmoris.

The earle re-
fuseth to do
aie seruice.

Henrie Da-
uels depart-
eth from
Desmond.

Sir John of
Desmond fol-
loweth Da-
uels and cap-
tureth the
poster.

Henrie Da-
uels maketh
cruelle mur-
thered.

The faithful-
nesse of a boie
to his master.

Henrie Da-
uels what he
was, and of
his condition.

and persuaded them to aduise their brother the earle, either to do that seruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or else that they would take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that then the earle would spare to him a companie of his Gallowglasse, and about thre score of his shot, and he would ioine with capteine Courtneie who laie then within the bafe with his mariners, & he would giue the assault by land, and the other should do the like by sea.

But the earle, being moued hereof, would not yield to this motion, but answered that his shot was more meet to shoot at foule than fit to aduventure such a peece of seruice, and his Gallowglasse were good men to incounter with Gallowglasse, and not to answer old souldiers. Whereupon when he saw the bent and disposition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioine, aid, and helpe the traitors: he together with the prouost marshall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to vnderstand how all things stood, & what successe he had had in his message. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fise miles from castell Daine, and laie that night in one Kices house, who kept a vittelling house and a wine fauerne, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and seruants were dispersed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But sir John of Desmond, whose hart was imbued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie set spies vpon Dauels, as also had corrupted the man of the house which kept the gate, that he should leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of that tragedie which was so nere at hand, especiallie to be done by him, whom of all the men bozne in that land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his bed; & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their deepe sleepes, sir John according to his wicked deuise came to the house, the castell doore being left open for the purpose, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their swordes drawn, and went forthwith vnto the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds fast asleep, but with the noise they were suddenlie awaked. When Dauels saw sir John of Desmond armed and his sword drawn, he was somewhat affonied at that sight, and rising vp in his bed said vnto him (as he was euer wont to saie verie familiarlie) What sonne! what is the matter? But he answered him; No more sonne, no, no more father, but make thy selfe readie, for die thou shalt. And forthwith he & his companie strake at him & his companion, both naked in their shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then they searched the whole house & spared none, but put all to the sword, sauing a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had bene a continuall messenger betwene Dauels and this John Desmond. This boie seeing his maister to be thus murdered ran vpon John of Desmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crieng; What wilt thou kill my maister? But he answered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme. But the boie seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe vpon his maister, crieng; If thou wilt kill him, then kill me also. And so saued him as well, and so long as he could. But it auailed not, for flaine and most cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, bozne in Devon, and descended of a verie ancient and a wealthy house, and being but a yonger brother, and

having but a verie small portion left vnto him, when he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, having then warres against the French king, he entred into France to seeke his aduantage; and there he had verie good intertainment, and proued to be a verie good souldier. After whose warres he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at Barwick; and from thence he was removed into Ireland, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne knight constable of Leighlin, and seneschall of Waterford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that he was commended for his good seruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countrie, and in marvelous fauour of the Irish people; for no seruice was so hard for him in the kings causes: and so well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the skill to serue than he could there. As for his countymen, he was so deere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a friend, and more like a friend than an vnacquainted countymen: for he was an host and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was frendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that intertainment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Englishmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euerlasting fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not iniurie them, no more would he suffer them to be oppressed or iniured: a great housekeeper amongst them, which they maruelouslie esteemed. When he was in office among them, he was vpriht and iudged righteously; if out of office, louing & frendlie to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once said and promised, that would he surelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had spoken the word, which was assuredlie looked to be performed, they would saie; Dauels hath said it: as who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the Irishman is, that albeit he keepeth faith for the most part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so carefull of his word, that if he once promised, he would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by that means he was so well beloued, that his verie hostebotes had free passage euen through the enemies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon knowledge, that if anie Englishman had anie occasion to trauell in that countrie throughtout Leinster or Mounster, if he had but a hostebote of his, he should not onelie passe freele throughtout the countries without impeachment, but should haue also verie good and frendlie intertainment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie esteemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Desmond and Desmond: who although they were for the most part at farres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro in the greatest matters of importance betwene them: whereat he bare so indifferent a hand, as both parties embraced him for his vprihtnesse and indifference. The earle of Desmond himselfe loued him so well, as no Englishman better; and all his brethren found such a friend of him, and such intertainment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all distresses they were sure to haue him to their friend; and manie times it stood

The loue of Dauels to his countymen.

The credit of Dauels word.

The earle refused to do any seruice.

Henrie Dauels departs from Desmond.

Sir John of Desmond followed Dauels and corrupted the porter.

Henrie Dauels most cruellie murdered.

The faithfullnes of a boie to his maister.

Henrie Dauels what he was, and of his conditions.

scold, content, had, sit, tured, twice.

The earle hearing of the landing of James Fitzmoris gueth over his buildings.

The earle of Desmond pretending some seruice against the rebels sendeth to the earle of Clancar to ioine with him.

The earle of Clancar attendeth the earle of Desmond.

Desmond both not Clancars readinesse.

Clancar departs from Desmond.

The lord iustice prepareth to march into Mounster.

Henrie Dauels leat to the earle of Desmond.

Henrie Dauels most cruellie murdered.

Henrie Dauels persuadeth Desmond to serue against the rebels.

Desmond refused to giue the shot vpon James Fitzmoris.

Desmond refused to giue the shot vpon James Fitzmoris.

Desmond refused to giue the shot vpon James Fitzmoris.

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Desmond refused to giue the shot vpon James Fitzmoris.

Desmond refused to giue the shot vpon James Fitzmoris.

them in good freed.

Henrie Da-
uels alwaies
a fast friend
to sir John of
Desmond.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were a verie uncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could p[er]uaile with him; and wore his furie neuer so hot, and he neuer so hasty, yet could he appease and quiet him. And as for sir John of Desmond the earles brother, such was his profession and outward affection towards him, of a most firme frendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that the loue and goodwill betwene them could by any means be dissolved. For in what distresse so euer sir John of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie times redamed him out of prison, yea out of the castle of Dublin, when he was committed for capital crimes, and became suretie for him in great sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels purse was at his commandement, his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his disposition. And so farre this good will grew betwene them, that John of Desmond, as one knowledging himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father; euen as the other called him sonne. And now see, when treason and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, frendship, and humanitie, the sonne most vnnaturalie bereft the father of his life, and most cruellie murdered him. No worth to so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so faithfull a subject, the gouernours of so trustie a seruitor, the commonwealth of so good a member, of a man most outfall to his superiors, bright in iustice, trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his friend, loving to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the distressed, and a succorer of the oppressed; finally such a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue bene found in that land; and yet against all pittie and mercie, most cruellie murdered by a traitor to God and his prince, euen to the grasse of the traitors of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of old said; Saue a murderer or a theefe from the gallows, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy throte.

When this bloudie murderer had executed this crueltie vpon his good friend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmoris, and to his doctors and companie in great bzauerie, recompting vnto them that a noble act and a valiant seruice he had done in murdering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, saying: I haue now killed an English churle (for so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all Englishmen) & said to his confine James; Now thou maist be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to the matter with thee to my vttermost. James Fitzmoris then he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioice and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the manner of his death, blaming and reprobuing him verie much, that he should murder him in his bed, being naked and scarce awaked out of his sleepe, which he said was too cruell, because he might otherwise haue had aduantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise to his commendation. Howbeit, doctors Sanders terming his bloudie murder to be a sweet sacrifice before God, did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remission of all his sinnes. The earle himselfe likewise, when he heard hereof, he was marvellouslie grieved and offended with his brother and gaue him such sharpe speeches and reproches, as it was thought they would not so soon haue bene friends againe; but wicked doings amongst the wicked establish

The brags of
John Des-
mond for kil-
ling of Da-
uels.

His crueltie
mildred.

The popes
doctors do
allow and
commend the
murther.

and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this present time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had bene) one Appelleie an English captaine, who could doe verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his owne assurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and dissembling his griefe, perswadeth him to dray his companie together, and to remoue from thence to his house of Alketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike, and there to abide the coming of the lord iustice, and to ioine with him in this seruice against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and followed this counsell, and remoued from thence to Alketten, where he late close and did nothing, but still seemed in speeches and outward shewes to milke with James Fitzmoris and all his companie; and yet daily his best followers and soldiers stocked and repaired to James Fitzmoris, manie of them for zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as deuout as the popes legates and the Spaniards; but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere, and not finding the repaire of the souldiers, nor yet any other thing answerable to that seruice as it was promised them, began to milke it; and distrust- ing of any good successe, did repent and were so; ic, wishing themselves at home againe; but such was their case, that they could not shift for themselves to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore necessitie so compelling, they resolued themselves to abide the bzunt.

James Fitzmoris, perceiving their discontented minds, had conference with them, & perswadeth them to be of a good comfort, for they should verie shortly haue a greater supplie and companie which he daily looked for, and all things should be had according to their owne minds: aduertising them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of three or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie road or crosse in Tipozarie, and there to perfoyme a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praying their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Ulster, and in both his waies, his next waie was through Tipozarie, and there to stocke and dray vnto him all and so manie of the rebels as he could wage to ioine with him, whereof he made no doubt, but assured himselfe to find as manie ready to go as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie with three or foure horsemen, and a dozen harnes, he passed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countie of sir William Burke his verie nere coufine and kinsman, and who before in the last rebellion did ioine with him, to the great danger of his life and losse of all his goods.

And then he came so farre in his iournie, being now about three score miles from S. Marie weeke, his cariage horses (which they terme garons) were so faint, and could not trauell any further: wherefore he commanded some of his men to go before, & loke what garons they first found in the fields, they should take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they espied a plot of garons plying in the field, which they forthwith toke perforce from the poore husbandmen two of the m, and caried them awaie. Wherevpon according to the custome of the countie, the hobnob or the hue and crie was raised. Some of the people followed the tract, & some went to their lords house, which was sir William Burke being nere at hand to aduertise the matter, who ha- uing three or foure of his sonnes and verie tall gen- tlemen

The earle of
Desmond re-
moueth to
Alketten.

The earles
chiete men
turne to the
enimie.

The Spanie
ards like not
their coming.

James Fitz-
moris persua-
deth the Span-
iards to pa-
tience.

James Fitz-
moris preten-
deth a pilgr-
mage.

James Fitz-
moris stealthy
garons.

The Burkes
follow the
trac.

This was a
brought man
by the lord
president.

James Fitz-
moris make
head to relli-

James Fitz-
moris persua-
deth the
Burkes to
rebellion.

James Fitz-
moris main

Some thin-
k that this pe-
a seruice so
a brought
made by
William
Dunne lord
tutrice.

The cond-
ons of Jam-
Fitzmoris

James Fitz-
moris his
quarters se-
by the ga-
of Kilmal-
locke.

At this
eric often
captaine,
in the hea-
Daniels,
and of his
carle, and
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efore
James Fitz-
mois healtly
garrons.
nd as
wing
from
the
aid.
went
erke
o ha-
ger
men

This was a
draught made
by the lord
president.

James Fitz-
mois maketh
head to resist.

James Fitz-
mois persua-
deth the
Burkes to
rebellion.

The earle of
Desmond re-
moueth to
Kilken.

The Spanie
ards like not
their coming.

James Fitz-
mois persua-
deth the Spa-
niards to pa-
tience.

James Fitz-
mois preten-
deth a pigri-
mage.

James Fitz-
mois laine.

Some thinke
that this piece
of service was
a draught
made by Sir
William
Dunne lord
iustice.

The conditi-
ons of James
Fitzmois.

James Fitz-
mois his
quarters set
bys the gates
of Kilmai-
locke.

The Burkes
follow the
carle.

them in at home with him, they took their horses
and a few kernes and two shot with them, and fol-
lowed the tract, and overtook them at a fastenes fast
by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmo-
ris, whome before they knew not to be come into
those parties, to make head to answer them. But
when he saw that it was his cousine Theobald
Burke and his brother and his companie, who had
borne his companions in the late rebellion when
sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he
spake ouer vnto them, and said; Cousine Theobald
(who was the eldest son to his father) two carriage
horses shall be no breach betwene vs two; and I
hope that you which do know the cause that I haue
now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do
as I and others will do: and so continuing some
speeches, did what he could to dialo him and all his
companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he
answered that he and his father had already dealt
to much that waite with him, and that he will neuer
do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his bre-
thren, had sworn to be true, obedient, and faithfull to
the quenes maiestie, and which oth they would ne-
uer breake: cursing the date and time that euer they
joined with him in so bad a cause against his maie-
stie, and therefore required to haue his garrons a-
gaine, or else he would come by them aswell as he
could.

James Fitzmois standing vpon his reputation,
thought it too much dishonorable vnto him to depart
with that which he had in hand; and therefore bitterlie
denied the deliuerie, and therevpon each partie set
spurre to the horses and encountered the one the o-
ther. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and
Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were
slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmois like-
wise and his companie had the like successe, for he
himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then
with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was
slaine, with sundrie of his companions: wherein he
found that the popes blessings and warrant, his
Agnus Dei, and his graines had not those vertues to
saue him, as an Irish staffe or a bullet had to kill
him. Thus was his highnesse most happe, and that
whole land most happie, that they were deliuered
from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the
great & venemous hydra was thus shortened of one
of his heds. For other wise it was to be doubted that
if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much
bloudshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue
joined with him. For he was of verie good crebit &
estimation thorough the whole land, he was of a verie
good gouernement, and of a great reach; but a deepe
dissembler, passing subtil, and able to compasse anie
matter which he took in hand, familiar to all men,
and verie courtesous, valiant, and verie expert in
martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that
baggage religion, that he became a most horrible
traitour to his maiestie, and a mortall enemie to e-
uerie good man: and so far he was imbrued herein,
that a man might saie that he was borne to the
same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebell to God,
to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made
known to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he
should be hanged in the open market of Kilmai-
locke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to
be set vpon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a
perpetuall memorie to his reproch for his trefons
and perfuries, contrarie to his solempne oth taken in
that errour. His maiestie, when she was advertised
of this peece of god seruice of sir William Burke
and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote his letters
of the god acceptation of his seruice, comforted him

for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create
him baron of the castell of Connell by his letters
patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare
of his reigne, & gaue him the pearleie pension of a
hundred marks, to be paid at his maiesties exchequer
pearelie during his life, wherof he took so sudden toy
that he sloued, and seemed to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmois
was brought to the fort at S. Marie weake, great so-
row was amongst them all, they being all amazed
and wist not what to do, especiallie the Spaniards
who depart could not, and to submit themselves they
would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue o-
uer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which pur-
pose they would haue followed, if that sir John of
Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he
having imbrued himselfe so unnaturalie in bloud,
and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned,
did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is afore-
said) immediatlie vpon the newes of the arrivall of
these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Da-
uels, made his preparation of all the forces which his
maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hun-
dred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie
small companie for so great seruice towards: yet
considering that the victorie consisteth not in the
arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onlie in the
good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his tourne,
leaving in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicho-
las Bagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Paltrie
colonell of Connaught, Jaques Wingfield master of
the ordinance, and Edward Waterhouse one of his
maiesties seruants, Edward Fitton, Thomas Pa-
rerson, and others. And of the Irish lords he was ac-
companied with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Dil-
lon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the ba-
ron of Upper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine,
who had of themselves two hundred horsemen, be-
sides footmen and kernes: and so they marched for-
ward by Iourneis untill they came to Kilmallocke,
where not farre from the towne they all incamped:
& then he sent from thence a messenger to the earle
of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall
gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to
come vnto him.

The earle in outward apperance seemed verie
willing to come, but untill he had receiued some pro-
mise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered
and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his
lordship being verie well accompanied with horse-
men and footmen, he went to the campe, and presen-
ted himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew
of all dutifolnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, whereas in-
deed no such thing was ment. For though his bodie
were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whiles he
was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised
by him; yet they were not so secretlie done but they
came to light, & were discovered to the lord iustice.
Wherevpon he was committed to the custodie of the
knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and
feeling least some greater matters would be re-
vealed against him, he praied access to the lord iu-
stice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and
promised and swore vpon his honour & allegiance,
that he would faithfullie and to the vttermost of his
power serue his highnesse against the rebels. Whose
humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the ad-
uise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him;
which was in the end the vtter confusion of the earle
himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time
great troubles, causes of much bloudshed, and vndo-
ing of all Mounster.

While the lord iustice laie thus in campe about
Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir

P. J.

John

Sir William
Burke being
made a baron
sloved for
loy & shortlie
after died.

The Spani-
ards amazed
with the death
of Fitzmois.

Sir John of
Desmond sup-
plieth James
Fitzmois
roune.

Sir William
Dunne lord
iustice ma-
keth a tourne
into Moun-
ster.

The lord iu-
stice incam-
peth nere to
Kilmallocke.

The earle of
Desmond com-
meth to the
lord iustice to
the campe.

The earle of
Desmond is
committed to
ward.

The earle of
Desmond
doth humble
himselfe and
sweareth to
serue trulie.

John of Desmond
was incamped
with a great
company of rebels
upon the borders of
Slew-lougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great company of the rebels upon the borders of Slew-lougher. Whereupon his lordship removed and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person encounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of service, the earle being best acquainted with the country, gave advice to the lord justice, that he should divide the armie into two parts, and the lord justice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which advice was followed. But because that place of the present service is adjoining to a great wood, and therein were manie fastnesse, the lord justice did divide the rest of his companies into two other parts, and so everie of these three companies took waie into the wood & searched it thorough out, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord justices coming, and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawing towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: because he would spend and waste the forrage of that country, which was one of the chiefest places of reliefe that the enemies had. And from thence he went backe againe towards Bilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gillebons towne, which lieth in the plaines betwene Limerike and Bilmallocke towards Cmeleie and Harlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and travelling to and fro, in all such services as was daile offered to be done upon the enemy, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whereupon for the better service he divided his bands, and took out of the Irish companies one hundred, and delivered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good service, and one other hundred to capteine Wyse.

These two capteins had made spill upon certaine rebels, which shrowded themselves in the great wood called the blacke wood, upon whom they made a fallie, and did verie good service upon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which late beside Cetenbre castell, the said John of Desmond, who late in ambush for them, met and encountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord justice his armie; his enemies being strong and manie; and his companie weake and few, saving at that time the soldiers sent out of Devon and Cornwall arrived at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, under the leading of capteine George Bourchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose coming at so present a distresse was both tofull and also glad some.

And nere about this time, it was advertised unto the lord justice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixtene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some peece of service upon him, made verie secretlie a tourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his good espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so hid himselfe awaie, whereupon the lord justice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being alwaies mindfull of his Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enemies were daile stronger and stronger, they sent over sir John Perot late president of Mounster, with six ships well furnished and ap-

pointed, thereof he was admerall; and William Gorge master porter of the tower and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arrived unto the citie of Cork. Whereof the lord justice being advertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred unto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine houses, and one other hundred he assigned unto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good service towards, and to encourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bourchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Gorge, and using unto them verie good speeches, to encourage and persuade them to do his maiestie good service in these his affaires, and in hope they would performe the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordingly did acquit themselves, and some of them with the losse of their lives ended their daies in this service.

And he further also for his owne part, the more he bethought himselfe of the great service and charge laid upon him, the more carefull he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and travelled, and so overcame himselfe with studying, watching, labouring and travelling, that he overthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being overcome by sicknesse, and given to yeld thereunto, was determined to have dissolved his campe, and so to have returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present service, persuaded him not to dissolve the armie, but to take some order herein for his highnesse service, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Upon whose advices he prepared himselfe to travel towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the service did commit the government to sir Nicholas Malbie, who was then gouvernour by the name of coronell of Connagh; and then by easie journeyes he came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe weaker daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recoverie.

And yet mindfull of his maiesties service, he to encourage other therein, sent & called before him William Belham esquier, William Gorge esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welles maiord of the citie of Waterford, and gave unto them the order of knighthood, using the like persuasions as heretofore he had done unto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physike to recover his helth of bodie, but that still decayed. And doubting verie much of his recoverie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie coming unto him, who accordingly satisfied his request. But he inioined their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their coming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried unto Dublin, where it was buried.

But here by the waie (which should before have bene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with her her onellie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a sutoz in the behalfe of his husband, presented him to the lord justice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle his husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe nere Bilmallocke, he never repaired any more to the lord justice, but stood upon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he never meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissembling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie

The commenda-
tion of sir
Nicholas
Malbie.

Knights dub-
bed in f. field.

Sir William
Dunne fallerth
sicke & goeth
to waterford.

The governour
sendeth for
the earle of
Desmond.

Sir Nicholas
Malbie
made governour
of Mounster.

The earle gi-
veth onellie
sonnes and
daughters.

Knights dub-
bed at wa-
terford.

The governour
removeth from
Limerike to
Connell.

Sir William
Dunne lord
justice dieth.

The countesse
of Desmond
giveth her son
to be a pledge
for his father.

The governour
marcheth to
encounter
with John of
Desmond.

Sir John of
Desmond lieth
in an ambush
for the Eng-
lish capteins
and discomfi-
teth them.

The Devons
shire soldiers
arrive at wa-
terford.

Sir John
Perot sent to
serve on sea.

hostlie appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

The commenda-
tion of sir
Nicholas
Halbie.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Halbie, who im-
mediatlie vpon the departure of sir William Duri-
e vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge
laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to follow and
performe the same. For he was able to do it being of
great experience in martiall affaires, hauing bene
seruitor that waie vnder sundrie kings, & in strange
nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great
knowledge in matters of policie, hauing bene a stu-
dent in good letters, and a great trauceller in sundrie
nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the se-
uerall governments in euerie such place as there he
trauelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred
and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to
command; and diuiding them according to the ser-
uice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, cap-
taine Wolodall, and capteine Sentleger, vnto Kil-
mallocke with thre hundred footmen, and twelfth fiftie
horsemen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place
met for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie
coueted to possesse. But the more his care was that
waie, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care
of the other waie to keepe the same. Then with the re-
sidue of the companie he marched himselfe to the ci-
tie of Limericke, where he staid and remained for a
time to restrengthen his souldiours.

The gouernor
sendeth for
the earle of
Desmond.

During his abode and being there, it was thought
good by him and his capteins, to send vnto the earle
of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue
conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and ad-
uise for his maiesties seruice against the enimies.
The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters,
gaue verie good wordes, & promised much, but perfo-
med nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe
sent for from time to time, but he came not, but late
still at his house of Asketen, which is about fourtene
miles from Limericke. For albeit as yet he was not
in anie actuall rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne
but that he was secretlie combined with his two bre-
thren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion
and in armes against his maiestie. Which the earle,
suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge,
would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to
the gouernor; but still fed him with faire wordes and
frivolous answers. Wherefore the gouernor thought
good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him,
but left Limericke, and went into the fields, where he
incamped himselfe, and so set forthwards to doe some
seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his compa-
nie six hundred footmen vnder the ensignes of sir Wil-
liam Stanleie, capteine George Carew, capteine
Fisher, capteine Furse, capteine Piers, & capteine
Wind; and he himselfe and capteine Apellie reserved
one hundred horsemen betwene them. Now being
aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were
incamped in Connilo vnder their capteine John
of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being
come nere to an abbete or monasterie called Monas-
ter Penagh, seven miles from Limericke, there
appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of
horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand
or thereabouts, marching in battell arae, and had
cast out their wings of shot, and placed euerie thing
verie well and orderlie.

The gouernor
marcheth to
encounter
with John of
Desmond.

When the gouernor perceiued and beheld this,
being verie glad that some pece of seruice was to-
wards, he likewise conferreth with his capteins, and
by their aduises setteth his companie in like good or-
der, and brought them into a quadrant proportion,
setting out his flankers in seuerall places according
to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the
same: but his cariages he placed in the reerward,
with shot sufficient for their safeguard. Now when all

things were thus ordered, he marched forthwards to
the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he
must fight or die, and that brags would not beare
out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who
had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them
the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displayed;
and then marching forthwards in verie good order, he
tooke a plaine ditch in the open field: and minding to
abide the fight, disposed his horsemen, footmen, Ca-
louglasses, and his shot for his best strength and ad-
uantage.

The popes
banner dis-
played.

The gouernor setteth on wards, & giueth the onset
vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the
first & second volles, & answered the fight verie well,
euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter
stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fierce-
lie & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third
volle, that they were discomfited and had the ouer-
throw giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as
a worthy Kerres, who (as the historiographers write
of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon
his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who
soeuer turned first, he was the first that was gone;
for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he
could, shewing a faire paire of heeles, which was
better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight
were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one,
and thre score others of good account. And in the
chase, there were slaine and hurt, which died hostlie
after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen
was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of
this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom
he knew to be verie skillfull, and also dreaming
the victorie by his enchantments to be at his com-
mandement, encouraged John of Desmond for-
wards: and in the campe in the waie of good speed
would needs saie masse, and as the prophets of Beal
in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Pa-
zim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come;
for his God was asleepe and could not heare. Not-
withstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his
offerings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a vic-
torie, and that he himselfe would be the first that
should that daie giue the first blow; but whether he
so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the
full reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and dis-
solallie forsake the dutie and allegiance, which by the
word of God he did owe vnto his highnesse, and de-
voted himselfe a professed Jesuit to the Romish anti-
christ, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince.
The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present
in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of
Lernew stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little
hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thence:
but the whole companies were there, and had part of
the breakfast.

The battell
betwene the
gouernor and
sir John of
Desmond.

The Irish
lost the field.

Doctor Allen
is slaine.

Doctor Allen
encouraged
the campe to
fight.

The earle of
Desmond
was in view
of the fight.

This baron of Lernewes eldest sonne, named Pa-
trike, was seruant to his maiestie and sworne, and
serued in the court; but had leaue of his maiestie to
come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no
soner come, and entred into his fathers house and
home, but he forsake his faith and oth to his high-
nesse, and became a wicked rebell, and most traito-
rously bare armes against his highnesse, and so continued a
ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth
the nature of himselfe, and of the blood of that cursed
generation, among whome there is neither faith,
nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well re-
sembled to an ape, which (as the common proverbe
is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple
and beluet; euen so this wicked impe. For not-
withstanding he was trained vp in the court of
England, sworne seruant vnto his maiestie, in good
faueur and countenance in the court, and apparel-
ed

The baron of
Lernewes son,
seruant to the
quene and
sworne, bea-
reth armes a-
gainst his

Do faith nor
regard of an
oth among the
Irish.

Knightes dub-
bed in f. field.

Sir William
Durie falleth
sicke & goeth
to waterford.

Sir Nicho-
las Halbie
made gouernor
of Downster.

Knightes dub-
bed at wa-
terford.

Sir William
Durie lord
Iustice dieth.

The countesse
of Desmond
giueth her son
to be a pledge
for his father.

led according to his degree, and daily nurtured and brought up in all civillitie: he was no sooner come home, but alwaie with his English attires, and on with his breeches, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traitor as the veriest knave of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as daily experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the hystorie.

Jupiters cat.

The earle of Desmond dissembling, & his counsell.

The earle of Desmond sheweth himselfe to be an open rebell.

The gouernour remoneth to the rebell.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealth to the gouernours campe to in- trap it.

A garison placed at the rebell.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernour incamped himselfe fast by the riuer side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there laie that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: then then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernour, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and ioyfull of his good successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernour answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and ioine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraw himselfe and his companie from thence, vnlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantise. And therefore he remained thenceforth in the same place thre or foure daies, expecting still the earles coming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that thenceforth he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernour, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to his delaies and faire speeches to gaine time to serue his turne, remoued from thence to a towne of the earles named Keshill, and there incamped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaster, hauing bene abroad, declareth to the gouernour that he had discovered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarm made, & sundrie horsemen & shot according to the direction of the gouernour issued out, & met with the enemies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had bene euer since the last overthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This peece of seruice being done, and the night drawing nere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sleepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernour considering the intent of the enemies was to do what they could to remoue him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enemies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enemies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water,

they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waie: he before his departure from thence did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoie the enemies verie much: and then from hense he marched towards the earles house of Alketten, and by the waie he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Alketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the riuer, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the riuer, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernour hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbies house of Alketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the capitaines what were best to be done, it was agreed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuaade him to submission. The gouernour, who was a verie good secreta-
rie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, bring manie good wordes, termes, and reasons to persuaade him to conformance and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the bitter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Roessius the great prince of South-
waies by his mother Bessa, daughter vnto the said Roessius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waie of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Giraldines came out of Itallie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and liuing at Wimblesor, and thereof was called Giraldus de Wimblesor: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbowe earle of Chepstow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuaading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectuall reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Harraos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yeld and relent: but leauing his former and wonted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castels: as namelie Alketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofoule and Strangicullie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernour, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordingly, news was brought him that Sir William Dzurie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford, vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

This

The condit-
ons and man-
ners of Sir
William
Dzurie.

His seruice at
Bullongue.

He is taken
prisoner.

He serueth at
Keshill.

His seruice at
the commoti-
on in Denon.

His seruice at
Berwick.
He is prouost
marshall.
He is dubbed
knight.

He is generall
of the armie,
and doth a
good peece of
seruice in
Scotland.

He besiegeth
and taketh
Cenobough
castell.

Sir William
Dzurie sent
into Ireland
to be lord pre-
sident of
Munster.

Alketten the
earle of Des-
monds chiefest
house.

A letter sent
to the earle of
Desmonds to
persuaade him
to submission.

The house of
Desmonds.

The earle of
Desmonds
will not be
persuaded.

The earle of
Desmonds for-
tifieth his cas-
tels.

Sir William
Dzurie dieth.

The conditi-
ons and man-
ners of Sir
William
Dunne.

This Sir William Dunne was verie valiant, wife, and a gentleman of great experience, descended of a verie ancient and a worshipfull house, being a younger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother and kind of waite in the gifts of wisdom, valiantnesse, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and serued in the court; and as in yeares, so in knowledge of all courtlie seruices he did grow and increase, and became to be as

His seruice at
Bullongne.

gallant a courtier as none lightlie excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord Russell lord pryncesse of Wales, and after earle of Bedford, who gaue him good countenance and intertainment:

He is taken
prisoner.

for vnder him he serued in France at Hattrell and Bullongne, and after the warres ended, he went to Calis, and oftentimes being there he issued out, and did manie good seruices about Cambray and in Artois: and in the end about Burelles he was taken prisoner. Not long after he was redeemed and

He serueth at
seas.

ransomed, and then he would needs serue at the seas, and hauing gotten a ship well appointed for the purpose, he aduentured that seruice. The beginning of it was so hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall storme, and in great despair for euer to recover: neuertheless, whom the sword could not make afraid, the seas could not dismaie; but was euer one and the same man, of a good mind and great courage: and the storme being past, he followed the seruice which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maritimall man, and verie expert in all seruices at the seas. When the time of this his seruice was expired, he returned into England; attending vpon the earle of Bedford, he accompanied him in

His seruice at
the commoti-
on in Devon.

the seruice against the rebels of Devon, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first one thousand five hundred forty and nine, and did there verie good seruice. After which in course of time, he went to serue at Berwik, where his valor and behauior was such, that he was made pryncesse of marshall vnder the earle of Suffolk being lord lieutenant, and for his sundrie notable good seruices he rewarded him with the degree of knighthood.

His seruice at
Berwik,
He is pryncesse
marshall,
He is dubbed
knight.

Not long after that, there was a pece of necessarie seruice to be done in Scotland by the said earle vpon the queenes commandement; but he was verie sicke, and at that time he could not performe the same: wherefore he deputed in his place this worthy knight, whom he then made generall of the armie: and with such forces as were thought meet he entred into the seruices appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of Lennox, sir Thomas Spencers, sir George Carie, and sir Robert Constable, with sundrie other capitaines, to the number of twelue hundred footmen. And his commission being to serue at Edenborough, which then by the reason of the diuision among the noblemen, about the murdering of the earle of Surrey, he took, spoiled, and burned sundrie forts and castles: and in the end besieged and took the towne and castell of Edenborough, and deliuered the same, according as he was commanded, to the vse of the king: and so he returned againe to his old charge, with great praise and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

He is generall
of the armie,
and doth a
good pece of
seruice in
Scotland.

He besiegeth
and taketh
Edenborough
castell.

In verie short time after, his maiestie hauing good experience of the valor of this knight euerie waye, as well for his valiantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wisdom in ciuill gouernement, he calleth and draweth him from his office and charge at Berwik, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be employed in the office of a lord president, and assigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole pro-

Sir William
Dunne sent
into Ireland
to be lord pre-
sident of
Mounster.

vince of Mounster, where he shall haue sufficient matter and occasion to vse both the sword & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued his highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voyage & repaire into Ireland: & being now settled in his roome and office by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputy, he acquitteth himselfe verie well euerie waie, being as seuer a iudge and earnest persecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of his maiestie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After some time of his triall in this office, and sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputy being reuoked into England, he who had serued well in part, is called now to serue in all: and from a particular president is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputy made lord iustice. He was no sooner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the Desmond began in Mounster vnder James Fitzmorris, and the Italians lately come from the pope, and vnder the earle of Desmond and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the pacifying, or rather subduing of this wicked rebellion, he took such continuall trauels and troubles, & so busied his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell sicke & died (as is before said) in the citie of Waterford, and from thence his corps was removed to Dublin, and there buried; his bodie resting in peace, his soule in euerlasting blisse, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir William
Dunne is
made lord ius-
tice of all
Ireland.

The rebellion
of the Des-
monds in
Mounster.

The death of
sir William
Dunne.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was chiefe gouernor of Mounster, now that his commission by the death of sir William Dunne was expired and ended, gaue ouer to follow and actual warres or ciuill administration in Mounster; but removed himselfe and the whole campe vnto Lougher, and there dispersed them abrode in towne and villages to lie in garrison, and vpon their owne guards, vntill it were knowne who should haue the sword, and be the principall officer. Amongest the capitaines thus dispersed into seuerall places, sir William Stanleie, and capitaine George Carew were assigned to lie at Adare. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worthy knight, of whose prouidence and valiantnesse by the sword, & of whose wisdom & brightness in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked vsage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were most sorrowfull for the losse & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull by their spirits, & confer together how they may in this inter-reigne win the spurs, and be utterly deliuered from the English gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euerie seuerall garrison of the most principall capitaines, they would set seuerall companies to watch & keepe them in their holds, that they should not issue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at Kilmalocke, some at Carigofelle, some at Ahtetten, and some at one place, and some at another. And at Adare, where these two gentlemen sir William Stanleie & George Carew late, sir James of Desmond brother to the earle with foure hundred kerns and fiftie horses was appointed to serue and watch; which he did so carefullie & narrowly, that none durst to peepe nor looke out but in danger of some perill. But when bittels wared short within doores, the soldiers, who could not would be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without doores: and as want of bittels did increase, so did their stayings out vpon the enemies grow and increase. And so often were their sallies and incountrings with the enemies, that in the end they finding & feeling the con-

The campe is
dissolued and
dispersed into
garrisons.

Sir William
Stanleie and
capitaine
George Carew
are assign-
ed to Adare.

The garrisons
are besieged
and mur-
dered by the
Irish.

Sir James of
Desmond be-
siegeth Adare.

The Irish-
men leaue to
inure the
garrison.

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering euer lost some of their companie. Whereupon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a generall gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to seke, nor yet failed to do the seruice which vnto them did apperteyne, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lying in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to do a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they took a bote or cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the riuer, which lieth betwene Adare and the Berrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & apperteyning to the knight of the ballete, who then was in actuall rebellon against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his bethzen, where they then late at a castell named Ballisloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoeuer they thought good: in their returne before they could recover the riuer, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the ballete, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two ensignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue sir scoze persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and hernes; and sir James himselfe with others grauouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were shetwolie hurt and wounded. At length these two capteins recovered their bote, and caused all the souldiors to be transported; they themselues being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The lords of the counsell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselves, and toke aduise for the chosse of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolved vpon sir William Delham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon sundae being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancelor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Desmond and Kildare, and the whole counsell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancelor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of counsell, and of hir maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knight-hood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasurer of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate:

and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of arte countenance and calling, perswading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Desmond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the young lord Gerald sonne and heire to the erle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Packworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the hode seale was sent to sir Warham Sentleger, to be knight or prouost marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall cie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a iournie into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancelor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships iournie towards against the rebels: who had also in commission to tetter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his iournie, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northward, and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands latelie come from Berwike, vnder the leading of capteine Walker, capteine Case, and capteine Pisheman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Bessle a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwene the earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, baron of upper Ossie: betwixt whome was a most tall hatred. And bonds were taken betwene them for ressoying ech one to the other the pries, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good intertainment.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by iournies he came to Cathell, where the earle of Desmond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaice vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betwene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cathell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a brane bolee of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maiors in all dutifull manner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weapond and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thence, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Alice Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Alice, and with most pestilent reasons perswaded him to rebellon. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to be but delatres, toke aduise of the counsell which was with him, what

The earle of Desmond made gouernor of Mounster.

Sir Warham Sentleger made prouost marshall of Mounster.

The lord iustice maketh a iournie into Mounster. The lord chancelor sent into England.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Desmond and the baron of upper Ossie reconciled and made friends.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice honorablie receiued into Limerike.

Doctor Sanders wicked letters to Alice Burke.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards. The earle to deliuer one of his castles.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

The earle sendeth letters but commeth not.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his comming in.

The earle of Desmonds butler taken and slain.

The earle of Desmond proclaimed traitor.

The knight of the ballete spoiled his countrie.

The knight of the ballete a rebel.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carews seruice at Adare.

Sir William Delham chosen to be lord iustice.

1579

Sir William Delham hauing taken the sword, dubbed the lord chancelor knight.

that was best to do. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Desmond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to requite his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe
as followeth.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

The earle tenderly letters but cometh not.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his comming in.

The earle of Desmonds butler taken and slaine.

The earle of Desmond proclaimed traitor.

First, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeine strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and maintained by such traitors and in such castels, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

That he shall deliuer vp into his maiesties hands one of his castels of Carigofolle or Asketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his disloyaltie greatlie suspected.

That he do forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto his maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of his maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland.

That he do forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and toine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Desmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errors past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Desmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Crough the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delates, requiring restitution for old wrongs and injuries, and iustifying himselfe to be a good subiect, though he do not yield to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parlay, the lord iustice was removed to Crome, where he expected the returne of the earle of Desmond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capitaine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle of Desmond being returned, & having little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice removed from Crome to Keshkill, and he was no sooner incamped, but alarm by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond: & in that skirmish three or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he daile accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaye of time could auaille with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in

the highest degree of treason at Keshkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The earle of Desmonds treasons
articulated.

That the erle of Desmond hath praactised most vnnaturallie the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he practised to bring in strangers, and practised with foren princes to bring and allure in strangers to inuade this land.

3 That he fostered and maintained doctor Sanders, James Fitzmoyses, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the vtter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie intertained by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorously had murdered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reprimonding or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the slaughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murdering late in the next bed vnto Danels.

6 That when the strangers at Smerwicke had no waie to escape by sea, at the comming of sir William Dwyrie, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement g'uen vnto him by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there intertiments.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillery of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appere by a note found in the port mantien of doctor Allen lately slaine in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castels.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Gussace, Simon Brian, and others the quenes subjects, for whom he undertooke to the late lord iustice to be safely brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his household seruants, as also his chiefe captains, which vnder the popes banner displayed most traitorously in the fields, did assault sir Nicholas Malbie knight his maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Cuagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that date carie.

12 That he hath vtterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means used and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer vp doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which do daile accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castels, burned his townes, and desolated his countries aforehand, to the intent his maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he daile looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of foreners, & daile solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to toine with him in this his most execrable and rebellious enterprize.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to the

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against his maiesties crowne and dignitie, vntlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Vnto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Dymond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the viscount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Malbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limericke, and other principall townes to be in like order proclaimed. Immediatlie and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice removed to Dople Brian, whereupon the third of Nouember he took a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the erle of Dymond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which companie George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Abare. And then he removed and took his iournie vnto Limericke, being accompanied with the earle of Dymond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able anie longer to shrowd his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Poughall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but countable: for verie shortly after, without deniall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and took it, and there remained about five daies, rifling and carrying auaite the goods and household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Liffinen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Poughall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at Waterford is sent to Poughall.

The ordinances recovered from the rebels.

White, capteine of the barke is slain.

The earle of Dymond makes a rode into Connello, & killeth a number of the rebels.

The earle of Dymond, as soon as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall: the capteine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. As soon as he was come to the walls of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recovered from the rebels certaine ordinances of the said townes; and being put to vnderstand that the seneschall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were together, and then more rashlie than consideratlie, gaue the charge and onset upon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handful to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and ouerlaid, and there slaine, and with much adoe did a few of his companie recover their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slackening his businesse, did assemble and muster all his companie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furse, and others, made a iournie into Connello, which was then the cheefest place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for bittels and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiours were leised in the townes and villa-

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for anie such ghests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowne in his castell called the Priu castell, and escaped verie narrowlie. This peece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Mac Millies countrie, and being to go through a certeine passe, he met with the seneschall, vpon whom he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantlie, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the seneschalls brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongst whom capteine Zouches trumpeto was one; which so grieved the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Liffinen, which in anie waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of anie of his friends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

The earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

The earle of Desmond within an houre.

The death of the earle of Desmond.

The death of the earle of Desmond.

From this he took his iournie towards Corke, and in his waie at Dunsfening he took a peece of one thousand five hundred hinde or colwes, which were all driuen and sent vnto Corke, at which citie as soon as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the capteins he diuided and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furse, he went to Cashell, and by the waie he took the maiors of Poughall, whom forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yeld vnto the towne vnto Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him vnto Poughall, and there before his owne doore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, sauing one frier, whom he spared, because he had fetched the corpes of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had caried it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancell of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pittens the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the redressing of the walls and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impeopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thence, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and opportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the capteins for some speciall seruice, and remembryng that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said vnto them; it was agreed betwixne his lordship and the capteins, to do some seruice vpon them, and to trie their valour: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege thereto.

The maiors of Poughall hanged before his owne doore.

The towne of Poughall all desolate.

The inhabitants removed to dwell and inhabit the towne.

All the townes in the county.

The inhabitants removed to dwell and inhabit the towne.

The inhabitants removed to dwell and inhabit the towne.

The Spaniards, who kept alwaies good watch, and had also verie good espials abroad, they were forthwith aduertised that a companie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselves saw it to be true, and had discovered them, they began to distrust themselves, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning a forsaking the castell, they passed over the water, thinking to recover the woods and

The Spaniards lying in Strangicallie forsake their fort and in fleeing are slain.

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they overtake them, and slue all oꝝ the most part of them, and so toke the castell, wherein the lord gouvernour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Abare, and understanding that the erle of Desmond was abrode, the garrison minding to do some service vpon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their retorne; and vpon an advantage he gaue the onset vpon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they bzake the most part of their pikes, and were inforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staves to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earls in the end with the losse of his men was dꝛiuen to giue ouer and to fle.

Helike seruice did sir Henrie Mallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bouchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the captains in their seuerall charges and garrisons, who though of themselves they were verie forward; yet the lord gouvernour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the forward, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Abare, and marched to Boteuagant a house of the lord Barries, where a pꝛe of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sicknes came among the souldiers which toke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboue thꝛe hundred of them sicke, and for thꝛe daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sicknesse not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a pꝛe of seruice, diuided his companie into two parts, the one he tooke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Iland; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into thꝛe parts, & so marched to Dingle a cūsh. And as they went they dꝛaue the whole countrie before them vnto the Wentrice, & by that means they pꝛied and toke all the castell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garrons, shepe, and goats, and all such people as they met they did without mercie put to the sword. By these meanes the whole countrie hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were dꝛiuen to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perishe for famine, or to die vnder the sword. Neuerthelesse, manie of them understanding that sir William Winter vice-admerall of England was newlie arrived with the quenes ships at the Wentrice, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat pꝛejudiciall to hir maiesties seruice: because they perswaded themselves, that if they had folowed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

Sir William, vice-admerall of England, vpon the newes reported to hir maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to do his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certeine moneths, his vittels waxed scant; and se-

ing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing on wards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arrive thither, he hoised his sailles and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceived: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwicke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leaving the souldiers in their garrisons, let vs retorne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the first of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Berwicke bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad horsemen met his lordship; and from thence he trauelled by Iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honozable receiued. And to the end to encourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certeine bzanches and articles, wherof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newly set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.

First, that no writ of *Sub pena* shall be awarded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, vntill the partie which such writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouvernour, other wise than as they in times past haue vsed to do.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enimies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buye anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make payment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne doe vse anie vndecent & vnuerent speech to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall enjoy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called *Diegeshe*.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and haven, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none aboue the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time do take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnersuiceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be provided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

From

The earle of Desmond in danger to be taken.

The earle of Desmond is taken an ambush.

The diligent seruice of the earle of Desmond.

A sicknesse in the campe.

The maior ofoughall honoured before his wne doges.

The towne ofoughall desolate.

The inhabitants reuoked dwell and habit the wne.

Sir William Winter giueth protections.

The Spaniards lying in strangecallie take their rest and in the sea.

William Stans-
is now
come out of
England
marcheth the
lord justice.

Captaine
Stans sent
to be at the
Bewrie.

Sir Henrie
Harington is
made sene-
shall of the
Shirnes.

The proud
letters of the
earle of Des-
mond.

The lord ju-
stice entred a
new tourneie
into Houn-
ter.

The lord ju-
stice kept
sessions at
Waterford.

The lord ju-
stice received
honourable
into water-
ford.

From thence his lordship by sundrie tournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about thre miles before he came to the citie, William Stans newlie arrived out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well horsed with English geldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attended his lordship into the citie, and from thence he was assigned and sent unto the Bewrie, where he died verie shortly after upon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his spleene corrupted, and his bzaire met with filthie matter. His hands were disbled and deliuered to either capitaine. And immediatlie upon his entrance into the citie, he sent for Jaques Wellingsfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord justice into Hounster as he was commanded; but upon his submission after foure daies he was released. And upon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-
shall of the Shirnes, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter under their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of November 1579, to the lord justice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holiness and king Philip, who haue undertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore perswaded the lord justice to ioyne with them.

The lord justice, haniing set the pale in some order, and hauing committed the same to the gouernment of the erle of Kildare, he made a new tourneie into Hounster, and departed out of Dublin the eighth of Ianuarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his tourneies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, and sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Tinneferne in his waie he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie 1579, by water from Ballisacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maior of the citie. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and captaine George Carew, and captaine Piers, issued out of the citie with their foure bands, and nere to the shore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a tollie skirmish, and so retired themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulwarks, gates, and cor-
teins of the citie were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike manner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haven, and a great ranke of chambers upon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maior and aldermen araid in their scarlet gownes met him, and presented unto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered unto them againe, and the sword the maior bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie upon two severall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made unto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the shird in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this citie the earle of Desmond came unto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Hogan of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungernon and Boghall. Whereupon one hundred horsemen under captaine Zouch, and

Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen under sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, captaine George Carew, and captaine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord justice from Waterford, upon notice of the trouble daillie increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be pryncipall marshall, authorizing him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offender be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuitie, or be not worth ten pounds in goods: also that upon good causes he maie parlie and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & surdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and thieues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man doe deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he doe euerie moneth certifie the lord justice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord justice, after that he had rested about thre weekes at Waterford, he remoured and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Desmond met him, being the fiftenth of Februarie 1579, and from thence he went by tourneies unto Limerike, where the chancelor of Limerike upon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse booke and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arraigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was upon some suspicion committed prisoner unto his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Rathkell, where within one houre the erle of Desmond came unto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed upon, they passed the next morning ouer the bridge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathkell. Now when they had amerced the bridge which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed ouer the same into Connello, where the lord justice and the earle of Desmond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilkolman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant unto captaine Fenton, coming from Limerike with fise horsemen, and thre shot, which were of the gar-
rison at Adare, he was set upon at Rathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge fiftene or eightene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he eschped them: but he and James Fenton the capitaine together, and Guidon, so bestirred themselves, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slew their leader, with fise or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot upon the spurte, and eager upon the vile rebels, that

The articles
of a commission
for the marsh-
all law.

The baron of
Lernew sub-
mitteth him
selfe.

The castell of
Carigofelle
is besieged.

The lord ju-
stice and cap-
taine Carew
take the view
of the castell.

The castell
besieged.

The proud
briags of the
Spaniard.

The chancel-
lor of Limer-
ike sent to
ward for
treason.

The bishop
committed
prisoner to his
owne house.

Nicholas
Parker verie
valiantlie de-
fendeth him-
selfe.

The castell
is battered
with shot.

that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same date, a souldier of the marshals encountered with two Irish kernes, the one of them he slew, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellows. The next date following, being the twelfe of March, the lord iustice and the earle divided their armie into two severall companies by two ensignes and three together, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlongher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that date about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the castell which they found that daie.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies service, they did likewise the next date divide themselves, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie untill it was night. And being then incamped nere together, the baron of Lerne came to the earle of Dymond, whome the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble maner yielded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships devotion, promising and presenting his service with all dutifullnesse. And then, when after great travells they had marvellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofosse, and to laie siege to the same: for in it laie the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the river, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are intironed with the said floods and flowing waters. Asone as they were incamped, the lord iustice approached the castell so nere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordinglie he might consider the most fittest places for the laing of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this service. Now the Spaniards hauing espied them, spent manie shot vpon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship vpon this view had determined what he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

In the same were sirtene Spaniards and fiftie others vnder one Iulio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond undertooke the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable enginer: standing vpon his reputation, he pled the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against his maiestie: declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, untill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was daile looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be unladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namelie a souldier of sir George Bourchiers, one of sir Henrie Mallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. Asone as the ordinance was unladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with three canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they to beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditches: by meanes whereof the same became to be assaultable.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that date, entred into the bitter bannes by a doze that the souldiers had broken, and was master of it presentlie. The Spaniards ther vpon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbicane, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselves, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recovered the possession of the whole, and did put fittie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards: and sir others he took, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saued that daie but onelie the capteine Iulio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or three daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next date, being the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and fourescore, the ordiances were remoued and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiers as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieved and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chieffest forts thus recovered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Dymond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, euen as they had done to this fort of Carigofosse. Where when they came, the two lords divided themselves, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbey, and the earle of Dymond vpon the further side of the river.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place anie watch or ward nere to the castell, by reason of the great disadvantage of the rockes which laie altogether vpon the castell. While the campe late there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue siege vnto the castell of Ballinloghan, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was guarded untill this time against his maiestie. The ward had no longer the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were overtaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution done at Carigofosse, and doubting the sequele of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretlie about midnight, leauing a traine of powder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained untouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night escaped into the woods.

This castell thus recovered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all Mounster which was guarded against his maiestie: but all were now at his deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Mallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbey, and so vpon the fift of Aprill he dislodged with the rest of the armie, and went vnto Limerike: commanding the capteins to cut down the woods on both sides of the river, that the botes might passe free to and fro. At his comming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Dymond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the countie cell

Capteine Macworth first entred the castell.

The castell of Carigofosse is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Ballinloghan.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrisons

The baron of Lerne submitted himselfe.

The castell of Carigofosse is besieged.

The lord iustice and capteine Carew take the view of the castell.

The castell besieged.

The proud blags of the Spaniard.

The castell is battered with shot.

The articles of a commission the marshall law.

The chance of times sent to the son.

The bishop mitted order to his house.

Olaf mer verie little de with him

are sent to
their places
appointed.

cell which had followed in this tourneie rode to Dublin: and sir Nicholas Dalbie departed into Connagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For alwaies as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen were issued out upon, and most commonlie had the worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an occasion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water, and capteine Case went by land, and after a time spent in searching the woods, they returned with a pzeie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and verie good stoe of shepe, besides the slaughter of manie traitors.

A commission
to create sir
William
Burke to be
baron.

At his being and during his abode in Amerike, upon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued his maiesties commission under the broad seale of England to be lord iustice (where before he held the same by the election and order of the counsell) and therewith also one other commission, for creating of sir William Burke baron of castell Connall, with a yearelie pension of one hundred markes during his life. And from this time, the lord iustice spent this summer in Spounster, traueilling to and fro through out the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other capteine in his seuerall garrison doing such seruice upon the rebels as by occasion was offered. The lord iustice upon the fifteenth of June, after that he had marched a few miles in Mac Aulies countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed through the boggie mountaine of Slewolougher into Kerie, and there he discovered a great pzeie of the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the boord of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke about two thousand kine, besides stoe of shepe and garons, with part of the traitors masking apparell.

The earle of
Desmond and
his wife and
doctor Sanders
in perill
to be taken.

A mutinie among
the soldiers
for lacke
of vittells.

Sir Cormac
Mac Ceige
doth a pzeie of
seruice vpon
sir James of
Desmond.

The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, escaped verie hardlie; and their priest for half was faine to leaue his gowne behind. The like seruice he did the next daie, being the five and twentieth of June at Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie began amongst the soldiers vnder sir George Bourchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dowdall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir Cormac Mac Ceige thirffe of the countie of Corke did notable seruice vpon sir James of Desmond; which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a roade into Mulkroe, and toke a great pzeie from the foresaid sir Cormac. Whereupon his brother Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and countrie and followed the pzeie, and recovered the same: sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonor and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in hand, withstanding the matter.

Sir James
of Desmond in
taking of a
pzeie is taken
prisoner and
executed.

Whereupon they fell at hand-fight. In which conflict and fight the said Donnell behaved himselfe so valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the matter, that the pzeie was recovered, and sir James himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and all his force, being about a hundred and fiftie persons, were slaine and ouerthrowne. He that toke him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of certeine inconueniences, he kept him close, and secretlie hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there, and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not escape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cormac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, until, by letters of commandement from the lord iustice and counsell, he did deliuer him vnto sir War-

ham Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to capteine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in like order to them addrested) was examined, indicted, arraigned, and then vpon judgement aduanced, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quartered, it was together with the head set on the towne gates of the citie of Corke, and made the pzeie of the foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost an other of his heads.

Sir James
of Desmond
sent to sir
Warham
Sentleger
to capteine
Raleigh, and
was executed
to death.

The fate of
the countesse
of Desmond

Sir John of
Desmond
minded to
goe with the
countesse
of Desmond

Sir John of
Desmond and
doctor Sanders
were in danger
to be taken.

Jupiters cat.

The loialtie
of sir Cormac
Mac Ceige.

The earle of
Desmond and
his countesse
in danger to
haue bene taken.

Sir Cormac
Mac Ceige
made knight

Sir George
Bourchier
counsell
of Spounster.

This force
both of the
princes part
and of the
of the prouince.

The miserie
of the people.

This seruice of this knight was maruellouslie well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and counsell, and then from his maiestie he receiued verie frendlie and thankfull letters. This man was a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Keough, and they both a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Poze now earle of Glancar, and whose ancestors (as is said) were kings before the conquest of Spounster. They are all men of great power, and greatlie esteemed in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in dutie and obedience to his maiestie and his lawes, and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishie in that land. For albeit a more Irish gentleman can hardly digest anie Englishman or English government, & whatsoeuer his outward appearance be, yet his inward affection is corrupt and naught: being not unlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had transformed into a beautiful ladie, and made her a noble princeesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could not forbear to snatch at him: and as the ape, though he be neuer so richly attired in purple, yet he will still be an ape. This knight, after he did once yeild himselfe to his maiesties obedience, and had professed his loialtie, he euer desired to ioine himselfe vnto the companie of the Englishmen, and became in time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued according to his maiesties lawes, and did so good seruice at all times when it was requisit and required, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if at anie time he were had in suspition, he would by some kind of seruice purge & acquite himselfe, even as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir James of Desmond, to his great praise & commendation, and to his acquittall against the reprochfull reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitzwilliams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a verie good triall of his fidelitie, truth, and good seruice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and made him thirffe of the countie of Corke: euen as the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice vnto his maiestie by his letters of the twelue of August, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and praising that the same might be so acceptablie receiued, as that the enobling of him might be both an ornament to his house, an incouraging vnto others to do the like, and a testimonie against others of his sort, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at greater aduantages) to haue done the like seruices.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quartering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaie the earle himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor Sanders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue no breath nor rest to releue themselves, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued; and by reason the haruest was taken from them, their cattels in great numbers pzeied from them, and the whole countrie spoiled and pzeied; the poore people, who liued onelie vpon their labors, and fed by their milch coltes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were thus taken from them, and offer themselves, their wiues, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer

the

Sir James
of Desmond
sent to Sir
Warham
Senteleger
to captaine
Raleigh, and
was executed
to death.

The fate of
the countesse
of Desmond.

Sir John of
Desmond
minded to
goe with the
bicomte Wal-
tinglasse.

Sir John of
Desmond and
doctor San-
ders in streng-
the in dan-
ger to be sa-
kin.

Supiters cat.

The lastitie
of Sir Coz-
mac Deige.

Sir Cozmac
Deige
the knight

The earle and
his countesse
in danger to
haue bene sa-
kin.

Sir George
Bourcher co-
ronell of
Mounster.

This force is
both of the
princes paie,
and of the lord
of the pro-
uince.

the miserie
the people.

the famine therewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betwene the earle of Desmond and his brother Sir John, either of them excusing that whereof they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fled from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his lady and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares betwized the miserable estate of his husband, his selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable request) sute, that his husband might be taken to submission.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distress, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the aduenture, to passe for their refuge to the bicomte Waltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to do some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they took two, the one being a frier named James Hale and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the frier was referued, but Sir John and the doctor by the benefit of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iourneie. The lord iustice being at Newcassell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Abare and Asketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, daie, and time appointed, for a speciall pece of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeyed, they took their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother betwized the matter, and yet for hast they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Neuertheless, they took two priests, the one of fiskeene and the other of eightheene kine; and the next daie they took another prieste of two hundred kine, due diuerse traitors, and took two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes nuntio, they being poore bare footed friers, and he a lustie horsman: and then his lordship returned to Asketten, where he left master Parker constable of the place; and from thence he went to Limerike, where he receiued news by master Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arrivall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedie repaire to Dublin, did set the countie in some good order, and by the aduise of the councill at Limerike, he appointed Sir George Bourcher coronell of all Mounster, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in Mounster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsmen three hundred fourescore and fiftene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and fiftene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to Sir Warham Senteleger, and the earle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he took his iourneie through Conaugh for the like establishing of the countie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered by the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the councill, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arrivall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the bicomte of Waltinglasse, and Rheon make Hugh, the chiefe of his sex of the Obyins, were lying in the Obyins countie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of captaine Fitzgiralde, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellion, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obyins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subiect, or his owne credit, most traitorously revolteth from his lawfull prince, and conioineth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and persuadeth to resist and make head against his maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without anie reward promised, were easilie persuaded, because they would be persuaded, and were most willing to exercise anie maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselves in the fastnes of the Glennes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & catell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a ballie or a combe lying in the middle of the wood, of a great length, betwene two hills, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggye and soft, and full of great stones and slipperie rocks, verie hard and euill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hills, & full of bushments and vnderwoods.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countie, nor with the Irish scruties, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so nere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolved himselfe to haue a pece of seruice to be done vpon them. Wherefore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glennes, & giveth order to Sir William Stawleie, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Henrie Bagnoll, captaine Adwelle, and to John Parker, lieutenant to captaine Furse with all their footmen, and to Francis Cobble captaine of the herne, and George Spore an old veteran of Berwike, coronell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cobble, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresee the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his companie; notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the five & twentieth of August, they entered the Glennes.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Wingfield, captaine George Carew, captaine Denie, and others on horsebacke scaled vpon the mountaine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiralde, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he beset them and placeth all his men with their peeces amongst the trees, and there couered themselves, vntill the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euery side of the hill, with great furie assaileth them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the bowward, both captains and souldiours. The residue which followed, being in despaire to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselves, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue bene

The bicomte
of Walting-
lasse lieth in
the Glennes
with the re-
bels.

The strength
of the fastnesse
in the Glennes

A seruice ap-
pointed to be
done against
the Obyins.

The lord de-
putie scaled
vpon the
mountaine.

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: upon whose coming they retired into their fastnesse.

The English men came in the Shinnis.

Sir Peter Carew came.

Jaques Wingfield his wisdom to wards his nephews.

In this conflict, George Poore, capitaine Audicte, Francis Cosbie, and sir Peter Carew colonell, were then murdered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and enforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saved him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, as soone as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreseeing the euill successe which was feared would issue, perswadeth with his two nephews, sir Peter and capitaine George Carew, to staie and to forbear to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereunto, nor be perswaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his uncle perforce kept him, saying; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodness saved and perserued.

This blacke daie was a dolefull and a greivous daie to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patiently as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the coming of the lord iustice; who as soone as he was returned, then the lord Greie was sworn, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Desmond in this meane time, being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incampeth at Traligh, where the fount the same night espied a light in the enemies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capitaine, setteth all his companies in battell array, & so marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traligh towards the fort, euery man being at a full resolution to do his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approaching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrusted themselves, and forsooke the fort, and by the guiding of the Irisherie, they remoued themselves from thence to Glanmingell, whome the gouernor pursued, & ouertooke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glanmingell, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mountaines adioining. Whereupon the daie being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done any further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enemies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst do.

As soone as he was incamped, he calleth the prisoners (who were taken) before him, and they confessed that they were in number, not above seven hundred men: but had brought with them pikes, caliuers, munitions, and all kinds of artillerie, sufficient for five thousand men: because they knew

that the Irishmen were of bodie sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safe: he arrived, and how that they were intertained: requesting that the supplie appointed before their coming from home, might with all speed be sent auaile, and for which they did daile loke: because it was thought concluded betwene the pope and king Phillip, to make a thorough conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to do the like with England: And moreover, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiours of the enemies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as nere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Piers, and certeine shot, he drew so nere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had any shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his toles, can do any thing in his profession: no more can the souldior fight without his meet weapons, nor serue without his necessities: and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was driuen to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The Spaniards perceiuing this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of threescore men; and the gouernor seeing their aduantage, thought to follow the aduise of his captains, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrewe Martin more hasty than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor preuaile at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by fourteines he came to Keshell: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yielded by all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horsemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of captains Zouch, capitaine Walter Raleigh, capitaine Denie, who had also capitaine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capitaine Macworth, capitaine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

Captaine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Keshell, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staied behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a maner among the Irish kernes, that whensoever any English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lieng, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the coming of the said kernes; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their maners and old vsages to the said place, and there took

The determination of the pope and king Phillip, to make a thorough conquest of Ireland.

The lord deputie made cheth to the fort, and besegeth it.

The earle of Desmond incampeth at the fort.

The fort is summoned.

The answer of the fort.

The earle of Desmond lacke of munition could not preuaile against the fort.

The Spaniards (scut out and give a skirmish.

The Spaniards make a sallie vpon the Englishmen.

The lord deputie cometh to Keshell, and is there met by the earle of Desmond.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is beset vpon the land side.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and putteth them to the foile.

The companies of the Spaniards nor above seven score.

take their pleasure; who when they were in their securitie, the captaine and his men came vpon them, and toke them all. Among them there was one, who caried and was laden with withs, which they vsed in stead of halters: and being demanded what he would doe with them, and whie he caried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang by English churles: for so they call Englishmen. Is it so (quoth the captaine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish kerne: and so commanded him to be hanged by with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their deserts.

The lord deputie mar-
shalled the
fort, and be-
lieved it.

The fort is
summoned.

The answer
of the fort.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as nere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also newlie returned from out of Eng- land: but he arrived at Kinsale, and his viceadme- rall captaine Bingham came into the bate of saint Marie weeke of Smereweeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir Wil- liam Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before a- ny assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requir- ing of them who they were, what they had there to doe, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in his maiesties land; & required therewith to yeld by the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by his maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with o- ther reprochfull speeches: and that therefore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what fort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and lased for the batterrie; and betwene whom it was then determi- ned how all things should be done.

The Spani-
ards make a
sallic upon the
Englishmen.

The diligent
seruice of the
mariners.

The fort is
beset upon the
land side.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consul- ting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some aduantage, made a sallie vpon the English- men: which was forthwith answered by captaine Denie (who as then had but a dozen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to captaine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaued themselves, and so wor- thilie followed the fight, that they made the Spani- ards with more hast than with good speed to returne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion be- twene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be unloden certaine culuerings, and like peeces of or- dinance out of his maiesties ships, which then laie in the rode of Smereweeke, and then there being a great banke betwene the shores side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterrie was readie to be giuen. A pece of seruice (the place and time con- sidered) thought worthe great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to fol- low the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a pece of ordinance, offering vnto them mer- cie if they would yeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to bat- ter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

This first daie of batterrie was captaine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made their bags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skir- mish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done, but onelie the continuance of the batterrie. The fourth daie was captaine Zouches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie yong gentle- man named John Cheke, who dyed so nere the fort, that he looked ouer the purport into it, which being seene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a pece at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these four- daies, the trenches for the full batterrie were draine and brought so nere vnto the fort, that now they left to sallie any longer with the fort, but verie hot- lie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides.

John Cheke
is slaine.

The fort is
battered on
euerie side.

The Spani-
ards desire a
parlee.

The Spaniards, who had staid themselves vpon the hope of some further supplie; to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had re- ceiued; and seeing also the batterrie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desir- ed a parlee with the lord deputie, who bitterlie deni- ed it: saying, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parles are al- lowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. When they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. When they reques- ted that certaine particular men among them- selues might haue their free passage, and certaine o- ther conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yel- ding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile any waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Miser cordia, misericordia*, and offered to yeld both themselves and the fort, without any condifort at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent captaine Jaques Wingfield ma- ior of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and unfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued in, and forthwith the captaine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord depu- tie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to doe the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laied their pikes acrosse vpon the same. Which be- ing done, the said captaine Wingfield came out of the fort, and brought the captaine with him, pro- mising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wingfield to re- turne againe to the fort.

Captaine
wingfield is
sent to the fort.

The prisoners
in the fort de-
liuered.

In this fort sir James Fitzgiral knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the erle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the captaine had yelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, captaine Raleigh together with captaine Pacworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaugh- ter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were clere, the lord de- putie came to the fort, and hauing done what plea-

As,

See

fed him, his lordsh^p returned, and manie of the cap-
teins he saved. The fort forthwith was raised, the ar-
moz and munitions were disperfed abroad, and all
things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the
cozonell and campeinaster ouer into England by
capteine Denie, and dismissed the armie, and sent
euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordsh^p
went from thence to Dingham, which is a long scat-
tering waste towne, and in it foure or five castels,
which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defa-
ced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine
Zouch made
the gouernour
of Desmond.

And here the earle of Dymond met with the lord
deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, be-
ing readie to haue followed the seruice if need had
so required. In this towne the lord deputie made cap-
teine Zouch gouernour of Barrie and Desmond, and
appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accom-
panied him with capteine Casy, who had one hun-
dred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horse-
men, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that
towne, or where they thought good. And these had to
them giuen all the victuals which were found in the
fort. And from hence his lordsh^p went to Limerike,
and came thither the seauenth and twentieth of No-
uember, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five
hundred & eightie. At which time there arriued out of
England six new bands of soldiers, vnder the lead-
ing of capteine Berkleie, capteine Cruse, capteine
Herb, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordsh^p
bestowed in severall garrisons, and in such places as
were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkleie one-
lie of the captains remained in Dounster, and was
placed in the house of Asketten, the chiefe castell of
the earle of Desmond with two hundred men.
The others went into Connagh, where the wicked
sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon
their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spani-
ards were onerthowne, and thereby a sufficient
warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke them-
selues, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the
like would also inue upon them: yet see how that the
benemous Ipyda had no sooner lost one of his heeds,
but in stead of one, sundrie and manie others are
sprong vp. For at the verie instant, the basardlie
brood of the earle Clanricard, the viscount of Bal-
tinglasse, associated with the Obyins, Omozes,
and Keuenaughs in Leinster, & with sundrie others
of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open
rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Dounster,
Connagh, and a great peere of Leinster are in arms
and actuall rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was
wont to be the worst) is now the best and most qui-
etest.

The earle of
Dymond is
the gouernour
of Dounster.

The cleargies
band doe arriue
into Ireland.

The earle of
Kildare, and
the baron of
Deluin had in
suspicion, and
are committed
to ward.

The lord deputie being at this present in Lime-
rike, & aduertised of these troubles, setteth all things
in order for the seruice in Dounster, and committed
the whole gouernement of that prouince vnto the
earle of Dymond, and then he returned vnto Du-
blin, where he took order for Connagh & Leinster.
And about this time there arriued out of England
150 horsemen set out at the charges of the clea-
gie of England, vnder the leadings of William
Russell sonne to the earle of Bedford, and of Brian
Fitzwilliams, which were disperfed according to the
seruice. The lord deputie being returned vnto Du-
blin, the earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin
his sonne in law, were had in suspicion to be parta-
kers and secret dealers in these rebellions, and there-
vpon were committed to ward vnder the custodie of
Jaques Wellingfield master of the ordnance. Im-
mediatlie vpon whose apprehensions, the lord Hen-
rie Fitzgiralde, sonne and heire to the said earle, and
of the age about seauentene yeares, being persua-
ded by his fosterfathers and followers, he fled into

Dhalla whereof he was baron, and there (as it was
said) he was taken by the Dconhours, and kept a-
gainst his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare
further that should be become of the earle.

The earle son
is kept by the
Dconhours

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie,
he coniectured that this was but a surmised and co-
lorable kind of dealing, to bleare his lordships eyes;
therefore by order and good aduise he first willed the
earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his mes-
senger returned with an answer, that the pong lord
was willing to come, but the Dconhours, who were
in doubt what should be become of the earle, would
in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, vnlesse they
might haue good assurance for his safe returne a-
gaine vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these
kind of fond excuses and disordered dealings, sent the
earle of Dymond then being in Dublin, to deale
with the Dconhours, who being accompanied with
sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas
White master of the rolles, capteine George Ca-
rew, capteine Macworth, and sundrie other cap-
teins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the boy-
ders and marches of Dhalla; whence after much
talk to no purpose, they all returned without the
pong lord. Nevertheless afterwards the Dconhours
then they had better considered of the matter, and
had had some conference with Hussen and others the
earles men, and mistrusting that some further trou-
bles would inue, even as the earle of Dymond had
partlie threatned them; and doubting also least the
staing of the sonne might be preiudiciall to the fa-
ther; then in all hast did send the pong lord to the
earle of Dymond, who caried him to Dublin, and deliue-
red him to the lord deputie: and his lordsh^p forth-
with sent him to the ward, where he remained with
his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin
were sent into England, where the earle and the ba-
ron were sent to the Tower, and the pong lord com-
mitted to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The
earle died after in London, and his bodie was ca-
ried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his
ancestors.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at
Corke, and nothing liking the outrages, bodages,
and villanies daily practised by Barrie, Condon,
and others vpon the good subiects and his maiesties
garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene
made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to
Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his com-
plaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the
Barries and his consoits were such, that vnlesse
they were proclaimed traitors, and with all dili-
gence followed and pursued, the euent thereof would
be verie euill, to the aggrauance of good subiects, &
to the incouragement of the wicked: whose inso-
lencie and pride was growne to such a heighth, that
the sword with extrenitie was the onelie meane
now to redresse the same.

Capteine Ra-
leigh complain-
eth against
the substance
of the rebels.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had
heard and well considered this, they sent him
backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to
seize and enter vpon the castell and house of Bar-
rie court, and all other the lands of the said
Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in
the best maner as he thought good: and for his bet-
ter seruice to be done herein, he had certeine horse-
men in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto
his ensigne of footmen: wher vpon he returned. But
before he was come backe to Corke, the case was al-
tered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by
such as there and then were in authoritie, and so ma-
nie delates were vsed to hinder the good seruice pur-
posed, that his commission auailed him verie little
or nothing, for the castell of Barrie poze was com-
mitted

Capteine Ra-
leigh hath a
commission,
& the enlarge-
ment of a band
of horsemen to
pursue the
enemie.

David lord
Barrie bur-
neth and spo-
ileth his owne
house.

Capteine
Raleigh is
laide for by the
seneschall.

The seneschall
followeth ca-
ptaine Raleigh

The distressed
state of Hen-
rye.

The cowar-
dise of the
seneschall.

The earle of
Ormond is
kept by the
D'Conhoughs.

mitted and deliuered to the custodie of the mother of
the said David Barrie, and by hir set ouer vnto him
hir sonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the
said castell being his principall house, as also wasted
the whole countrie, and became more worse and out-
ragious than he was before. This capteine making
his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne
vnto the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose
countrie he was to passe, laie in ambush for him to
haue intrapped him betwene Doughtall and Cozke,
lieng at a fozd, which the said capteine must passe
ouer with sir horsemen, and certeine kerne. The cap-
teine little mistrusting anie such matter, had in his
companie onelie two horsemen and foure shot on
horsebacke, which was so small a force in so doubt-
full and dangerous times: neuertheless he had a ve-
rie good guide, which was the seruant of John Fitz-
edmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide
knew euerie cogner and starting hole in those
places.

Capteine
Kaleigh is
aid for by the
seneschall.

The earle of
Ormond is
sent for the
young lord
Fitzgerald.

The seneschal
followeth cap-
teine Kaleigh.

The distressed
state of Henric
Houle.

The young
lord is sent to
the earle of
Ormond.

The earle of
Kildare and
his sonne and
some in law
re sent into
England.
The earle died
in London.

Capteine Bar-
rie complaineth
against
the sufferance
of the rebels.

The coward-
nesse of the
seneschall.

Capteine Bar-
rie hath a
mission,
the enlarge-
ment of a band
of horsemen to
rescue the
enemie.

David lord
Barrie bur-
thens and spoils
his owne
wife.

in hand, and offered vnto the seneschall, that if he and
sir John of Desmond there present, and three or foure
others, the best they could chosse, would appoint to
meet him; capteine Kaleigh, and such foure others
as they would bring with them, they would come to
the same place, and passe ouer the great riuer vnto
them, and would there tye two for two, foure for foure,
or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwene them;
but no answer was then giuen: wherupon the white
knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this cha-
lenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this,
there were speeches made, that the earle of Ormond
was to depart from this long and wearie seruice
into England, & capteine Zouch should in his place
be the generall. Betwene the removing of the one,
and the placing of the other, sir William Sporgan,
capteine Kaleigh, and capteine Piers had a com-
mission to be gouernours of that part of Downshire,
where they spent all that summer, and late for the
most part at Lismore, and in the countrie and
woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the
enimies from time to time, as occasion and oportu-
nities serued.

The challenge
made by the
earle of Or-
mond to the
seneschall.

Capteine Bar-
rie a com-
missioner in
Downshire.

Capteine Bar-
rie followeth
vpon Barrie.

Capteine Bar-
rie in dan-
ger to be kil-
led.

The good ser-
uice of Nicho-
las Wright.

The capteine being come towards the fozd, the
seneschall had espied him alone, his companie be-
ing scattered behind, and verie fiercely pursued
him, and crossed him as he was to ride ouer the wa-
ter, but yet he recovered the fozd and was passed o-
uer. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw
the capteine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed,
he shifted for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell
fast by, there to saue himselfe. The capteine being
thus ouer the water, Henric Houle, riding alone a-
bout a bowes shot before the rest of his companie,
when he was in the middle of the fozd, his horse found-
ered and cast him downe; and being afraid that the
seneschalls men would haue followed him and haue
killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to
saue his life; who not respecting the danger he him-
selfe was in, came vnto him, and recovered both
him and his horse. And then Houle conuincing with all
hast to leape vp, did it with such hast and vehemen-
cie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a
mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was
taken by the enimie. The capteine neuertheless
staid still, and did abide for the coming of the rest
due of his companie, of the foure shot which as yet
were not come forth, and for his man Jenkin, who
had about two hundred pounds in monie about
him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, ha-
ving his staffe in one hand, and his pistoll charged
in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercely
followed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand
and tarry as it were for his coming, notwithstanding
he was counted a man (as he was indeed) of great
seruice, and hauing also a new supplie
of twelve horsemen and sundrie shot come vnto
him; yet neither he nor anie one of them, being
twenty to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but
onelie railed and vsed hard speeches vnto him, vntill
his men behind had recovered and were come vnto
him, and then without anie further harme depar-
ted.

It happened that not long after, there was a
parlie appointed betwene the lord gouernour and the
rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood
much vpon his reputation. Capteine Kaleigh being
present began to charge him of his cowardnesse be-
fore the earle of Ormond, that he being twenty of
his side, to him alone, durst not to encounter with
him. Wherunto he gaue no answer. But one of his
men standing by, said; that his maister was that
daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull a-
gaine, if the like seruice were to be done, and in ma-
nie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall
for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Or-
mond hearing those great speeches, took the matter

And when the summer was spent, capteine Ka-
leigh returned with all his band vnto Cozke, being
in number eight horsemen and foure score footmen.
And as he passed through the countrie, it was ad-
uertised to him, that David Barrie an archtraitor
was at Cloue with a great troope of sundrie hun-
dreds of men. Wherupon he thought good to passe
that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to
trie the valor of David Barrie, if by anie meanes
he might meet with him. And euen at the verie
townes end he found Barrie and all his companie,
and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him.
But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this cap-
teine passing from thence, in his forie he espied
in a plaine nere adjoining to a woods side, a compa-
nie of footmen by themselves, vpon whome with
six horsemen he gaue the charge: but these being
cut off from the wood wherunto they were fled,
and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue them-
selves, they turned backe, & conioining themselves
together to withstand this force and onset made vpon
them, in which they behaued themselves verie val-
lantlie, and of the horses they killed five, of which
capteine Kaleigh his horse was one, and he him-
selfe in great danger, and like to haue bene slaine,
if his trustie seruant Nicholas Wright a Yorkshire
man borne had not bin. For he perceiuing that his
maisters horse was galled and stricken with a dart,
and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was
past seruice; the said Nicholas willed and called to
an Irishman there, whose name was Patrike Fa-
gaw, that he should looke to his capteine, and either
to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie.
Wherupon the said Fagaw rescued his capteine,
& the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the on-
set vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And
therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish
gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the cap-
teine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in dan-
ger. For Wright not looking on them followed the
enimie verie egerlie, and recompensed the losse of
one with the slaughter of others. Which capteine
Kaleigh perceiuing cried out to his man, saying;
Wright, if thou be a man, charge about hand & saue
the gentleman. Who at his maisters commandment
pressed into the middle of the enimies, and slue one
of them, and so saved the gentleman: and in which
skirmish his horse leg was cut under him. Diuerse
footmen were slaine of the enimies, and two were
taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to
Cozke.

The lord
Roch is had in
suspicion, and
is sent for.

Captaine Ra-
leigh cometh
to the lord Ro-
ches house.

Captaine Ra-
leigh being re-
ceiued into the
castell getteth
in all his men.

At his lying in Cozke there were sundrie peeces of seruices done by him, all which doe verie well deserue to be for euer registred. And amongst all others this one point of his seruice deserueth both commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The lord Roch was growen into a suspition that he was not sound of his loialtie. Whereupon capteine Raleigh by commandement was to fetch him and his ladie to Cozke vnto the generall. This thing was not so prauilie determined, but that the seneschall and Dauid Barrie had knowledge thereof, and minding verelie to take the capteine at some aduantage, they had assembled a great companie of themselves to the number of seuen or eight hundred men to haue met with him either comming or going. The capteine perceiuing and forerhinking how dangerous his enterprise was against so noble a man in that countrie as the lord Roch was, who was verie well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his men one and other, both horsemen and footmen, which in the whole were not aboue foure score and ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of death betwene ten and cleuen of the clocke of the same night. At which time euerie man being in a readinesse, he took his toznie and marched toward the lord Roches house called Ballie in Harth, which is about twentie miles out of Cozke, and came thither somewhat earlie in the morning. At his comming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The toznmensmen when they saw their lords house and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the worst, did arme about fise hundred of themselves. Whereupon capteine Raleigh placed and bestowed his men in battell rate in the towne it selfe, & marched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Michaell Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Writte, Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Pinking Wulsh; and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a while there came thre or foure of the said lord Roches gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their comming, vnto whome the capteine answered, that he was come to speake with my lord: which was offered he should, so that he would bring in with him but two or thre of his gentlemen, which the capteine was contented with, yet in the end (but with much adoe) he came in with all these few persons before named. When the capteine was once come within the castell, and had entred into some speeches with the lord Roch, he so handled the matter by deuises and meanes, that by little and little, and by some and some, he had gotten in within the iron doze or gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come into the hall with his peece well prepared, with two bullets. The lord Roch when he saw this, he was suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare: but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the matter, and calling for meat, requested the capteine and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to keepe him companie at dinner.

After dinner, the capteine falling into speeches with the said lord Roch, declared plainlie vnto him the cause of his comming, and shewed that he and his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take and carie them along with him to Cozke: which he was to performe, and so would. The lord Roch alledged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, saying in the end that he neither could nor would go: the capteine answered, that if they would not go with a good will, they should perforce go against their

will. The lord Roch seeing that there was no remedie, he yielded: and then the capteine minding to lose no time, willed him to command and cause all those of the towne, and all such as were about the house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and to set him forth in his toznie: which he did, and verie willingly shewed himselfe to abide and obeye the capteines commandement, saying that he would answer the matter well inough, and discharge what soeuer should be laid to his charge, for he knew himselfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his wife redie to take the toznie in hand, as the capteine did appoint and command: and towards night they did set forthward to Cozke. But the night fell out to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor yet discern one another; and the waies also were so fowle, so full of balks, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the souldiours thereby were maruellouslie troubled and incombred, some stumbled among the stones, some plunged into holes, and some by their often falls were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they were among and in the middle of the enemies, who laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the darke night which was cumbersome to themselves, was a shadow to shrowd them from their enemies. And in the end, though with much trouble, they came to Cozke in safetie, saving one soldier named John Phelim, who by his often falling and stumbling among the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his feet, that he could neuer recover the same, but did in the end consume and rot awaie.

The capteine being come to the towne somewhat earlie in the morning, he was receiued in, and presented his prisoners to the generall, with no little admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a toznie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could neuer haue escaped. The lord Roch being brought to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and a good subject, and which in time was well tried and knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons and followers, did attend and performe all such seruices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thre of his sonnes were killed by the enemy in his maiesties seruice.

Capteine Zouch (as is afore said) laie at the Dingham, among whose companie there fell a dangerous and an extreme sicknesse: few or none escaped it, howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond and Dauid Barrie was assembled at Aghado with thre thousand men; and he being verie desirous to doe some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of horsemen and footmen vnto Castelmange. And then by the aduise of his capteins Achim and Cash, he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enemies, before they wist of anie such thing, and drew a great companie of them, and drew the erle to such a push, that he in his shirt was drawn to thist for himselfe, in the middle of his galloglasses, and by that means he escaped. The earle nothing liking this course successe, sought a better place of safetie, and remoued himselfe to Harlowe wood, and passed by the waie to Kilmallocke. Which when the garrison there did understand, they pursued and followed him, namelic capteine Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Pakeworth, and capteine Morris, thre miles together vpon the plains betwene Kilmallocke and the wood, and drew manie of the rebels. And capteine Dowdall who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and in it had serued sundrie times, he would needs, and did

The lord
Roch perceiued
to go with cap-
teine Raleigh.

Capteine
Dowdall
perceiued the erle
of Desmond.

The seneschall
perceiued
the garrison of
Lismore.

The lord de-
putie establi-
sheth capteine
Zouch gouer-
nour of all
Mounster.

The L. Bar-
rie and the se-
neschall fall
out.

Capteine
Dowdall ma-
keth a spiall
vpon the se-
neschall.

The L. Roch
acquitteth him-
selfe.

The L. Roch
and his sonnes
good seruices.

Sir John of
Desmond ap-
pointed to
make a league
betwene Bar-
rie and the
seneschall.

Capteine
Zouch putteth
the earle of
Desmond in
danger to be
taken.

The gouernour
Zouch and
captein Dow-
dall make a co-
act iourneie.

The lord
Koch perideth
to go with cap-
taine Raleigh.

Captaine
Dowdall
prieth the erie
of Desmond.

The senef-
chall prieth
the garison of
Lismore.

The lord de-
putie establi-
sheth captaine
Zouch gover-
nour of all
Mounster.

The L. Bar-
ne and the se-
neshall fall
out.

Captaine
Dowdall mar-
beth a speall
by the se-
neshall.

Sir John of
Desmond ap-
pointed to
make a leagur
between Bar-
ne and the
seneshall.

The gouernour
Zouch and
captaine Dow-
dall make a le-
uer iourneie.

The L. Koch
quitereth him-
selfe.

The L. Koch
and his sonnes
and seruices.

Captaine
Roch putteth
the earle of
Desmond in
anger to be
en.

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the on- set vpon him, killed a great number of his men, toke from them their cartages, and droue awaie a great pzeie of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garison. Here about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and pried that countrie, and droue awaie their castell. Which when the garison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they issued, and followed the pzeie to recover it; but they were so incountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the pzeie, and fere and twentie of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were daillie done vpon the enimie, and manie tozneties made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a iourneie into Mounster, where when he had taken an account of all their doings and seruices, he established captaine Zouch to be gouernour of all Mounster, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh into Dublin. This now new gouernour, being accompanied with captaine Raleigh and captaine Dowdall, travelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Corke, where for the most part they laie in garison: making in the meane time sundrie fornicies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Corke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarell fallen out betwene David Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mortall enimies, and at a deadlie fod; and they laie both in Dunfrinnes side, not far from the blacke water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother laie in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie sozie for this quarell, and would haue come on to them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect.

Captaine Dowdall vpon these newes sent out an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spiall, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard drawing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they laie in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entered into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next daie following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agreement betwene Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Corke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went together to Corke, and at their comming thither, did declare vnto captaine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albeit he did not altogether beleue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some seruice should be done vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and captaine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And having prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the ga-

risson vnto captaine Raleigh lieutenant: and themselves taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by breake of the daie they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poxe man, who told them that David of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquilliam. The gouernour and the captaine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they followed the tract of the hourse a good prettie waie; but the captaine mistrusting that no good seruice would be done that waie, perswaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waie, but they saw two hoursemen come riding toward them, but as soon as they had seene the said gouernour and captaine, they returned backe againe.

Then the captaine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwene the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose shot being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the hoursemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they sore hurted with a hoursemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongercullie, they toke: and both they caried with them to Corke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged by by the heeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Corke. And James Fitzjohn was drawne, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hyddra cut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not too to god for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honoz of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholie imbrued in bloud and villanie; and in bloud he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon David Barrie, for the pzeie which he and Cozen mac Swene had made in Carbreie, and passed with the same by Wentrice, where laie a garison vnder the leading of captaine Appelleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captaine Fenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the pzeie, fell in to the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drummlager left aliae, who by swiftnesse of his fote escaped. The foresaid Appelleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman borne, and of a good house, and brought vp in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who perswaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being some intised and perswaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the baddest; whereof great troubles ensued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Mounster: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whom he found such fauor, that no Englishman could do moze with him than he

Sir John of
Desmond kil-
led, and his
bodie hanged
vpon a gibbet
by the heeles.

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whom he found rather a father than a friend unto him: and then his behaviour was such, that he grew to be in good favour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to do sundrie seruices in Pounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestlie and faithfullie. The gouernor continuing still in one and the same mind, to do some seruice vpon Barrie, who then laie in Dunsfrennin, he together with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some advantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thenceforth in some dutifull and restfull order; which he in the end did obtaine.

The gouernor and capteine Dowdall spoile and enter into Barries campe and kill his men.

Barrie sueth for a protection

The L. deputie calleth sundrie bandes in Pounster.

Fitzmozis baron of Lerna breaketh into open rebellion. The cause of this his breaking out, some do impute it to the hard dealing of the gouernor, who so narrowly watched him, that he alwaies took from him what he had, and so intercepted him from his provision, that he had nothing left to eat. Fitzmozis seruant to Carew lord of Lerna killeth his maister.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Pounster; he thought good to ease his maiesties charge, and so cashed sundrie bandes and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Pounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernor, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first hoisemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garrison at Adare in Berrie. When all things (as I saie) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmozis baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue bene a dutifull subject, when he saw the weakness of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able well to saue and keepe themselves, much lesse to hurt others; he breaketh out into open rebellion, and joineth with him his wicked, traitorous, and perjured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first accessories were seruants to the barons of Carew, and of O'Don, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and government vnder him of all his countrie in Pounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmozis, who by the authoritie vnder his maister was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carew his maister, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Pounster, euen as the like was done by the Baenagh in O'Don in Leinster. And the heire of Carew in England, who had great and large possessions in Denon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he toke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an advantage, slue him, and recovered the ward of Adare. Af-

ter that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lescanile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he used this stratagem. He laid verie close & tealie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wente verie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turf into the ward, that as soone as she was betwene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall hir basket and cry out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after hir accustomed maner called to the ward, one of them came and loosed the vpper iron doze, and then he did open the inner doze for hir to come in. When she was come betwene the two dozies, she let fall hir great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to draw vnto them the vpper iron doze, nor to shut fast the inner doze, the enemye entred, toke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good successe of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vze other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungrie soldiers would be contented to accept anie courtesie, he procured a young harlot, who was somewhat snow-faire, to go to the castell, pretending some iniurie to haue bene done to hir, and to humble herselfe to the capteins deuotion, being supposed, that by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasie of hir, and so would retaine hir. And by these meanes, she by hir cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwene Fitzmozis and hir, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraye the castell. The capteine receiued hir into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Lescanile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Wherevpon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried hir vnto the top of the castell and cast hir ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmozis being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thence, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, O'Don, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there played his parts.

The gouernor, who late at Cork, being aduertised of these outrages, called his companie together, which (as is before said, was not aboue foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrue) to be about foure thousand; yet minding not to suffer an iniurie, marched with such companie as he had into Clannozis, which is the said Fitzmozis countrie, and distant from Cork about three daies iourne. The baron by his espials being aduertised of their coming, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drew his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lescanile. When the gouernor was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbey) greatlie distressed. From thence he went to Lescanile, which is ten miles further, where he discovered the baron and all his companie, which then late in a plaine bottome in the said wood, having then in his companie of gallowglasses, kerne, shot, and hoisemen, about seuen hundred men.

The gouernor taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie hoisemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to adventure the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the rest

The baron of Lerna de- structh all the English in his countrie, and taketh the quaines forte.

A stratagem used in taking the castell of Lescanile.

A stratagem at Adnagh.

The baron of Lerna deeth into the hills of Blongh- lougher.

A supplie of two hundred men sent to the gouernor

Capteine Dowdall seeth vpon Fitzmozis Glanfilsh a gueth him ouerthrow.

The baron Fitzmozis with a few ouerthrow to his bitter fall, and for taken of all his frends

The baron ing distressed of all helpe seeth to the earle of O'Don for a protection.

The court of the earle O'Don.

The earle of Desmond thought to be dead with now thev himselfe.

Capteine Dowdall entereth vpon Fitzmozis, and gueth him the folk,

due

The baron of
Kerna de
stratagem
all the
English in his
country, and
saith the
quarrel for,

Stratagem
used in taking
the castle of
Lisconle.

Stratagem
of Donagh.

The baron of
Kerna de
into the hills
of Slough
lougher.

A supply of
two hundred
men sent to
the governor.

Captaine
Dowdall set
forth upon
Fitzmorris in
Glanshilly and
queth in the
quethpaw.

The baron
Fitzmorris
with a few of
his own men
to his better
fall, and for-
saken of all
his friends.

The baron be-
ing distressed
of all helps,
saith to the
earle of De-
mond for a
protection.

The governor
cheerfully
ke to
Fitzmorris
counsell
Fitz-

The courtesie
of the earle of
Dowdall.

The earle of
Dowdall en-
ly upon
Fitzmorris,
saith
he saith,

one he reserved to himselfe. The captaine entred in-
to the wood, and followed until he came into the
plains where Fitzmorris was; who having a great
company, and the captaine but (as it were) a hand-
full to him, he divided his whole companie into foure
parts, thinking to have inclosed the captaine, and to
have his will upon them. The captaine perceived it,
and forthwith brake upon one of the companies, and
had such a hand upon them, that he slew a number of
them. Which when Fitzmorris saw, like a valiant
man turned his backe and fled awaie into the moun-
teins of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods be-
hind; which the captaine toke, and also all the cattell
there, and brought the same to the gouvernor. From
thence they marched to the castell of Glan, of which
Oliver Stephanson had the ward and keeping: and
there newes was brought unto him, that the lord de-
putie had sent unto him two bands of footmen, of
which one hundred were Sir Henrie Mallops, and
the other captaine Morris. Whereupon he travelled
unto Limericke, and left the whole charge of Glan-
morris, and of Herrie unto captaine Dowdall. And
the said captaine being put to woe that the baron
was incamped at Glanshilly with two hundred and
fortie gallowglasses, two hundred kerne, fourescore
shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe having
then but the lieutenant Wellingfield in his companie,
made a sallie upon them, and killed with the sword,
and dyaue into the river above seven score of them,
and recovered a preie of eight hundred kine, five
hundred horses and mares, besides a great number
of sheepe and goates: and in the taking of the baron,
he found store of monie and plate, and massing gar-
ments. And from hence he marched with his cattell,
and incamped besides Slough, nere unto the earle
of Clancar his house, and from thence to Castell-
mange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went e-
uerie ward and garison with store of vittels, and
with the gods he rewarded his souldiours: From this
time, the baron Fitzmorris, being lost all his proui-
sion & store, was never able to recover himselfe, nei-
ther to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold by his
head, but was forsaken of all his friends and follow-
ers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad
and disolall trecheries, walked and wandered abroad
as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whether
to go, or where to seeke for succor and helpe.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his
distressed miseries, bethinketh upon the earle of
Dowdall, whome notwithstanding that without
cause he had verie much injured, having most out-
ragiouslie preyed his countries, burned his villages,
and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse
unto his lordship, acknowledging his fault, confess-
eth his follies: and being most loze for the same, de-
sireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most
humble request him to have under him a protec-
tion. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great
injuries done unto him, and he of a great courage
and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put by
so great injuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion,
Parcere prostratis) when he had shewed the great
graces of the said Fitzmorris, he forgot all his owne
wrongs, and granted him his request. Captaine
Dowdall, leaving the gouvernors souldiours and com-
panie at Adare, under the leading of captaine
Smith, he marcheth towards Corke, where he rested
and laie in garison. Now when all these doles were
ended, and verelie supposed that all things had bene
at rest, and the whole province of Mounster at peace;
behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to
be either dead or fled, beginning to appeare, and to
shew himselfe; and having assembled a great com-
panie, came to Adare, where the garison issued out

upon him: betwene whom the fight was hot, and
manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith
sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant
were both slaine: but yet the English souldiours re-
covered the abbey. About this time one Thomas
Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgi-
rald, being wearie of the wicked actions which hi-
therto he had folloved among the rebels, sent his
messenger to captaine George Carew, requesting
him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon,
and for so manie of his companie as would ioine
with and accompanie him in a pæce of service to
be done: which he promised to recompense with the
pice of his captains head, which he would in a bag
present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie
of his companie as would not consent with him
thereinto.

When this devise was readie to be practised, the
clearke of the band, who was one of the confederats,
verie trecherouslie did discover the same unto Fitz-
giralde, who immediatlie toke and hanged his lieu-
tenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Eng-
lishman) and so manie of the souldiours as were of
that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgiralde be-
thinking upon the extreme miseries, which in this
rebellion he had endured, and the small hope which he
had to preuaile in these his bad and traitorous ac-
tions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least
at one time or other he should be slaine by his soul-
diours: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices,
requiring his pardon, and which he would redeme
with the head of his best friend and fellow in armes
Pheon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and
rebellion in Leinster.

This was not so conuertlie done, but that Pheon
mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he
forthwith intreated Fitzgiralde in the like manner
as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so
hanged him up. The lord deputie after long sute for
his reuocation, received his maiesties letters for the
same, and then he sent for captaine Zouch gouvernor
of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of
August 1582, after that he had served full two yeres
he deliuered by the sword unto the archbishop of Du-
blin then lord chancelor, and to Sir Henrie Mallop
then tresurore at armes, and toke shipping; having
with him captaine Zouch, who was after slaine by
one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie
other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man
of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient
descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and
dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit
he had deserued well of that Irish nation, and had
sowed the good seeds of notable services, as well for
his martiall services, as for his ciuill government;
yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but dar-
nell and cockle. For they had among them not one,
lie conspired his death, for which some paid deuelie;
but made also sundrie complaints against him, to
which he answered to his commendation and acquit-
tall, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a by-
ken time, the warres being not ended, the people not
quieted, and the gouernement not staid nor settled;
yet they both joining their wisdoms, services, and
good wills, were so blessed therein, that by them that
land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse.
For not long after they had taken the sword in hand
doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who
came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all
wickednesse, with James Fitzmorris in Iulie in the
yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seven-
tie and nine, to beare arms in this land against his
maiestie, after that he had wandered by and done
there

The fight at
Adare.

A draught
made to kill
Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde
executed to
death so ma-
nie as conspi-
red against
him.

Fitzgiralde
practised the
death of Pheon
mac Hugh.

Fitzgiralde is
hanged for his
conspiracie.

The lord
Greie yieldeth
up the sword &
returneth into
England.

1582
The lord cha-
ncellor and Sir
Henrie Mal-
lop are lord
iustices.

The death of
Dorothy Dan-
vers.

thre yeares together with the earle and his brethren
sir John, in woods and bogs, and had lived with them
a most miserable and wretched life, and had bene
partaker of their most cruell bloodsheds, outrages,
murthers, and robberies, a life good and to god for a
traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague
and of the bloudie sir, and laie in the wood of Glen-
nelisse, which is a wood full of allers, withies, byers, &
thornes, and through which is no passage; where part-
le of his sicknesse, but cheselle for famine and want
he died. Euen in this filthie place, that most misera-
ble wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequea-
thing his treasons, treacheries, and disloialties a-
gainst his soueraigne mistresse and ladie hir maiestie
unto the pope, reseruing the punishment to the Lord
himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all trai-
tors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some
saie) was deuoured by of wolues, but (as some do
thinke) that so much as was left was buried at
Clancarne, not farre off from the place where he
died.

The two lords iustices being entred into this bo-
ken gouernement, did what they could to keepe the
same in peace; and understanding the wilfull dispo-
sition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and
waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he
imbued and poisoned with the venom of treason and
rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other re-
spect could perswade him to be a loiall and dutifull
subiect. Wherefore he continued still in his old ac-
customed spoiling and waisting the countries, and
travelling to no house nor castle, did shroud himselfe
in woods and bogs, and in the winter following he
kept his Christmas in the wood of Kilquieg nere
to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Januarie
then following, one John Welsh a valiant and a
good soldior, was resolved to make a draught vpon
the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith
capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Wangoz, and George
Thorington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which
late then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according
to the order betwene them then agreed vpon, they
marched in the night time to the place and wood
where the earle laie.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer
a great riuer, before they could come to enter into
the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raines
then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to
passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did be-
fore mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went
thither verie closetie, with such few persons as he
had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a
number of stakes and hurdels to be made of halson,
allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be dratone
ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose
which could swim verie well. And this fellow when
he had fastened some of the hurdels to a tree in the
further side of the water, and then by a rope drew o-
uer the residue one after another, did so fasten and
tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the
matter, that when the capitaines came, they passed o-
uer the riuer verie well without danger or perill.
And so from thence the said Welsh did guide and
bring them by the breakes of the daie vnto the earles
cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so
mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length
wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hea-
ring a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinar-
ie and a greater compaignie to be in place more than
his owne, and doubting the worst, ran out of his bed
in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin,
and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard by
to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife
with him. The soldiors made diligent search for him

both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but
could not find him; whereupon they did put to the
sword so manie as they found there, and carried a-
waie the goods with them, and so returned to Kil-
mallocke.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the
force which he could make, came vnto the towne of
Mounshall, & entred into the end of the same towne.
Whereupon the alarm was raised, and forthwith
Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capitaine Morgan,
hauiing all his soldiors together, of which he had for-
tie shot, went vnto that end of the towne where the
seneschall scaled the walls, & there he made a sconce,
or a little bulworke, and by that meanes saved the
towne, and draue the seneschall from his purpose,
and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being dis-
appointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the
end of this moneth of Januarie the earle of Do-
mond arriued from out of England to Waterford
with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whome he
divided and committed vnto the seuerall leadings
of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, cap-
taine Edward Berkeleye, and capitaine Roberts.
And being now lord generall by hir maiesties ap-
pointment ouer all Mounster, and hauiing obtained
an augmentation of two pence by the daie for eue-
rie soldiors wages, he assemblith all the soldiors
and euerie capitaine which had anie charge, and toke
order with euerie of them for such seruices as were
to be done, furnissheth them with vittels, muniti-
ons, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for
them, requestiing euerie one of them to shew them-
selues like good and valiant soldiors, in the pursuing
of the rebels, and vanquishing of the enemies: and
such grace and loue he found among the soldiors,
that he was no more desirous than they most glad
and willing to performe the same. Such a good af-
fection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

At this time aduertisement was giuen vnto his
lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped
in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number
of rakehels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his
companies, and minding to do some seruice vpon
the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse
of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he diui-
deth his companies into foure parts, and they ente-
red into foure seuerall places of the wood at one in-
stant: and by that meanes they scowred the wood
throughout, in killing as manie as they toke, but
the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels be-
ing thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they ne-
uer after met together in the like companies, nor
assembled themselves in such great numbers: but
the most part of them, which were the chiefeest follo-
wers and greatest friends vnto Desmond, as ffitz-
moris of Lerna before named, the seneschall, the
lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Anought, & sun-
drie others, some and some came awaie, and sought
for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit
outrages, murthers, bloodsheds and spoiles, had
deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship con-
sidering their repentance, sorrows, and humble sub-
missions, and respecting more hir maiesties godlie
disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the
most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests.
The soldiors after this peece of seruice were disper-
sed abroad into their seuerall garrisons. And albeit
the greater parts of the rebels were some by sword,
and some by protection abated, and much decreased,
yet none of them late altogether idle, but did follow
the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the
earle himselfe, though he were thus unfeathered of
his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man,
a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon
him

The seneschall aduan-
cedly & entred
into Mounshall
and hath the
repulse.

The earle of
Desmond arri-
ued to Water-
ford and is
generall of
Mounster.

A draught
made vpon
gallowglas
les in Har-
wood.

The gall-
ies in
Harlo wood
put to two.

The tone of
the capitans
and soldiors to
the earle of
Desmond.

The L. W.
his men dr-
uer Des-
mond.

The lord ge-
nerall scow-
red Harlo
wood.

Desmond is
forsaken of all
his followers
and friends.

The Des-
mond is r-
ued by Go-
mac Howe.

A garrison
pointed to
at the Di-

Desmond
redy Dore

Coron p-
all Carber-
for Desmon

The earle of
Desmond kee-
peth his
Christmas in
the woods.
A draught
made vpon the
earle by John
Welsh.

A deuise how
to passe ouer a
great riuer.

The earle of-
capeth verie
hardlie.

him baslie were draughts and pursates made, and neuer left, untill in the end he came vnto confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and three, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmallocke and Castle, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harbozough himselfe in Harlo wood, and had aboute three score gallotoglasses besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a forrete thither, and being entred into the wood verie earlie, laie close all the forenone. For these gallotoglasses had bin so daret from time to time, that notw like a sort of daret they laie vpon their keepings; and so feartfull they were, that they would not farrie in anie one place anie long time, but where they did dwell their meat, thense they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thense go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descric the countrie, and in the afternone they would sleape. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were asleepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horse for to eat, for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddenlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, fife and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallotoglasses, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irish: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without anie great danger passe throughout Mounster.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand five hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nere to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the erle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a priest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the erle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the priest they toke, by reason of his bad horse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be seene. And further, that he had his onelie release and was fostered by Gozon mac Swene, a capteine of the gallotoglasses, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not bene heard of since he was garred out of Harlo wood) is now discovered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cuth: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The erle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discovered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cuth to the working of his too; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Gozon mac Swene, & Moile Morough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his gard. Gozon mac Swene in the meane time entred into Carberie, and taketh a

great preie of kine, which he dyne forthwith into Desmond toward the earle, but the forrete was so long, that he late thort of the earle that night about three or foure miles.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their gods, three of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stolen a waite their owne kine if by anie means they could, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recover anie thing at all. The foresaid Gozon, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abode in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue score off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid three men had hidden and couched themselves in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both; and as soon as they had cut off their heads, they thifted for themselves. Gozons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abode to seke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lieng dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wist not what to thinke or to do: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the perjured and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the earle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garrisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his cheefe and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismayd; and seeing no other remedie, he prepareth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nere Craleigh, minding to take a preie from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the euenting he sent two horsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Craleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their preie from thense, which they did, and brought the same a waite with them.

Among those kine thus dyuen a waite, a poze woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie release of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how she could by anie meanes recover them: she bethought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Apozettos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declareth hir estate and case, praiering him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horsemen & a few kerne which had dyuen the preie a waite, he to pleasure his sister toke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castlemaige, which castell was in the waite. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chesson, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the preie which was dyuen that waite. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had seuen shot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast by

The seneschall assaulteth & entred into Youghall and hath the repulse.

The earle of Desmond arriveth to Waterford and is made countie of Downfall.

A draught made vpon the gallotoglasses in Harlo wood.

The gallotoglasses in Harlo wood put to sword.

The lord of capteins & soldiors to earle of Desmond.

The L. Roches men discovered Desmond.

The lord of capteins & soldiors to earle of Desmond.

Desmond is taken of all followers friends.

The Desmond is released by Gozon mac Swene.

A garison appointed to be at the Dingle.

Desmond feareth Dowdall.

Gozon preth all Carberie by Desmond.

Gozon mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth preie to be taken in Kerrie.

der

der the castell, & so they went altogether to Traleigh, they being in number thre and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man bozne, named Kollie, but serued alwaies vnder Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Traleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Sporetto because he was bozne in those parties, and best knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thence they followed the tract untill they came to the side of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come vpon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, whereupon they drez to themselves close together, and caused one of themselves closeste and secrettie to dzato towards the fire and to discouer what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And when he returned backe vnto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about five or six persons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to know the whole matter. Sporetto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good array, as was most for their seruice, if need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the residue were gone. Then Kollie drez his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms; and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head: whereupon the said old man cried out, desiring them to saue his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staid his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he waied verie faint, and could not trauell anie further: whereupon the said Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The residue of the companie in this meane time spoiled and rifled the house, and toke what them liked: and then they all departed and went to Castelmange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were deuoured by the wolues or buried by his herne, it is not certaine knowne. As soone as they came to Castelmange, they sent the said earles head vnto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put vpon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more seruice to be done: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and fought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subjects: sauing one John Bourke, who stood vpon his protection, and yet neuertheless he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a preie. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece vpon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, reioiced and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Spounser, the two lord iustices which late at Dublin were much eased from all marttall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and bzabbling of the Irish people, not worth the remembring: sauing that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwene two Dconhours, verie nere consens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Gill Patrike Dconhour appellat; the other was named Con

John Bourke having a protection, made a death, and was killed.

A combat betwene two Dconhours.

mac Coymake Dconhour defendant. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other triall but by combat, which was granted vnto them. Whereupon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being stripped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and dutie to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendant brought in, in the like manner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had done his dutie and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who when he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendant was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the triall of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

The manner of the combat.

Vpon this their severall answers, they were severallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a corporall oath that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being sworn are brought backe againe euerie of them to their severall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen vnto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met each one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned vnto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarme the defendant, but also with the sword of the said defendant did cut off his head, and vpon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somewhat of much, of the manner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances thereunto belonging is now for want of vse almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so valiantlie done, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen vpon the whole sex of the Dconhours, than vpon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Balinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small grieue vnto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head anie longer against hir maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some relese and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilltie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholie greife & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreame pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought

The vicount of Balinglas wearie of his life.

The vicount Balinglas imbarke himselfe for Spaine.

Sir John Perot arrived into Ireland to be lord deputie.

The Scots rebell and subdued.

The count in Ireland

The whot realme brought in thire groue

Sir John Perot arriveth into Ireland to be lord deputie.

The manner of the combat.

The Scots rebell and are subdued.

The counsell in Ireland.

The vicounts of Walsingham and the vicounts of the life.

The vicounts of Walsingham and the vicounts of the life.

The whole realme brought into hisse grounds.

the whole land to a peaceable & quiet government, and delivered the same from all open or knowne rebellions; they called and discharged all the garrisons in Mounster, onelie two hundred soldiers excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, untill the arrivall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent over to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand five hundred fourscore and foure, the six and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne unto whome they delivered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceived of the like to ensue. For he was a right worthy souldier in that land, when he was lord president in Mounster: and by whome James Fitzmorris was subdued, and the whole province marvellously well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they doe well deserve, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetual fame and immortall hono^r. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensive to remember some speciall points of his late service, which doe deserve to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which doe halson and give a hope that he will *Adde re colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect government & regiment; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

Not long after the arrivall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed manner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are by in armes ready for the warre. His lordship having notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them in of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were driven to seeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselves, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they toke the lands wherein they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yielding a yearely rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

Then when he was from this service returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indeno^r was to devise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the government, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he would and did verie often assemble the whole counsell, or so manie of them as were there, for their advise herein; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Desmond lord treasurer, the primate of Armagh, the bishop of Meath, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Perot lord president of Mounster, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall, Robert Gardner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Dillon knight chiefe iustice of the common p^laces, sir Lucas Dillon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rolls, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Cowleite knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Wabesbie, Geseffre Fenton secretarie, sir Warham Sentleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good advise, helpe, and counsell of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into hisse grounds, whereby the laws of England might have a through course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Storie before had done in a few counties, that he perfor-

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie severall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To euerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned severall shiriffes, and all such inferio^r officers as were most requisite, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and euerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their severall names, and in their provinces as followeth.

				The shires in Ireland.		
Counties in Mounster.	{	Limerike	}	Old coun- ties.		
		Corke				
		Kerrie				
		Tipporaria				
		Crosse				
	{	Waterford	}	New coun- tie .		
		Desmond				
Counties in Ulster.	{	Louth	}	Old coun- ties.		
		Downe				
		Antrim				
		Monahon				
		Tiron				
	{	Armagh	}	New coun- ties.		
		Colrane				
		Donergall				
		Farmanagh				
		Cauon				
Counties in Leinster.	{	Dublin	}	Old coun- ties.		
		Wexford				
		Catherlogh				
		Kilkennie				
		Kildare				
		Kings countie				
		Queenes countie				
		Meth & West-				
	{	Meth	}	New coun- ties.		
		Longefford				
		Wickelow				
		Fernes				
Counties in Connagh.	{	Clare	}	Old coun- ties.		
		Letrimme				
		Gallowaie			}	New coun- ties.
		Rosecomin				
		Maio				
		Sligo				

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parlement, then hir maiesties writs and procelles had a free passage, and were currant through out the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be soueraigne ladie and quene of the same. When the Irish by little and little gaue over their Brehon laws, and their Irish vsage, and became obedient vnto the English laws, vnto which they referred themselves to be tried, and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a verie notable president & example betwene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the province of Ulster. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Ouele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Ouele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that province, when so euer anie discord or enmitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloodshed was the same decided. Neuertheless, these two noble men leauing to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile manner, doe refer themselves to the triall of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court

English laws currant through Ireland.

Ouele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

At. j. at

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subjects doe abide the trial of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse; and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so hapie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the lawes, and partlie by the sword; an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be established, the common societie shall be preserved, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, his maiestie shall be obeyed, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israel. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the hapie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasson, were met and incountered withall, by the right worthy Sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were banquished & overthowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe: but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the government of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worthy to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the attaining to the knowledge thereof, though John Hooker the writer hereof haue bene a diligent trauelier and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requirith, and he himselfe wisheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and quenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoeuer before hath bene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and unnatural, as were the last warres of the Geraldines of Desmond in Spounsher. For of the Geraldines of Kildare, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doe rebell against the Lords anointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honored and obeyed in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substitutes, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the god, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinances, and shall receiue hard iudgement, as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this the earle of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourse, it shall suffice to shut and conclude this historie, with the brieue recitall of the most speciall points, to moue each man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmorris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most unnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to inuade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of his maiestie from his imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yielded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneie to practise with all the rebels

and inhabitants in Connagh and Ulster to soine with him, he did commit a robberie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robberie vpon Sir Corman mac Teige, was likewise taken and caried to Cork, where he was downe, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Cork. After him, Sir John of Desmond, one of other brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserve him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a friendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Cork, where his bodie was hanged by the heeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was divided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncertaine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions vtterlie extinguished and overthowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasie dreamed that they had the holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords anointed: the one of them lifting vp his sword against his sacred maiestie, vnder the popes banner at Spounsher, one thousand five hundred threescore and ninetene, was slaine and killed; the other, after that he had followed the heeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserable in the wood of Cleeneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie use to bring. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their comforts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword.

James Desmond taken in a robberie, hanged, & quartered.

Sir John of Desmond slaine, and his bodie hanged by the heeles.

The earle of Desmond slaine, and his head sent to London, and set vpon London bridge.

Allen and Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats, the one with the sword, the other of fanes.

The fruits which come from the pope.

All strangers slaine.

The wicked practices of the pope.

And as for the great companies of soldiers, gallowglasses, kerne, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinite, whose bloods the earth dranke vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the field did consume and deuoure. After this folowed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not deströte, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining alive, saving such as dwelled in cities and townes, and such as were fled ouer into England: and yet the store in the townes was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparison to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie driven to eat horses, dogs and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namely one in the countie of Cork, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certaine poore people secretlie came, took him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the baie of Smereleeke, or saint Marie weeke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

After the wars folowed a famine.

A man hanged, and his bodie eaten.

Men drowned and eaten.

The common people, who had a long time liued on limpets, ozelwads, and such shellfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as soon as they saw these dead bodies, they took them up, and most greedily did eat and deuoure them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentious of cozne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no cozne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, euerie waite the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoeuer did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Mounster, euen from Waterford to the head of Smærewæke, which is about six score miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, sauing in towne and cities; nor yet see anie beast, but the verie wolues, the fores, and other like rauening brasts: manie of them late dead being famished, and the residue gone elsewhere. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a tharocall and stiffnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obete their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked idoll, the god Mæzim to honoz, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obeie, vnto the vtter ouerthrow of themselves and of their posteritie. This is the godnesse that cometh from that great citie vpon the seuen hills, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, master pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose bloodthirstinesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serue the Lord in all godlines, & who will not be drunke in the cup of his fornications: as it doth apere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he daile exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which because he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, that practises hath he made by inchant-

ments, sorceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to beereath his maiestie of his life: What deuises hath he used to raise up his owne subiects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant him of his roiall estate and gouernment: What practises hath he used with forren princes and potentats, to seeke occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres: And how craftily hath he suborned his unholie & traitorous Iesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place through his maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuaade his people from dutifull obedience vnto his highnesse, and to denie his supreme authoritie and gouernment: Finally, how doth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe seeke the deuouring of him, and of all his god subiects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie word and gospel: Whereof hath ensued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as therof manie apparant examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especially this tragedie of Mounster. In which it doth appeare, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarrels, the earth hath drunke up the blood, the souls of the aire haue pried, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euerie man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see the great iudgements of God, and his seuerer iustice against all such as shall dishonoz his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his anointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his anointed. And the god and goble shall see, and thereby consider the great god mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth preserve and keepe them from out of the talues of the lion in all safetie, that they should daile more and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto his maiestie our soueraigne ladie and quene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his god will and pleasure: and so shall we his people see good daies, liue in securitie, and the peace of Israel shall be vpon vs.

The fruits which come from the pope.

The wicked practises of the pope.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker alias Vowell, Gent.

